Cancelled from Gladstone's Library
1 JUL 2024
GLADSTONE

B.73
C.3
B
41
21

HAWARDEN.

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN

Jesus Christ.

JESUS, THE CHRIST, IN THE LIGHT OF PSYCHOLOGY

BY G. STANLEY HALL

LIFE AND CONFESSIONS OF A PSYCHOLOGIST

SENESCENCE

JESUS THE CHRIST IN THE LIGHT OF PSYCHOLOGY

RECREATIONS OF A PSYCHOLOGIST

MORALE

ADOLESCENCE

YOUTH

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

FOUNDERS OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY

ASPECTS OF CHILD LIFE AND EDUCATION

D. APPLETON AND COMPANY
New York London

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY,
HAWARDEN.

JESUS, THE CHRIST, IN THE LIGHT OF PSYCHOLOGY

BY

G. STANLEY HALL, Ph.D., LL.D.

PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF CLARK UNIVERSITY
AUTHOR OF "ADOLESCENCE," "LIFE AND CONFESSIONS OF A PSYCHOLOGIST," "SENESCENCE," ETC.

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN

Cancelled from Gladstone's Library
ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY,
HAWARDEN.
11 JUL 2024
GLADSTONE'S LIBRARY

D. APPLETON AND COMPANY
NEW YORK :: LONDON :: MCMXXIII

S 2371

COPYRIGHT, 1923, BY
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY

Copyright, 1917, by Doubleday Page and Company

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	INTRODUCTION	vii
I.	JESUS' PHYSICAL PERSONALITY	3
II.	JESUS IN LITERATURE	39
III.	JESUS' CHARACTER, NEGATIVE VIEWS	157
IV.	THE NATIVITY	246
V.	BEGINNINGS OF THE SUPREME PEDAGOGY	288
VI.	MESSIANITY, SONSHIP, AND THE KINGDOM	326
VII.	JESUS' ESCHATOLOGY, HIS INNER CHARACTER, PURPOSE AND WORK	392
VIII.	JESUS' ETHICS AND PRAYER	471
IX.	PARABLES OF JESUS	517
X.	THE MIRACLES	592
XI.	DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS	677
	INDEX	735

INTRODUCTION

MANSOUL has two orientations, the one outward the other inward. In our age the former predominates and the latter is restricted as never before in history. Our civilization and all its armentaria are so complex and absorbing that all the powers of the soul have to be focussed with almost a tonic cramp of the attention upon objectivities to the neglect and even depletion of the subjective life. Christianity, on the other hand, was a product of the greatest introvertive movement of history. Hence the age of its rise was the most, as ours is the least, psychological of all periods.

Centrifugal evolutive trends have produced literatures, sciences, philosophies, industries, institutions, laws, arts, inventions and so forth, so numerous and intricate that it requires all our psychic energies to know, maintain, defend and advance them, and some even fear that the control of them is now in danger of making too heavy drafts upon our powers, and that man may become the Frankenstein victim of his own creations. Even religion has become externalized in dogmas, rites, mechanical organizations, architecture and budgets. Here, too, the habit of the senses which must project their impressions outward in order to know them is so strong upon us that all processes of inwardization are hard, and feeble from disuse.

Jesus and those who inaugurated his cult lived, moved, and had their being in this inner world, and knew and cared as little for the outer world, which obsesses us, as we do for theirs. Even most experts in our field deal with what are by comparison hardly more than the superficialities of the psychic life. So true is this that we cannot help wondering whether, had Jesus lived in our day and known our works and ways, he would not have thought us professors of the things of the soul worthy of some of the severest objurgations which he meted out to the scribes and Pharisees, because, with all our methods, apparatus and masses of data about sensation, association, memory, instinct, habit, attention, the learning process, tests of intelligence and so forth, we know so little of the deeper things of the individual and the folk-soul in which the founders of the Christian faith wrought with such consummate mastery.

What Jesus and his band were, did and said, sloughed off the old and brought into the world a new consciousness by giving a new inward orientation. And how the world to-day needs such a conversion with introver-

tive tendencies once more in the saddle. The soul of man is faulty and abounds in vestiges of animality—as so many all the way from Calvin to Le Bon and Freud have held—but on the other hand it is preponderantly good and creative. Out of it have come all languages, myths, Bibles, creeds, literature, science, institutions and civilizations. The cry "back to Jesus" means turn again to the inmost oracles of the human soul, and refashion the world again into conformity to their voices. We have to turn to him and his age because never and nowhere were all the circumstances of history so compelling for such an appeal from the outer to the inner world, and there never was a personage who appeared and made so complete an answer to the appeal of the *Zeitgeist.* Thus the soul recalled its projections and extraditions into itself. Its transcendentalities became immanent, or, in more technical terms, its self-alienations and heterizations became integrated in a unique at-one-ment.

Textual and historical criticism have practically done their work, and there is little prospect that we shall ever know much more about the historic Jesus. Even if we did, it is doubtful whether this would greatly benefit us. Hence a psychological treatment of these great themes is next in order, and that is what this volume attempts, with the deep conviction, however, that it is only a beginning in this new field.

The masses, now everywhere coming to power in the world, need, and will long continue to need, the literal flesh and blood Jesus of the Apostolic age, of Oberammergau, and of Papini* (a most vivid and realistic description of the main scenes and incidents in the life of Jesus from the Catholic standpoint, by one of Italy's leading men of letters, who was converted from atheism and Nietzscheism). If by some miracle of discovery or invention we should some time be able to reproduce Jesus' very voice and words as he taught, or to have a cinema record of scenes of his life as he walked with his disciples, these would thrill us all, and perhaps convert many proletarian minds; but this is almost the direct psychological opposite of what the intelligenzia of Christendom, now so progressively alienated from the Christian faith, need. For them, this would materialize and not sublimate true piety. All such vivid objectivizations, however, have their place, if a low one, in the pedagogic scale, for they are vastly better than aloofness or negation. Men had to know the Christ without before he could be born within them. They had to deem him divine before they could recognize him as the embodiment of the best that is in the soul of humanity, to feel that he came from another world and was the only begotten and beloved Son of God, before they could realize that that world was only the unconscious depths of Mansoul itself—which is the only

* Cf. His "Life of Christ," 1923, p. 416.

true divinity—so that he was in fact only, and the only, son of man, because his life, teachings, death and resurrection are made up of a felted tissue of symbols of man's individual and racial origin, nature, traits, defeats, triumphs and destiny.

The one thing we must, but do not do, is to realize that this inner realm of the soul is just as rich, manifold and full of unrealized possibilities as is the domain of externalities, that its further exploitation is now in order, and that all the needs urged on every hand of refitting our world to human nature call us to turn around and to look and explore within.

And what do we find there? Our current psychology has no answer, or perhaps worse yet a multitude of conflicting ones, for, unlike other sciences, its representatives differ most on fundamentals, and have no basic principles, definitions, or even methods in which all agree, which is one of the characteristics of true science.

Christology has only two basal precepts, accepted everywhere and by all to be as fundamental as Newton's laws of motion are for physics, and these are embodied in the two words "love" and "serve." These are its alpha and omega—the one the law of the heart, the other of the will. These are the tests by which it would rate all of us. The selfish man or woman, the egoist, not only profiteers of every ilk, but those dominated by their individual or corporate interests, the superman of Nietzsche—all these are arrested and near the moron stage of man's psychological age, and can never enter (or if they do, are undesirable citizens of) the Kingdom.

No one ever began to give the world such a sublimation of Eros or the libido, which one new phase of our psychology is beginning to understand, and as I have tried to show in more detail in the text. Some aspects of this, however, another writer has independently sought to set forth.

Basing his work upon Freud, Jung and Silberer's ("*Durch Tod zum Leben*") and the anagogic interpretation of symbolism by the two latter, Georges Berguer* shows how the Messianic idea of a *Dieu Sauveur* slowly rose from the old nature and mystery cults as a result of the involution caused by the decay of the Greek and Roman civilizations, and how the chief phases of Jesus' life were due to inevitable and deeply-activated psychogenetic laws, and also how he came to accept the inevitability of a sacrifice not of a part of his nature, which we must all make, but a negation of his entire personality, in order to ensure the ultimate triumph of his cause. He also brings out vividly the inner and outer resistances that sublimation here has always had to overcome (such as so soon after he

*Quelques Traits de la Vie de Jésu au Point de Vue Psychologique et Psychanalytique Paris. Edition Atar. 1920.

wrote was seen in the great vogue of Papini, and in the Fundamentalist and anti-evolutionary movements in this country).

Indeed the more we know of our Scriptures and their ethnic background the clearer does it become that from the story of Eden and the promise to Abraham to the ecstatic writings of the fourth Gospel, their chief theme and purpose is to normalize and spiritualize love, to keep this strongest of all instinct passions focussed upon the highest objects, God and man, in the service and conception of which it is impossible to distinguish between them.

Thus, those in whom this has not become supreme are perverted or arrested in their development. When man is matured (if he ever becomes so, for he is now in the late adolescent stage of his development) and becomes accustomed to the phenomena of the altitude and depth of his psyche, all this magnificent processional of movements which converge in and radiate from Jesus will seem as natural as growth itself, for as he really was, so man will become if he ever reaches his true goal. The present we may well regard as the psychological moment, not for counsels of despair such as we now hear on every hand, but of perfection, and our slogan should now be, not back, but forward, to Jesus. Can such a hope have any justification?

Christendom has just emerged from a cruel war in which Protestants fought Protestants and Catholics fought Catholics with a fury which has not only weakened but reduced the prestige of Europe and of Christianity with the other races of the world. All crowns have fallen or are falling, and there will soon be hardly a vestige of monarchy left anywhere. The spirit of revolt against authority is rife in all departments of life. This kuraphobia is shown in the growing disrespect for law, the earlier emancipation of the rising generation from control by parents and their elders, as if the young blindly resented guidance by a generation which had saddled them with so many burdens. Academic students in Germany, France, and to some extent in this country and elsewhere, are pressing home new demands upon faculties for larger liberties; legislators are ceasing to be trusted representatives of their constituents, but by initiative, referendum and recall, as well as by petitions and lobbies, are becoming mere delegates; capital and labor are at war and a helpless public suffers and pays the cost. Bolshevism and its insidious propaganda seem now likely to be a permanent factor that must be reckoned with; *proletcult* would junk most of the world's literature and is attempting new creations of a new order; Peter Sczornic would give the world a new philosophy based on grammar; and Ouspensky has found a wide circle of disciples of his *Tertium Organum*, who accept him as being for our age what Aristotle

and Bacon were for theirs. Much of this scrapping of established standards and culture that is occurring in the Slavic world has ominous foregleams in western Europe, and perhaps more yet in our own country. What candid mind can fail to see that the church, state, home, school, and the old moralities are losing their ancient prestige, and that as compared with all its past the world has now become leaderless and creedless, if not even untaught, in the essentials of living as never before. With all the present superfœtation of restrictive legislation inner restraints for which this can never compensate have become ever less. Hence men have grown selfish and sordid, and even the ethical standards of business, which set the fashions everywhere, have declined since the war, no less than did the quality of immigrants to our shores for the few decades which preceded it. The world to-day is chiefly intent on making money and amassing wealth. Economic considerations are everywhere dominant, and it is these interests that are causing culture everywhere to lapse to *kultur*. The world to-day is mad for wealth, and the chief of all antagonisms, whether those of war or peace, are between those—be they classes or nations—who have it, and those that lack but want it. What would be the fate of Jesus if he were to re-enter the world to-day, or "Came to Chicago" as Stead conceived, or if he tried to land on Ellis Island, or teach in Wall Street, Washington or Boston, or to attempt a second advent in Paris, London, Rome, Berlin or Moscow?

He will, however, never return in person, even in the clouds of heaven for vengeance or in judgment, as so many religionists now expect him to do speedily.

But I am not dismayed. The *genus homo sapiens* has lost the trail and has had a bad fall in its excelsior impulsions, but it will sooner or later find what Buddha called the upward path. The soul of man is unconquerable, as the resurrection of Jesus teaches us, and although he is now entombed even in the churches there are signs patent to those with psychological insight that he will again arise in the hearts of men. What and where are these signs? They are found in the souls of the masses now everywhere coming into new power, and this is therefore just where we should look for and most need to find them. This return to sanity will not be guided or even incited by any one or more great leaders. Our civilization has become far too vast and complicated for that; but it will evolve out of the inner life of the common herd and its native instincts, although even these are now infected by the example of greed and self-seeking of the so-called upper classes. But the souls of the great masses of men are at bottom sound and unspoiled, or, if not, our last hope in democracy is forever gone.

These hopes are (1) in women, who are more religious and altruistic than men, and who are everywhere now coming into new power; (2) in youth, who are dissatisfied with the dismal world their elders have preformed for them, and are thinking, or at least dreaming, of a better order of things; (3) in the youthfulness of our country which has done great things and will do more. In place of the old respect for Europe war has emancipated us from transatlantic influences and precedents and has given us a new freedom and a new incentive to face problems ourselves, and the fourteen points marked, in fact, the acme of the influence of peaceful Christianity in the field of statecraft. (4) In the unconscious, so much larger and older than the conscious life of the soul, which we are now so actively exploring, and which the masses far better than the classes represent. We find that, at bottom, man from the very first has been by far the most gregarious of all mammals, merging his selfish interests in the general good from the tribe and clan up. The *volk*, too, have always been mutually sympathetic and cooperative. Hardship and privation bind men together in a camaraderie and fellowship rare among those whom possession and culture have made more independent of public sentiment and opinion. Simple lives the world over feel akin. (5) We are understanding in a new way the all-dominance of love in the individual and the race, and Jesus was its chief sublimator. (6) Novels, drama, and art which represent the loftiest sentiments, the noblest devotion, and the most extravagant self-sacrifice, evoke the heartiest and most genuine reactions in the lowliest souls, and it is these who cleave most strongly to their religion. They yet retain the old instinct of loyalty and respect for authority. They can even believe whole-heartedly, and it would be both dangerous and wicked to shock their faith. I write therefore only for those to whom an *éclaircissement* must come, and am intent chiefly that when it comes doubt and negation shall involve no loss at any of the stages of sublimation, but conserve in higher surrogates the substance of all that has been outgrown.

I trust in slowly acting evolutionary forces and expect no revolutionary changes; in fact things seem likely to be worse before they are better. But we must not forget that once the ideals of the young, who are proverbially the best material for prophecy, were expressed in vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, than which nothing could be more diametrically opposite than the ideals of youth to-day. Indeed these three vows were the best expression of his nature and needs which man found in the last great involutive movement when he was most intent upon knowing himself as he really was. Charity and almsgiving have been not only the supreme virtues, but veritable passions. Men, too, have longed and striven to do more than their duty, to go two miles with those who

asked them to go one. But if such instincts slumber they are not dead in the very lowest strata of society. The Carnegie Hero Fund, since 1904, has made about fifteen hundred awards to those who voluntarily risked their lives to save others, and about ten thousand more cases have been brought before it, nearly all from the humblest walks of life, while the late war has recorded innumerable such instances.

Even nations as well as individuals have sometimes performed golden deeds of magnanimity from antiquity to our day. Grant allowed no celebration of his victory to humiliate Lee's army, and at Appomattox allowed officers to retain their arms, and the soldiers their horses, "for you will want them in the spring planting." We returned the Boxer indemnity to China, and when Cuba was in our hands, spent vast sums to rehabilitate her, and then gave her autonomy. These were Christian acts although they brought criticisms, if not violent reactions. If we, as the great creditor nation, had remitted all our debts to Europe on condition of a general remission of International indebtedness, or even collected and then paid it back, not to the Governments, but to the people of Europe wherever the need was greatest, as Vanderlip proposed; or if we can imagine England or Japan capping Hughes' naval disarmament plan by proposing that, on certain not impossible conditions and after a reasonable term of years, they would all leave China for the Chinese; if the Allies had to their Conferences from the first invited Germany, Turkey and even Russia wherever their interests were deeply involved—all this would have been in the spirit of him who would have us come to terms with our adversaries, exercise the charity of Paul, and bring liberty to captives.

History, from the Babylonian captivity to Napoleon's destruction of Germany, as well as private life, abounds in incidents where wreckage of outer fortunes has turned man to the oracles of his own soul within. Very likely the civilization of the white races must suffer yet more destruction, and go through yet more disastrous wars, before we turn again to these sources, just as General Younghusband was brought, not by the war but by a far more tragic incident in his own life afterward, to write his remarkable "Within."

But we have the Resurrection (without which psychology agrees with Paul our faith is vain) which is truer than fact because, set free from specific date and place and given the world-wide scope that belongs to it, it is the most precious and pregnant symbolization of the eternal and inevitable resurgence of the good and true after their opposites have done their worst. So infantile and ignorant of the human psyche has our age become that a new process of restoring putrefying human flesh to its living state would probably be a more welcome aid to faith in the Resurrec-

tion than any exposition of its higher meanings or any demonstration that belief in it was the necessary product of a wondrous mechanism in the soul of man which assures him that he is yet young, and only just getting himself established as nature's crown and destined master, and that the best part of his history cannot yet be written because it has not yet been made, as the best things have not happened yet. Thus, the Resurrection elevates us from the plane of the soma to that of the psyche. It is made warp and woof out of soul-stuff. If we realize all its meanings, we must regard it as probably the masterpiece of what, for want of a better name, we may call the folk-soul of the group that achieved this sublime creation, viz., Jesus, Paul, and those about them. The writers who voiced the conviction that he had arisen conceived that Pentecost marked the culmination of their at first very hesitating wish-faith that he had arisen, which then and there became a conviction to which they yielded with utter abandon. The risen Jesus was thus the creation of what the Scriptures called the Holy Ghost, the sole function of which thereafter was to keep alive and strong the faith that he had actually burst the bonds of death, and to impel those who believed to proclaim it and all that it implied. To just this Paul devoted all his efforts, and it was he who brought about this triumph of the super-historical post-mortem Christ over the historic Jesus. The God-man whom Paul proclaimed did little else than die and arise from the dead, and this made this marvellous man the apostle of the Gentiles, most of whom about the Eastern Mediterranean were familiar with the pious legends of dying and rising gods, as the Hebrews were not.

Thus, I have attempted to show in the text that midway in his career Jesus himself was caught in the ebb and flow of this tide and came to realize that he must not only be a sacrifice but also a revenient redeemer, without perhaps fully realizing even to the end that he must be utterly extinguished and that his return would be only spiritual and in the hearts of men, and not in any literal or material way. His second advent was thus purely psychic or spiritual, and began with the gift of the Holy Spirit.

Plastic art and literature have always, especially in recent years, attempted to reinterpret its Lord and Master to the Christian world in new ways and with new efficacy, as is set forth in Chapters I and II. The creative imagination has made Jesus the Christ live again. The plea here is that both these departments, which have already done so much, have now a new responsibility and new incentives to reincarnate the historic and the risen Lord in the modern world. Some now conceive the æsthetic sanction as an even higher criterion of reality than either truth or goodness. The history of Puritanism, if not of Protestantism itself, shows that all forms of Jesus cult languish without artistic inspiration. The Jesus Christ

ideal must be beautiful by every token, and he must be conceived as the one altogether lovely. Feeling, emotion, sentiment, constitute by far the largest, deepest and oldest parts of mansoul, and the roots of religion are always pectoral or thumic. It implies no trend toward the Berkeleian conception of the material world that its *esse* is *percipi* to say of Christ that his *esse* is *sentire*. He is at bottom what we most profoundly feel him to be. Nor in invoking art to reinstate him need we imply that he is only the consummate artistic creation of the folk-soul in the past, although even if one held this, he might to-day be most radically Christian. One very essential part, at least, of the psychological Jesus Christ that was, is, and is to be, is that which painting, sculpture, poetry, drama, and literature have made.

In Chapter III, I have tried to set forth with no reserve the chief negative views of our day, which are of the greatest interest and significance. These I believe have on the whole done or at least will do the cause of Christ in the world more good than harm. They have tended to demolish false conceptions, both liberal and orthodox, and have been hard on the attenuated, synoptic Jesus that survived the processes of the higher criticism, as they have upon the literal God-man of the Church. I believe in the historical Jesus, but I have tried to show how even the Church could get on, if it should ever have to do so, without him, and that this might possibly ultimately make for greater spirituality. The true Christ is present in human hearts to-day and not merely in the ancient and very imperfect annals of incompetent recorders.

The Nativity (Chapter IV) is one of the most pregnant symbols in all the history of culture. It stands for the process by which the divine, which is the projection into the sky, and the organization into a supreme personality of the ideals of the best that is in human nature, was brought back from its objectivity and heterization, and resolved back again into the same humanity that had evolved it, and this in ways that Hegel glimpsed but which the mechanisms of modern psychoanalysis applied here enable us now to pretty well understand, although of course the psychic processes involved are of great altitude and of wide range. Without this mythopheme the sense of any complete at-one-ment of God and man which Christianity stands for could not have been set forth as complete. Thus the apologetics that seek confirmation of the birth stories in instances of parthenogenesis, much as its range is widened by modern biology, lack psychological insight. If the affirmation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception seems on the one hand the acme of credulity, it is in fact clung to so persistently because it asserts under the ambivalent form of the crassest superstition the very deepest of all the affirmations of skepticism, viz., the

rehumanization and resubjectivization of God, and because it makes man-soul itself the only true divinity.

The early story of the ministry (Chapter V) began with the passionate quest of righteousness, a psycho-ethical phenomenon, the degree and kind of which the modern world knows little of, save in the intimate biographies or confessions of more or less pathological saints and anchorites. The tocsin call of the Baptist evoked a response in the soul of Jesus by which it awoke to a higher life, as if in some erethic calenture that made him henceforth almost an ecstatic, and kept him in a state of hyperexaltation, from which he rarely lapsed, until near the end of his life.

After the temptations, as a result of which he discarded the three false and dangerous conceptions of his mission, came (Chapter VI) his three great labours of achieving a sense of Messianity, of Sonship, and the Kingdom. So fully were these travails of his soul accomplished, that the early ministry was coloured throughout by triumphant joy and hope.

Then (Chapters VII and XI) came the more or less radical change of plan from that of a glorious Messianic reign to be established on earth, to the pagan programme of a dying god which had to be offered up like a Hebrew sacrifice. This was a fate that Jesus never dreamed of at first, but to which he came in the end to submit with an abandon more utter than has ever yet been fully realized, even by his disciples or by Paul himself. Skeptics have often urged that if Jesus died knowing that he would directly rise from the grave and come to glory, it involved little sacrifice but might rather be regarded only as an act of egoistic selfishness, since any courageous soul would accept a cross at the price of a crown. The new eschatology has opened the way for further compensating views here, and suggests that his self-immolation must be vastly more complete than it has ever yet been conceived to be in order to bring about all the results that followed by way of reaction from his death. Supposing he died feeling not only that he was forsaken of God but doomed to go among the damned forever as one of them, rather than in order to conquer hell and release saints, as the earliest records represent. Nothing less than this, not even annihilation, which is far less, would make his self-sacrifice absolute. Otherwise his death would have been a role or spectacle rather than a real experience, and its atoning value would have involved a certain insincerity and deception of the God-Father, such as so commonly appears in the history of sacrifice. We have no record of how his friends felt during the days he lay in the tomb, or how far they went toward believing that nothing less than this had been his fate. Perhaps they felt betrayed, and that his truths were futile lies, that death, not immortality, had been brought to light, or that Satan had really dethroned God or led him captive. Had

Jesus lain longer in the tomb we do not know how far his erstwhile friends would have gone in accepting the grim logic of miserablism. It was hard, as it was, for them to accept the evidences of the Resurrection, and perhaps a few days, weeks or months later it would have been impossible. They very likely came to believe that only a mouldering corpse was left and that there was to be no sequel. Perhaps they had come to curse him in their hearts as a fool or fanatic, if not as a conscious deceiver, and to be ashamed of their own folly in following him as they scattered away, fearing perhaps that his fate threatened them. Before he died even Peter had thrice denied him, and all had left him to meet his fate alone. They might have gone on to detest his very memory, teachings, works, and person. Such may have been the ghastly, psychological facts that were ignored, glozed over and perhaps forgotten by the Gospel writers, as indeed they would have the strongest motive to do when the Resurrection and the great exaltation of soul and reversal of judgment it caused had been established. Had they written a story of Jesus while he lay in the grave, we should have had a very different narrative.

As to Jesus' own state of mind during his last hours or moments, even if he had accepted death earlier in his career and entered upon an active quest for it, as eschatologists urge, he must have found it unprecedentedly and inconceivably bitter, so that in the very end it came to seem far more so to him than even he had been able to anticipate. Why else the agony of Gethsemane, the great drops of sweat, the prayer that the cup might pass, if his death were only the *sine qua non* of his inauguration into the head of either a heavenly or an earthly Kingdom? Was he neurotic and panic-stricken by the prospect or the experience of the physical pain involved? Did the sense of being forsaken on the cross mean that he had expected God would appear in a spectacular role to rescue him? What was "finished"? Merely his physical life or his personal consciousness? And why were seven successive proofs of the Resurrection necessary before it was accepted? Why was Satan to be let loose on earth and the millennia of hell to come? Above all, where shall we find a sufficient psychological cause of the strength of the great affirmation which had to be incalculably great in order to evoke the belief in such stupendous marvels as the Resurrection and Ascension, if not in the power of rebound from the unparalleled depth of negation of the will to live, which the above view of his death provides? So far as the Resurrection is a psychic and not merely a sarcous fact, it remains unexplained and therefore imperfectly believed save upon such a hypothesis of supreme psychalgia. Our problem is not the fact of the Resurrection but how it came to be believed, which, if left unexplained, is another miracle.

If he wished and willed death, he surely did not will the eternal torments of hell for himself, nor accept it if it did come to seem to him to be his fate at last. To touch the nadir of despair for himself and to make his end the acme of pathos for others, he must find himself compelled at last to go distinctly beyond the utmost that even his consciousness could have anticipated. All hope of every object of desire must not only be extinguished but reversed. He must die feeling himself as bad as he had thought himself good, accursed as specifically and personally as he had believed himself loved by the Father. He must come to regard himself as God's fool and villain, and his true and proper place in the lowest hell with Satan instead of in the highest heaven at God's right hand. It was as if when he had consecrated himself to death as an atoning sacrifice for sin he had not fully realized the cost or been certain that God would have to do his very worst with him to make the atonement complete. To have realized this would have been a renunciation compared with which that of Buddha would have paled into insignificance and made all other tragedies only foothills of Golgotha, the highest mount of sacrifice. His ideals of his Messianity, Sonship, and of the Kingdom must have been abandoned as delusions of a megalomaniac. All his conceptions of righteousness and those of the prophets he appealed to would have to be exactly inverted, and he must feel himself given over utterly to the powers of hell which would concentrate upon him all their malignities. On this view we must conceive that no one ever began to die a death so ineffably ghastly or awful. The best of all beings suffered the worst of all pains. His death was a moral outrage without parallel and seemed for the moment to reverse all true scales of worth and value in the world. It brought the nadir of dysphoria and made the earth seem a City of Dreadful Night. Thus there are two keys to the secrets of the great sacrifice. The one for Jesus himself is the cross itself, while the second was forged in the souls of his surviving friends by which they were able to unlock his tomb.

What made this greatest of all oscillations that the psychic world has ever known or can know, from the deepest ebb-tide of dysphoria to the highest flood of euphoria? What brought the plenary conviction that man's great enemy, death, was conquered, and that this life was only a brief probationary stage for another eternal one? The answers may be roughly indicated, as follows: First of all, the very depth of agony and despair involved in Jesus' fate, in which the thumic pendulum swung farther toward extreme negation than ever before or since, made it when released go farther in the opposite direction of exaltation, a phenomenon of which we give in the text many analogues from the individual and the folk-soul, both normal and morbid. Again, the extreme of pathos is impossi-

ble as a permanent state. At the moment of greatest depression men may take sudden refuge in suicide as so many of the best Romans later did, when the good Otho died, feeling that the world and all worth while in it were about to be obliterated in barbarism. Again, pity is creative and its fetishes tend to be exalted in every conceivable way. Moreover, the inexpugnable sense of justice simply cannot accept the punishment of the good or the permanent happiness of the bad. Kant urged that it was just this impossibility that created heaven and hell in order to even the scales of justice themselves, so that another world came to be held to because they did not swing true in this. Finally, the pagan cults of dying and rising gods bottoming upon the death of vegetation in the autumn and its revival in the spring, had established a psychic rhythm or cadence tendency which predisposed the soul to ebb and flow between the poles of pleasure and pain, the sovereign masters of life, so that each not only follows but tends to evoke the other, and it is this that gives greatest elasticity and power of rebound, which is the highest of all guarantees of unity to the soul. At least these psychic mechanisms were involved in the world tragedy and triumph which Christianity represents. They illumine its mystery in a way that historico-critical studies have not succeeded in doing, and have contributed to make the story of the cross seem not only normal but the truest of all revelations of the nature of the soul, although the analogies here dominant deploy only in the altitudes and depths of both the individual and the social psyche.

If we have not realized the depths of depression involved in Jesus' death, we have, on the other hand, not fully realized the height of exaltation of spirit brought when faith in his Resurrection became plenary. There was henceforth no death, no mortal disease, no sorrow, no pain. These are forever impossible in the world because immortality is certain and so glorious that it eclipses them all. So the early Church abounded in pneumatophores while men and tender maidens longed to die the cruelest of deaths. Indeed, nothing here mattered, and the most glorious crown was that of the most horrid martyrdom. Death was wooed as a muse. It became a mere transition, and the tomb was only a door to a glorious hereafter. Men became ecstatic and jabbered in unknown tongues, simply intoxicated with the joy of life eternal.

If we accept this view the historic Jesus was thrice dead in the sense that all he was, did and said, was to be henceforth only a memory, as pallid and partial as it was splendid. His supreme achievement was his death. Death was his vocation. But his soul, the Resurrection Jesus, lives ever more abundantly in the world to-day. It was this that his death provoked the collective soul of man to evolve and to project. It was only this

that Paul knew and preached and this is still the most vital culture power in the world. When Jesus first resolved upon death, he may have known that something like this would happen, and perhaps it was one and possibly the chief of the motivations of his great decision. Perhaps he approached his doom of effacement because he knew the soul of man, what it could and would do, and what it would make of his memory. Perhaps it was thus and not *in propria persona* that this world's master psychologist knew that he would come again. But when he consecrated himself to his enemies and to death, he could not possibly realize all the agony of the last stages of surrender, or foresee how far he must go to make the great atonement or to cause the great compensating rebound of soul to be complete, and therefore his last disappointment may have been that so much was necessary in order to provoke the souls of his believers to reinstate him worthily. He did not realize the extremity or degree of sacrifice that was necessary to generate and release all the energy of reaction necessary for the complete rehabilitation he has had in the world. But for this provocation the soul of man, even on the basis of what Jesus actually did, said and was to his friends, would hardly have been able to achieve the greatest of all its creations, the spiritual, risen Christ.

As to miracles (Chapter X), genetic psychology can have no quarrel with those who cling to them as literally veridical, for this is a necessary stage. They are the baby talk of religious faith, not a disease but an infantile stadium of true belief. The truth of the ideal miracle is unassailable, but it is symbolic. Negation of them by crude rationalism is not progress but regression. All discussion of whether the nature miracles of the New Testament were literally performed or not represents a low plane of crass religious materialism. They are not even genuine myths but allegories of higher spiritual truths, precious because so charged with challenging meanings. They are surds injected into the lower plexi of thought in order to disrupt them and make place for the higher insights and larger constellations of intellect and feeling needful to explain and resolve them, and which with normal psychic development should come to take their place. To accept them ever so crassly implies, however, more richness of the psychic soil than to sweep them away by callow denials. Their moral or inner significance may be felt far down below consciousness and may give orientation and predispose the soul to docility, so that to feel ever so blindly their value involves a potency that, if it is ever activated, will make them blossom into solution. The mental attitude toward them in our psychological age is thus a test of psychogenetic insight and perspective. The psychology of faith which miracles tend to keep alive is to-day revealing it in a new sense as indeed the substance of things hoped

for and the evidence of things not seen. Thus they save us from the fatal sense of finality and keep the soul young, curious and growing, because they perpetually demand ever higher explanations, a challenge which the above chapter seeks, however feebly, to respond to.

The parables and teachings of Jesus (Chapters VIII and IX) inculcate, as the world knows by heart, an extreme subordination of the individual to service. They teach self-effacement almost to the point of self-evacuation, and their lesson is the diametrical opposite of the egoistic ethics of the superman. Renounce, deny, give, suffer, serve, be least, not greatest, is the call. The ethics of Jesus and his Kingdom suggests the hive or formicary which goes on for ages, and to serve which constitutes the entire life of the individual insects for unnumbered generations. Insect society is far older and hence perhaps better organized than that of man, which is still in the raw crude stage wherein individuality is rampant, unsubjected to the whole, and undomesticated to a life of service.

In fine, the kenosis involved nothing else than the death of the old objective God, and his resorption and inwardization in man. So, too, the incarnation stands for a great movement of pragmatism in the religious domain. The day of the old transcendentalities of faith ended with the loud and clear call of the Baptist to realize everything here, now, and within, to which Jesus added, "and in myself." Man must no longer eject, evict or extradite his ideal self and project it upon the clouds but factualize it on earth and within his own soul. Pentecost was meant to mark the end of heaven-gazing and the beginning of a new era of homecoming, and the focalization of effort and aspiration upon this world and upon man. Henceforth there must be no craven, supine or neurotic flight from present now and here reality, but it must be resolutely faced, understood and transformed. There must be no postponement of hopes and promises to a distant future, but supermundane currency must be cashed in the coin current in the earthly realm. Even our immortality is to be exactly and only that of the risen Christ and not that of volatized ghosts refined however much from animistic savagery.

Leuba's comprehensive census sought to show how to-day, just in proportion as intelligence and ability increase, the old objective God-idea has become unsubstantial and ineffective, while in about the same ratio the old idea of personal survival after death has also lapsed and become often even distasteful, and, indeed, may be and often is a positive hindrance to the true life of service ("The Belief in God and Immortality," 1916, 336 pp.). The only valid immortality is of two kinds, influential and eugenic, and the true living God is the moral law within. If a belief in the higher secondary immortality as distinct from the primary ghost theory

of it arose late in history and was developed in the ancient Hebrew world by a slowly supervening despair of realizing the collective ideal of a Messianic state, and was also reinforced by the Dionysic cult of ecstasy in Greece, which potentialized individuality by reinforcing it from the racial soul, to which is now added as a third factor the democratic hypertrophy of individuality in general, and if this belief is now sustained not by the old arguments, the values of all of which are greatly depreciated, but only by an inner sense of the importance our own lives seem to have for us (somewhat like the Platonic argument that the soul is so beautiful a thing God could not have the heart to let it perish), as Leuba seeks to show, then its nature at last stands revealed, for it is only a sublimated form of Narcissism. The task of the genetic psychologist, however, is not to deny it but rather to find the next higher and more adequate expression of the imperishable instinct from which the old belief sprang. This will be found in the perpetuity of good works of service which all Buddhists are exhorted to think of on the moment of death and in living in and for the infinite perspective of generations who are to spring from our loins, or in other words in a reinterpretation of the Lord's covenant with Abraham.

We must constantly translate what the dramatis personæ of the New Testament said and did into what was really meant by it all. Of this they knew but little but only dimly intuited and strongly felt it. It is the self-same faith that Paul rhapsodized about, but which we conceive as the inner psychic evolutionary excelsior nisus of the racial soul in the individual. The New Testament writers wrote far more wisely than they knew and hence we well call them inspired. But nothing in our own age of science so cries out for explanations higher than they have yet received than do these records. Thus to us to-day Christianity is less and less a solution, and more and more a problem, which like the riddle of the sphinx we must solve or be devoured by the minotaur of selfishness and animality. The state of the real knowledge of and feeling for Christianity on the part of the world of modern culture, and the complacency of the church in antiquated conceptions constitute to-day the one great blemish and the one great danger of our civilization. The church is a cult and no longer stands for the highest culture. It has become an idolator of its symbols, and lost the holy passion to penetrate ever deeper into their significance. It has lost control of, and often all vital touch with, the leaders of mankind, and makes only a falsetto, sporadic appeal to educated youth. Its mission is to save souls but its very seminaries teach or care little about what the soul of man really is. It should take the psychology that deals with the deeper things of humanity to its very heart of hearts, instead of maintaining its attitude of suspicion and exclusion, and help to show forth

the new sense in which our scriptures are being revealed as the world's chief text-book in psychology.

Thus true Christianity is of the present and future far more than it is of the past. Its great triumphs ought to be those yet to come. Even from the standpoint of the new anthropology, much as is now being done to clear things up and set them in a larger light, there yet remain in the New Testament cryptic constellations of truth that are unresolved and which, to change the trope, are like foreign bodies in the system, or to use still another metaphor, are like the sleeping, spell-bound heroes of myth, waiting to be set free and to start on great careers. The Bible is not a Pandora box which it is dangerous for psychic experts to open. Indeed, no small part of their mission is to neutralize certain of the dangers incident to the noble work of the higher criticism which was a necessary stage to a clear *éclaircissement*. How the canonical writers struggled to utter the great truths that seethed and burgeoned and yet for the most part remained incapable of coming to consciousness (*bewusstseinsunfähig*) in them, and which countless seers, mystics and theologians have since striven so earnestly yet so inadequately to express! Our attitude toward all, even Jesus himself, should be not unlike his sense of an hebamic mission toward the law and the prophets, viz., to declare them more perfectly, that is, to reinterpret them in a way worthy of a new and greater age. They were great pioneers and discoverers, inaugurating a work which we are now called on to carry on beyond their wildest dream, and unless we can do so something not unlike religious dementia præcox will supervene. If we cannot show that the soul of man is essentially Christian to its very depths, when both it and Christianity are understood; if science and faith cannot be made henceforth one and inseparable, indispensable each to the other; and in fine if the Gospels, Epistles and the Church cannot have a new, vital, radical re-evolution and reconstruction in the world, and that soon, our faith must resign itself to the slow fate that overwhelmed the great religions of the past and some new one will arise upon its ruins. Never in all its varied history has the Church of Christ faced so great a crisis as that which confronts it to-day.

But just as in the sad culture state of the church, there is hope so far as it is turning to the gospel of good deeds, so even as a result of the late war there is some hope that the religion of the soldier who risks his life for a superpersonal good, the fraternization with some scores of thousands of priests and clergymen in the trenches of each of the chief belligerents, and the tremendous reinforcement of practical efficiency as war applied its acid test of practicability to every form of culture, so we may still hope to find in the end that despite its unprecedented evils it will ul-

timately be seen to have brought into the world a great revival of the true religion of deeds. Two millennia under the Prince of Peace did not prevent this colossal and atrocious war, and the Church of Christ cannot now fail to suffer a great increase of neglect and reproach unless it can have a radical reincarnation. Would that psychology, by re-revealing Jesus in a new light, and re-laying the very foundations of belief in him, might contribute to bring in a real third dispensation, so long predicted yet so long delayed, and thus help to a true epoch by installing in the world the type of religion that can do something to make such holocausts henceforth impossible! Now Christianity simply stands by and looks on aimless, helpless, paralyzed, convicted of failure to a degree that all the heresies in its history could not have caused. It mitigated suffering by beneficent ministrations but did nothing to prevent the Christian nations from flying at each other's throats, and has been even yet impotent in all its efforts to restore real peace. Once it made and unmade wars. In this it has proven bankrupt, an almost negligible factor, and we have in it as at present understood very little guarantee that the world may not at any time again relapse to the barbarism and paganism of even worse wars. The only possible religious safeguard against such another catastrophe is nothing less than a new Christianity. We must go back to the first principles and elemental forces of human nature, realize in a deeper sense that Bibles and religion arose out of it, and thus we must build the latter up again from the very foundations, but these foundations will and must be the true psychological Jesus Christ, gross, material misinterpretations of whom have made the church to-day a body almost without a soul.

The ages in the midst of which Jesus came had very narrow physical, social and mental horizons. Their knowledge and interests were circumscribed. Their history was mostly tradition. Little of their education came from books. The world was small and there was little communication or travel, and science was only in its rudiments. Now we are in rapport with all parts of the earth. Trade and commerce are world-wide. The press and telegraph provide us with information of every kind from every land. Innumerable vocations, interests, causes, situations, beliefs, have their call. Differentiation and specialization have diversified and complicated every field of endeavour, and the body of achieved knowledge is so vast that it is impossible for any one to either know all of one or something of all of them. This is why our souls to-day are less unified, more confused and disaggregated, with more disharmonies than even Metchnikoff saw, and this to an utterly unprecedented degree. Thus, there are germs of psychic disintegration, if not of multiple personality, in us all. Hence, too, it was never so hard to turn our backs upon all this and face

the world within, where alone assimilation, redintegration and unity can be found or achieved. Our noetic faculties are overworked, while those of meditation and reflection tend to atrophy. It was just because Jesus could and did turn away from all externalities and penetrated to the inmost depths of the human heart and found there the issues of life, that he became the sanest, most perfectly integrated of personalities, and the best physician for distracted, inverted, sin-sick souls, and which makes the psychological Jesus the true and living Christ of the present and the future. What a conglomerate of polymorphic elements the soul of modern man in our highly departmentalized life now is, and how it lacks any cohesive principle. It even resists the efforts of science and evolution to give it one even in the outer world, and in its estrangement from itself, it has lost not only its former integrity but even its orientation toward the only source from which integration can come. It is alienated, distraught, uncertain of everything fundamental, circumnutating, like a growing vine, in ever widening circles to find some support by which it can climb. In some field most of us are informed, up-to-date, alert, and with a little group of activities thoroughly organized, while in others we have regressed to the attitude of the most superstitious, pre-civilized ages. If we are independent, original, progressive, or even sane in one direction, we have to compensate by being ignorant, servile, infantile, if not degenerate and atrophied in others. All this disintegration is because we have lost the very ideals of synthesis, harmony, balance, proportion, or because the inner life has died, so that we no longer feel the need of being attoned to and by it.

Luminous and indeed indispensable as a knowledge of the great philosophies of the past from Plato down, and of the more recent and most fruitful explorations of the unconscious psychic life both of individuals and of groups, has been, every candid and independent student in these fields must realize that there are yet deeper and more elementary forces in human nature which reason and science cannot yet fully grasp, but which can be apprehended only by that self-same mystic intuition which always has and will give the first orientation that finds, and then the urge that pursues, the upward paths. It is on this point that our Scriptures which centre about Jesus have their unique superiority over all other systems of thought or of life. Here much as knowledge is advancing faith still has its legitimate domain. But, as everywhere else, it is fatal to assume that the unknown is the unknowable, for to know and formulate our ignorance is the beginning of wisdom. Thus, this is the first step in passing from *pistis* to *gnosis*.

For a score of years the themes of this volume have formed an integral though not a major part of my lectures and seminary work with

graduate students in psychology, and I am indebted to a number of their doctoral theses. But I wish especially to testify that however conclusions here set forth impress the reader, my studies (no small part of which have been made on Sundays) have gradually transformed my inner and in some respects my outer life for the better, so that I almost wonder if there be not a kind of conversion as normal for senescence as that of the church is for adolescence. Very rarely indeed do I attend church, and never since youth have I uttered, even secretly, anything that the church would call prayer; but I do set apart a portion of the first day of the week for communion with self and nature, to facing my problems in the largest perspective of which I am capable, making plans, taking retrospects and setting my soul in order, to getting better control of my life, and, as a psychokinetic equivalent of prayer I have a little cult too personal to be detailed here of turning to the only God I know, whom I find within, and finding rest, poise, guidance, reinforcement, and, as I have come to believe, sometimes cure for incipient and minor ailments, so that I think I owe, not only some enhanced efficiency, but possibly even my prolonged life to this source.

As a result of all this I now read the Gospels, and indeed all the New Testament, with a new insight and a new delight. I believe I can now even repeat all the clauses of the Apostles' Creed with a fervid sentiment of conviction. My intellectual interpretation of the meaning of each item of it probably differs *toto cælo* from that of the average orthodox believer. To me not a miracle in the one nor a clause in the other is true in a crass literal material sense, but they are true in a sense far higher which is only symbolized on the literal plane. The change from my boyhood belief in it has been to me all gain and no loss. Nothing essential has been lost or denied, but only the mental imagery has been changed and the meaning deepened. The same fundamental religious instincts are expressed in the new forms as in the old. What lay concealed in the old stands revealed in the new. I am still going in the same direction, and am only farther along in the same path in which my infant feet were taught to walk. Senescent instincts and adolescent sentiments meet and reinforce each other. How then can I quarrel with those who are at any stage in this "grammar of ascent"? I only insist that the way be kept open, as I have tried to keep it open, for all to escape arrest. Some will stop at each stage, and others will go far beyond any ranges I can attain, for the path not only goes on and up but ever broadens, and my fondest hope is that this effort so falteringly put forward may be soon transcended and superseded by those who can go farther and see more clearly.

To the intellectuals who neglect Christ I would say it is now high time to come back to him. The criticism, higher and lower, which alienated

you was chiefly negative and this was because it was made in a pre-psychological age which knew so little what the soul of man was, could do, and had done in the world. In discrediting the historic Jesus these writers lost the psychological Christ. Their work was erudite, inevitable, very important, and convincing, but from the standpoint of race pedagogy, it was premature, and precious wine was lost because when they destroyed the old there were no new bottles at hand for the precious meanings. We have too long been victims of this ruthlessness. The Tübingen school knew too little of the ways of the folk soul, of the deeper unconscious nature of the individual psyche, or even of myth itself into which they resolved most of the gospel records, so that they were unable to reconstruct, and worst of all felt no need of rebuilding, where they had destroyed. It is this attitude that liberals have inherited from them and in which most of them still persist. For a progressive christian consciousness this means simply arrest and stagnation. All true culture is really christian at heart if we only knew it, and we belong in the fold and not without and still less are we foes to those within it. But there is now a new call to us not only to realize all this but to take up again the too long neglected task of finding still higher interpretations of what christianity really is, means, and can do for a world which needs it now as never before and may perish if it is not forthcoming.

The cosmos within is far vaster, more potent, prolific and creative than we have ever dreamed it to be. Only an involutive stage of individual development or epoch of culture can bring this adequately home to us. If we can once realize this we shall feel a new reverence and new enthusiasm for humanity and a new culture era will begin. We shall even come to see that most of our most learned christian scholars, with all their store of knowledge, have been in this field mere sophisticates, not seers nor even true sages, because they did not know the divine slowly acting but irresistible forces that motivate human nature, or on the other hand because, like most of us, savants though we deem ourselves, they still think far too meanly of the individual and collective soul. This is indeed the one great blemish, the primal sin of our civilization. Now that Teutonic ideals of the super man and the super nation or state have lapsed, when so many crowns have fallen, and authority in every sphere of life is flouted as never before, until the world to-day is leaderless, when such control as remains is slowly but surely passing downward to the proletarian masses, and the destiny of the race is falling into the hands of the incompetent or mediocre, we have to ask what the religion of Jesus is or can be to the common people, now our masters.

He was a working man, His disciples young industrials, and probably

illiterate, the early churches plebeian, and his appeal was always and everywhere first of all to the poor, the ignorant, and the disinherited, and the present alienation of labor is not from him but from the church. We must recognize that the folk have largely lost His supreme passion for service, following in this respect the example of the so-called upper classes.

So far, however, as the commonalty still cleave to christianity, it is to its most literal, materialistic and objective version. The days of creation were 24 hours each, our flesh and blood will be reanimated, a dramatic judgment day impends, all miracles are actual happenings, etc. How the gospels, even thus understood, move humble and lowly souls, we see not only in Oberammergau or in the phenomenal vogue of Papini, but in the unique hush and awe that is felt when some trait of Him appears, as it now so often does, in some drama or novel. The fact is the masses are in heart and soul nearer to Jesus than are the classes. It is they who won nearly all the Carnegie medals for saving lives at the risk of their own. It is the galleries that thrill to and applaud most every ideal act and sentiment on the stage. They know what self-sacrifice and mutual help in distress and steadfast loyalty to friends and adopted leaders means. The masses that dominate democracy are predominantly good, not bad, are probably on the whole more creative than destructive and more nearly christian at heart than we have ever realized.

It is from just this standpoint that we can best appreciate the new message which psychology has for Christendom. It can now show psychokinetic equivalence if not identities between the faith of those who want brute, material, historic facts and those who regard these as pregnant and precious symbols of more sublimated truth. Those at the top and those at the bottom of the culture scale use different languages but they say the same thing, viz., love and serve God and man. All who live by this are christians even if they have doubts about God as yet defined or regard him as identical with the best traits in humanity. Creeds divide men and their day is gone. Duties and sentiments unite men. The former are of the intellect and reason. Service is of the will, which is larger and deeper, and love is of the heart, feelings, sentiments, emotions, which are deepest, oldest, and strongest of all.

Toleration is not enough, nor is any kind of federation of protestant bodies. The illiterate Sardinian Catholic peasant who bows before a fragment of the true cross and knows nothing of Jesus, except that he died and arose, reveres the same Christ that I do, and so do all who know and seek the joy that lies in real self-sacrifice. More than this, there is underlying sympathy, not only between all that is now coming to be felt between literalists and rationalists however extreme, within christendom,

but between all great religions, and therefore the possibility of a new synthesis between them all which psychology is slowly revealing. Russia calls the workers and the proletarians of the world to unite. Our call is to all those who have religion latent or patent in their hearts and lives, to unite in salvaging a tottering civilization.

Religion, like water, takes many forms. It may be congealed, in ceremonials, rituals, dogmas, creeds. In this form it conserves unchanged for ages, as in cold storage, psychic structures once palpitating with life, or roughhues crude instinctive human nature, as the long slow periods of glaciation did the surface of the earth. It may rise into the air as fog which darkens and mystifies, as in obscurantism, and then superstition has its innings. It may rise higher in clouds, eternal symbols of sublimation and which are also the fore schools of the æsthetic imagination from which art arose, and which may condense and fall in fructifying rains or bring electric storms. It may take on the still more dynamic power of steam which now does so much of the world's work and has brought such a vast increase to the energy man controls, just as religion, even in its fanatical forms, has done in the past and could be made to do again. It may break forth in innumerable springs in most unexpected places, making oases in deserts. In the form of streams and rivers it turns machinery, transports, makes irrigation systems possible, and does scores of things which have always been symbols of the higher life. Finally there is old ocean itself, mother of the dry land and of life, with its tides, obeying another planet, its shallows, its waves, its depths, its innumerable treasures, and which once separated but now unites all shores. No wonder that the first of the old Greek sages thought all things came from water and all death, whether of animals, plants or planets, was desiccation. Now suppose mankind, accepting his thesis, had ever since argued and warred as partisans, respectively of sea, ice, cloud and storm, not knowing that all were forms of the same element with an identical chemical formula, as all religions have the same psychological formula. They would thus have been following the course which the christian world has taken, failing to see that the one simple formula, love and serve God and man, is the only criterion by which to distinguish christians from non or anti-christian peoples, individuals, acts, feelings, or minds. Everywhere and always those who love and serve are in, and those who do not are out, of the kingdom. All self-seekers are desiccates, unnourished by the waters of life. It is useless to ask them to look within, for the inner wellsprings have run dry. They are spiritually sterile for they can no longer love in the higher sense of that great word.

As the chief result of these imperfect studies, I have seemed, almost as with my physical ear, to hear a voice asking if I have loved and served

aright in the past or do so now. As I review and examine my life for the answer, the result is very far from being satisfactory. I have been selfish where I should have been generous, small minded where I ought to have been magnanimous, have followed outer ?———? where I should have followed inner sanctions, have pretended to virtues which I lacked. Yet, on the other hand, I have loved and pursued truth and hate lies, I have given, made sacrifice for good causes, fought what I deemed errors and sins, sometimes to my cost, and on the whole honestly believe that I have been more concerned for the welfare of others than for my own, as a teacher should be, and I have tried to look within as a psychologist ought to do. Thus on the whole I count myself a disciple of the great Master of souls and claim christian fellowship with all those everywhere who live to love and serve. All who do this belong to the living church of Christ, and we are brethren in him. My very heart and soul go out to this great regenerator who showed individuals, communities, races and nations the one and only way by which they could be saved.

JESUS, THE CHRIST, IN THE LIGHT OF PSYCHOLOGY

JESUS, THE CHRIST, IN THE LIGHT OF PSYCHOLOGY

CHAPTER ONE

JESUS' PHYSICAL PERSONALITY

Versus docetism he had a "meat" body—Was he ugly or beautiful?—The oldest representations, Glückselig, Dobschütz—Palladial images from heaven not made with hands—Have we anything approximating a portrait in the sense of Heaphy and Bayliss?—Ideographs—Jesus' relation to animals in art—Eastern and Western types—Symbols and accessories—The great painters of Jesus, mediaeval and contemporary—What parts and incidents in his life have appealed most strongly to art?—His portraits are mental imagery, hence artists should idealize him—*Doppelgänger* and imaginary companions—Reason why artists should make Jesus (a) large, (b) strong, (c) beautiful, (d) magnetic.

DO WE, shall we ever, do we really want, and ought we to know how Jesus looked? What manner of man was he physically? What were his stature, bodily proportions, strength, complexion, temperament, health, diathesis generally? Was he beautiful or ugly? Was his presence insignificant, like that of Paul, or impressive and magisterial? Was he choleric, sanguine, or nervous? What of his voice and gesticulation? What were the attributes of his personality generally; or, in scholastic terms, in what did Jesusissity consist? Some of these traits he must have had to the exclusion of their opposites, like all of us; else the incarnation was incomplete or indeed unreal. Or was he made up bodily, like a composite photograph, of every human trait, with a maximum of generic and a minimum of specific qualities? Was he an embodied, generalized type, as in the evolutionary series we have the *patrofelis* which combines the common and lacks the special qualities of all the *felidæ;* or was he, like Aristotle's ideal of the temperate man, midway between all extremes, striking an exact average of all human qualities, with every one of them present but none in excess? How the Christian world has longed to know!

How saints, seers, martyrs, and anchorites have striven for a vision of their Lord! How art has laboured to limn his features, and poetry and romance, as we shall see, to presentify him in his many characters and rôles, all the way from the manger to the Ascension!

The personal qualities by which Caesar and Cicero awed the Roman senate, by which great orators sway assemblages, by which Napoleon was enabled to bare his breast to hostile soldiers, almost daring them to shoot him; the courage and magnetism which made even those he had led to death salute him rapturously with their last breath; the personal beauty and grace by which Apollo ravished all beholders:—we do not know how much of all this was found in Jesus' personality. But it does not take many of these elements, even in our scientific and miracle-hating age, to provoke the folk-soul to exalt its hero or idol to the very pinnacle of greatness, however this be conceived, whether as superman or deity; to secure for him the mad acclaim with which great heroes who have staked all and won great causes for the people have been hailed, the disinterested adoration which sublime character evokes, the awe that the great prophets have struck into the hearts of kings on their thrones, the tribute of mundane immortality which genius gives its favourites, the piety and fidelity of great lovers to those they idealize, the reverence felt for all rescuers of great causes in desperate estate, the meed of praise paid military leaders who won battles that saved cities and nations, the instinctive and sudden servility of leaders to one still greater than themselves, in whom they recognize the supreme talent of leadership in those born to command. The reactions of the popular soul to each of these qualities in isolation to-day suggest that had they all been combined in one individual, he would have been exalted in a perfectly natural way to the highest conceivable position by their cumulative effects. Taken singly, these traits make great pages in history. If summated, the laws of human nature being what they are, we can only conjecture what inevitable consequences would result, even now, were the world called to react to an individual in whom were blended in one great personal constellation all the qualities that charm, subdue, and inspire. Perhaps the exaltation or hypostatization of Jesus, earth-born though he be, to very Godhood, is well within the possibilities of human nature and hero-worship; and this all the more so in the light of what we are now learning of the deeper strata of the individual and the collective

soul. Just as science explains many facts once thought to be physical miracles, such as eclipses and comets, so the advance of psychology is showing that many things once thought to be above man's normal psychic nature are really well within it. Already some of the healing miracles are reduced from the supernatural to almost commonplace effects of modern psychotherapy. Many think that the authors of our Gospels, realizing that they had to omit very much that Jesus was, said, and did, chose for presentation those features that were typical, stressed these, and thus invested what they gave with some of the traits of what they left unrecorded, to the end that greater justice be done to the whole. If so they were artists.

Perhaps it is a trace of ancient docetism that makes our conceptions of Jesus' physique so vague and sublimated that some are almost shocked at the thought that he performed all normal physiological functions, made some kind of toilet, observed some kind of regimen, was exposed to indisposition if he violated common-sense precepts of diet, exercise, sleep, etc.; that a photographer and perhaps a clinician might have left their record of him; or that if his corpse had been dissected all the organs in our bodies would have been found. His every dimension would have had some place in an anthropometric table of percentile grades.

In point of fact, in more than one hundred copies of pictures and statues which I have collected we may observe the greatest diversity, so that we know far more of the physical traits of many great personalities of antiquity. His has been left plastic to artistic imagination, and we have the greatest range from the extremes of ugliness to almost the highest type of beauty and majesty. He has been represented as very young and prematurely old, stout and slender, dark and light, with the racial features of every people in Christendom.[1]

---

[1]Eastern prelates have generally regarded Jesus as "without form or comeliness," and with no beauty that we should desire him. This was the view of Justin Martyr, Clement, Origen, and the Byzantine and Talmudic writers; while in the West he has more often been conceived "as fairer than the children of men," "chiefest among ten thousand," etc. Hence the Apollo conceptions and the classic ideal type favoured by Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and others.

Undoubtedly a forgery, of not earlier than the twelfth century, the following, purporting to be a letter of Lentulus, president of Jerusalem (although no such person or office ever existed), to the Roman Senate, may be appended:

"There lives at this time in Judea a man of singular character, whose name is Jesus Christ. The barbarians esteem him a prophet, but his followers adore him as the immediate offspring of the Immortal God. He is endowed with such unparalleled virtue as to call back the dead from their graves, and to heal every kind of diseases with a word or a touch. His person is tall and elegantly shaped; his aspect amiable and reverend; his hair flows in beautiful shades, which no united colors can match, falling into graceful curls below his ears, agreeably couching on his shoulders, and parting on the crown of his head, like the head-dress of the sect of the Nazarites. His forehead is smooth, and his cheeks without a spot, save that of a lovely red. His nose and mouth are formed with exquisite symmetry; his beard is thick, and suitable to the hair of his head, reaching a little below his chin, and parted in the middle like a fork; his eyes are bright, clear, and serene. He rebukes with majesty, counsels with mildness, and invites with the most tender and persuasive language, his whole address, whether in word or deed, being elegant, brave, and strictly characteristic of so exalted a being. No man has seen him laugh, but the whole world has frequently beheld him weep; and so persuasive are his tears, that the multitude cannot withhold theirs from joining in sympathy with him. He is very modest, temperate, and wise. In short, whatever this phenomenon may be in the end, he seems at present a man of excellent beauty and divine perfections, every way surpassing the children of men."

We can only glance at the story of the early representations of Jesus, first following Dobschütz.[1] Of old many cities had *palladia*. None which had one could be captured by siege or attack, but could be taken only by craft. So Pallas Athene's image was Zeus's gift to Dedalus in answer to the prayer of Ilos, and many widespread sagas told its story. Athens was protected by such an image of Artemis, and images of Serapis were also of heavenly origin. Meteoric stones, unlike the Kaaba, were often fancied to suggest human features or were more or less shaped by art; and some of them came to be fetishistically regarded. The popular mind of old clung closely to all *diipati* or images that descended from heaven; for if man can go up, why cannot divine forms come down? Dobschütz has actually brought together a vast body of ancient literature illustrating this theme and the many legends connected with it. His thesis is that in the time of Jesus there was widespread belief in marvellous pictures and images, which extended far back into antiquity and which were thought to have come down from the sky. The early Church at first scorned these stories, but gradually assimilated them, with later and more current ideas of pictures not made with hands, and so "*die christliche Acheiropoieten-Glaube ist die Fortsetzung der griechischen Glauben an Diipeten*" (p. 263). Possibly the prototype was the Phrygian mother-goddess, Ma. Here we have the background of the belief in miraculously originated pictures of Christ. But when Christianity took over the idea of heaven-descended representations, it was no longer assumed that the material itself came from the sky, but that its form was miraculously impressed upon it. Dobschütz gives priority to the group that centred about Kamuliana, a village in Cappadocia, from which in 574 a picture of Christ came to Constantinople. The oldest legend about it was that a pagan woman, Hypatia, would not believe in Christ unless she could see him. One day she found in a pond in the park a picture on linen, the marvellous character of which was shown by the fact that when it was taken out of the water it dried up and a true copy was left upon her clothing. The other story is that the wife of the prefect of this town was a Christian, at heart desiring baptism, but afraid to declare herself because her husband persecuted the Christians. A marvellous voice told her to prepare for baptism in her

[1] "Christus-Bilder. Untersuchungen zur christl. Legende." Leipzig, 1899. First half, 294 p., with 35 pages of Beilage; second half, 357 p., and Beilage.

own room. While she was bowing in adoration Christ appeared, washed his face, wiped it on a towel which she had prepared, and left the imprint of himself which was only discovered to the public when she died, when it began to cure those in distress. This picture was greatly honoured at Constantinople, and perhaps it was concerning this and its one and possibly two duplicates that the Christian idea of images not made with hands developed from that of images that had fallen from heaven, both of which gave strength and were *Reichspalladia*. At first the chief function of these pictures was that of protecting and healing. Byzantine legends stated that the pictures went over the seas; but of this cult, which declined in the East, we know little. Other *acheiropoietoi* were common at this time and much later, e. g., at Memphis in the sixth century; and Roman churches had them in the Middle Ages. The linen face-cloth of the Frankish kingdom forms another group, and holy pictures of the God-mother also appear.

Another very sacred and ancient picture of Jesus, mentioned by Eusebius, has this legend: Abgarus, King of Edessa, having heard of the wondrous cures wrought by Jesus, sent a messenger, asking that he come and heal, and also reside with him. In reply Jesus wrote a letter saying it was impossible, but that, as a reward of his faith, after his own death he would send a messenger to him to cure and preach, and he did send Thaddeus. A little later protective power was assigned to the letter itself, and soon after a wondrous picture was shown (first mentioned in 593 A. D.). A later legend says the messenger himself painted the portrait and took it to the king.

The Veronica (Vera-icon) legend arose in the sixth century as a combination of the story of the statue of Paneas and that of Pilate. Tiberius was ill, and having heard of Jesus' healings, sent to Jerusalem to have him come and heal him, but Pilate had already allowed Jesus to be slain. On the way back, this messenger met Veronica, who pitied him for the failure of his errand, and showed him a picture which Jesus had given her, having impressed it upon a towel by wiping his face with it. Both Veronica and her handkerchief were taken to the emperor who was cured by looking at it.[1]

The Abgarus portrait, now restored in Genoa, represents the East-

[1] The legend of the statue of Paneas states that there once used to be a metal image of Jesus, with his arm stretched out over a kneeling woman, and that by his side grew a plant of marvellous healing power. The statue was said to have been erected by Veronica in gratitude for the cure of the issue of blood which Jesus had wrought upon her, and the statue represents the act. The story of Pilate is that after he had allowed Christ's cruel death, efforts were made to stir up Tiberius against him, and the means used to this end was the cure of his disease by Jesus' power, to demonstrate his divinity.

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY,

ern ideal of help and cure, while the Veronica in St. Peter's represents the acme of Jesus' suffering, and thus stands for redemption and sacrifice. The West has always emphasized Jesus' suffering and its efficacy for absolution. In the earliest form of both these famous legends there is no supernatural note, but this is developed under the influence of the old *diipati* idea. The material is mundane—only the likeness is marvellous; but the Kamuliana is both. Hence Dobschütz concludes: "This latter image, therefore, is the point of connection between the *diipati* and the *acheiropoietoi*, and therefore furnishes the proof that we have here the transmission of an antique faith to the sphere of Christian concepts" (p. 267). Thus the Christians made something very different out of the *diipati* belief which they adopted from antiquity. The image was not heaven-sent, but neither was there human intervention, thus symbolizing that Christianity was a revelation. In this way the eternal being of the *logos* could be stressed. What is wanted is the true historic portrait, and we are left to infer that these pictures were in a sense made by Jesus himself.

Quite common in ancient times was the idea of pictures made by contact, although moisture of blood, sweat, or water is generally given a place. Grimm, who first collected the legends of these pictures, thought them related, and that the Veronica legend, which in the beginning did not stress the suffering of Jesus, was first and most important. The above makes plain how the pictures came to be regarded as marvellous, as they certainly did, by association with the background conceptions of images from heaven. Certain it is that some of these early images and portraits were held to do marvellous things. They weep, sweat, their eyes sparkle, and they often perform other far greater miracles. Hence it is not strange that some of them are adorned with gold and priceless jewels; that they are so sacred that even the Holy Father sees them only once a year; and that before some of them candles and incense are kept burning. Gnostic and Greek Christianity took very kindly to these representations *per se facta*. Some were mascots, carried by armies; others were miraculously duplicated. Greek christophanies were compared with these pictures, and occasionally in mediaeval story Jesus became animated for a time and then stepped back and became a picture again.[1]

[1]Dr. Legis Glückselig, after spending thirty years in studying ("Christus Archäologie: Studien über Jesus Christus und sein wahres Ebenbild," Prag, 1863. 168 p.) from every then available source the data, developed the very plausible theory that while Jesus did not perhaps desire an authentic likeness of him to be transmitted any more than he desired

Are any of these old pictures in any sense portraits? Dean Farrar[1] says, "it is absolutely certain that the world and Christianity have lost forever all vestiges of trustworthy tradition concerning the aspect of Jesus on earth." Something like this is the consensus of the competent now. Heaphy,[2] however, who spent much of his life exploring southern Europe, especially Italian galleries, museums, and the catacombs, strongly dissents from this view, and his friend Bayliss,[3] who after Heaphy's sudden and untimely death published his conclusions, supports him with great enthusiasm. The Catholic Church, which is the heir and custodian of most of the old representations of Christ, holds them in the utmost reverence, and believes that some among them are more or less true representations of the founder of Christianity, although now one and now another has been thought to be the real likeness of his person. The two artists above urge that the early Christians, who lived under a sense of the impending judgment day, would need some representation that they might know Christ at his second coming, and think that some of the pictures of Jesus by the tombs in the catacombs were intended to serve this purpose. They urge, too, that a false idea of Jesus would react unfavourably upon Christianity, so closely is religion related to art. "To reject all pictures of Jesus is to reject him." "Those who fail to obey the injunction, 'Remember me' will, if they go a step further, be obliged to confess, 'We never knew you.'" The story of the cross was first given to art quite as much as, if not more than, to letters, and to it was given the task of reincarnating Jesus' image and bringing

---

an autobiography or wished to write down his teachings, nevertheless various memories grew into traditions, and these slowly consolidated into a type which was, to be sure, rather generalized, but which conformed far more to the Edessa image than to any other. This *Sagra Effigie* he reproduces impressively in colour and every detail of feature—a long, genial face, blue eyes, the whites conspicuously showing below the iris; long and sandy hair and beard, etc. A type is more or less generic, and by its very indefiniteness is favourable to serve as a point of departure for variations, both secular and racial. See also W. H. Ingersoll: "Portraits of Our Saviour," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 72, p. 933, John P. Lenox: "The Supreme Face of the Christian Centuries," *Biblical World*, December, 1898, p. 380-399.

[1] Frederic Farrar: "Life of Christ and Its Representations in Art." London, 1894, 507 p.

[2] "The Likeness of Christ." London, 1885.

[3] Sir Wyke Bayliss: "Rex Regium: a painter's study of the likeness of Christ from the apostles to the present." London, 1898. 192 p. See also "Storia della Arte Cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa." Scritta dal P. Raffaele Garrucci. D. C. D. G., e corredata della collegione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scultura incisi in rome su cinquesento tavole ed illustrati. Prato. Vol. 1, 1881, 604 p.; Vol. 2, 1873, 136 p.; Vol. 3, 1876, 200 p.; Vol. 4, 1877, 124 p.; Vol. 5, 1879, 164 p.; Vol. 6, 1880, 191 p. Garrucci, in this monumental work, gives engravings of every representation of Christ that he could obtain, made East and West, for about eight hundred years. The Byzantine coins are from 395 to 1453. They often represent Christ on one side and the emperor on the other (See Sabatier: "Description générale des Monnaies byzantines." Paris, 1862.

The apothecaries' guild more than any other wrought Jesus into their trade, as illustrated by a number of mediaeval paintings. One is labelled "Well-appointed pharmacy of souls," and on a ribbon is the legend, "The blood of Jesus Christ, which cleanses from all sin." Sometimes we have a well-equipped dispensary. In one Jesus holds a balance in one hand and in another a banner inscribed, "Come and buy without money and without price." Jars are labelled, instead of with the names of drugs, with the words, "faith," "love," "hope," "long suffering," "constancy," and where there is *materia medica*, it is symbolic, e. g., Christ's flower (hellebore), Benedict root (bennett), crosswort (groundsell), etc.; or the drugs are supposed to have magic power, like mandrake, springwort, etc. Jesus is a physician dispensing remedies, and there are often alchemistic symbols. *Glaube* is the most precious ingredient, and so the receptacles for it are smallest. One copper engraving in the sixteenth century is labelled "panacea," and in another the flasks are arranged in rows, labelled, e. g., "heart water," "eye water," "power water," etc. (See E. Kremers: *Open Court*, Vol. 24, 1910, pp. 588-599.)

the events of his life home to the people, even when the Bible was withheld from the laity. Thus the world has two records of Jesus, one his words and deeds as recorded in the evangelists, and the other in art. These are the Christian birthright. His image did not fall down from heaven, like that of Diana. High art and superstition cannot coexist. To no masterpiece was a supernal author ever ascribed, and no artist would confess to creating any of the miraculous images. It has often been assumed, too, that there must have been some common type; and various efforts have been made to derive this from earlier representations.

Perhaps few anchorites, yearning for a theophany, Grail-seekers, excavators of buried civilizations, or paleontologists on the trail of a missing link have worked with more ardour than did Heaphy, impelled by his enthusiastic belief that he could actually find and show to the world the lost lineaments of Our Lord. The obstacles he had to face were a strange mixture of indifference and reluctance on the part of the officials, high and low, of the Church, which has at once conserved and allowed to decay unrestored or uncopied so many priceless treasures of early Christian days (which are now, however, better cared for). Where access was grudgingly granted, he had to work under onerous restrictions. He explored one or two hundred of the seven hundred and fifty miles of the catacombs, once spending the entire night locked alone with the remains of the multitude of dead in this vast cemetery eighty feet below the ground, copying laboriously with his pencil, since photography was not permitted, scores of the most important eucharistic and other *paterae*, from the metallic base of which the glass crumbled at a touch, also icons, coins, mosaics, enamels, frescoes, linen napkins; comparing all to find types from which to measure departure; seeking data in patristic and other literature for dates (assigning the oldest to the beginning of the second century); striving to distinguish *de novo* creations from what he deemed copies of older and lost originals; and concluding that there was a continuous line, running back perhaps to pictures by the apostles themselves, crediting the legend that Luke made at least one such portrait. Patristic expressions in the days of iconoclasm, disparaging portraits as violating the second commandment were, he thought, prompted by the haunting danger of idolatry and image-worship, and do not prove that such pictures did not exist.

Bayliss, who rigidly excluded all legends, and studied form, colour, and material alone, adopted a method of selecting four mosaics from the Basilica and tracing them back in quest of convergence to type. Of the reproductions in the catacombs he thinks the Callistine fresco, which represents a figure without vesture and void of every symbol, the best, and says, "I believe it was the work of a Roman artist, a portrait painter, who had himself seen Christ" (p. 42). Another, he thinks, bears unmistakable marks of portraiture, and thinks its author "an artist who had himself seen Our Lord or painted either from memory or from an authentic model." A second type he finds (and says there is no third) in the portrait of a Roman youth which, he thinks, was adopted conventionally for outsiders to conceal the identity of the real Jesus. As to the motive of these productions he says, "They were painted over the graves of the martyrs so that the face of the Redeemer might overshadow the place where they lay until once more they should see him as they had seen him before they fell asleep" (p. 47). Pleading for open-mindedness with regard to these early Italian pictures, he says, "Here, then, we find a people accustomed to commemorate their heroes by portraiture, banded together in the worship of a new hero, greater than any they had known before, and endeared to them by a stronger tie, that of love, one known personally to many of them, of whose likeness any of them could have obtained authentic information. We see this people, driven to the catacombs, proceed at once to cover the walls, to engrave upon their sacramental vessels, to bury with their martyrs, pictures representing the life, actions, and attributes of their hero. It is too much to ask us to believe that the likeness they painted on the walls, engraved on their chalices, and buried with their dead, was a sham" (p. 62). He holds that there is a sameness between the likenesses in the catacombs and the church mosaics, although many diverge widely from this ideal; and this he explains by their being executed by different hands, some of them unskilled and uninformed, and through great intervals of time. "What the words of Christ are, therefore, for literature, the likenesses of Christ are for art," and we have here a most precious birthright and heritage of art which, irradiating from these two types, as the eastern and western types changed, slowly acquired the rigid conventionality with which they went through the dark centuries.

The critical objections to these methods and conclusions Johnson[1] has remorselessly pointed out. He finds no motive for selecting the four mosaics or the six or seven frescoes and the four gildings out of so many, although, of course, he admits that these influenced great artists later. Other selections might just as well be made, which could show that Jesus had either long or short hair, a beard or none, a round or long head. This method, too, can hardly take us back of the fourth century, etc. Some of the oldest originals also are so faded that two copies of the same one differ greatly: one, e. g., indicating a hard-headed and the other a spiritual man. He thinks that Bayliss felt, rather than argued, his way to his conclusion. Into the details of this discussion of the slowly developing symbolism that came to divert attention from form and features to accessories—the forelock, white below the iris, tufts of beard, baldness, the drooping of the brows, the form of the nose, and the symbols of fish, lamb, eagle, cross, nimbus, and other emblems, as art grew esoteric—we cannot enter. Celsus pronounced these pictures of Our Lord in his time as ugly as the Gospels were foolish, to which Origen replied, "Yes, they are ugly, but not to the inner eye." They did not appeal to the Greeks, who loved physical beauty, and Eusebius rebukes the emperor for asking him to send a likeness, intimating that he should really have the true image in his heart.

Most of the earliest representations of Christ are ideographic; that is, he appears not in *propria persona* but by means of an emblem, just as, before metaphors faded, language itself was pictorial. The dove meant the Holy Spirit or the twelve apostles; the ark, the Church; the fish *ichthus* (ιχθυς), was an anagram for *Jesous Christos theou uios soter*. The vine was a less common symbol; but the cross, which had long had the most degrading connotations which meant hideous agony, execrations, shame, so that no more cynical blasphemy could be conceived than dying upon it—a torture, no doubt also, far worse than burning—was completely redeemed and made a sign of glory and of victory; and it is more widely known in the world to-day than the story of Jesus himself or even than his name. The shepherd, probably borrowed from the Old Testament, embodied an attribute of Jesus that was very widely and variously used. Among the pagan symbols the phoenix

[1]Franklin Johnson: "Have We a Likeness of Christ?" Decennial publications of the University of Chicago, Series 1, Vol. 3.

and Orpheus charming the beasts were perhaps most common. The Church fathers, surrounded by pagan art, which was idolatrous or corrupt, or both, naturally shrank from representations of the human Christ. The early Christians were very spiritually inclined, and the Jesus they had adored was the risen, glorified one. Moreover, to conceive him as in agony, as was done later, would have been abhorrent during the first four centuries. He was to them, moreover, vividly present within. They thought that by coming to earth he was emptied of divine glory; and to make his humiliation complete his physique must have been at least unattractive, if not ugly, in order that we should not be distracted from his unseen incorporeal nature. His majesty must be completely hidden by the veil of flesh. But if this be so, how can we account for the enthusiastic rapture of the woman of Samaria after a brief talk with him; the impression that a glimpse of him made upon the wife of Pilate; the impassioned devotion of the Magdalene, and the instant effect of his personal presence upon all? For the first four hundred years Jesus was most commonly represented as a happy, blooming, unbearded Roman youth, more boy than man; and this type persisted to the sad and epochful tenth century, when "a gloomy shadow fell on religion."[1] He had been the good shepherd or the fair physician, but now he becomes the inexorable judge. In place of the Orpheus-like Roman youth we have the *rex tremendae majestatis*. Slowly, too, the Passion now for the first time came into prominence. The Council of A. D. 691 decreed (exactly the opposite to that of the pronouncement of the Council of Elvira, *circa* A. D. 300) that henceforth Jesus must be represented as a man, and not under the symbol of a lamb. Thus the old reserve ended, and the agonistic period began. Before, although in an age of terror, joy and hope were the chief features which art (which preferred the early part of his career) stressed in Jesus' likeness. Now it became stereotyped and hieratic and so severely controlled that Byzantine art was a thing of tricks and mannerisms, benumbingly conventional and ascetic. Feature by feature, Jesus' lineaments became rigid, till the business of representing him became little more than a handicraft; for clericalism had checked all the spontaneity of genius and made art utterly servile.

Thus, with the exception of some of the restorations of the Veronica type of face, particularly that in St. Peter's, most of these early

[1] Farrar. *Op. Cit.*, p. 92 *et seq.*

depictures, at least as judged from copies, are utterly void of any interest, save for the history of art; and the verdict of Celsus concerning them seems just. Some of them, though well meant, are as grotesque as the drawings of children which they often resemble. They utterly lack the salient individual traits of the oldest pictures of Paul and Peter as found on the glass *pateræ* in the Vatican Museum. If Jesus really looked like the best of these antique simulacra, he was not beautiful or even impressive; and if he looked like the worst of them, he had a physical ugliness as great as, though different from, that of Socrates as Alcibiades described him. Asceticism contributed its tendency to conceive him as unattractive, perhaps to bring out the beauty of his soul by a contrast effect, as in the case of the great Attic master of the hebamic art.

The absence of authentic portraiture in these early days, however, cannot be made to lend support to the Drews-Smith-Robinson contention that no such person ever lived. The ancient Jews were not artists in this field, and we have no portraits of his Hebrew contemporaries. His friends expected the speedy end of the world, and so did not at first feel it necessary to commit their memory of him to art, for the same reason that they delayed to write the Gospels. Moreover, the great appreciation of Jesus as veritably divine doubtless came first from Paul, who knew and taught almost nothing of him save that he died, rose, and ascended, and it was this conception of him as death-killer and atoner that started the great tide of regressive interest in the early years of his ministry, and surged back even to his infancy. This meant that, save perhaps to his closest intimates and not completely to them, he was not deeply felt to be divine till at least after his death, and probably not till the Pauline movement began. During his life he did not seem to those he influenced to be a personage of import supreme enough to inspire portraiture, while, when a little later he came to be known first and foremost as divine, interest in his human personality faded beside that in his supernatural sonship and his function of divine Saviour. Thus, first his great achievement in saving man by offering himself, and later his words and deeds, were chiefly focussed on. Again, the people to whom Jesus was first preached were without exception more or less accustomed to effigies and images of their deities, and were not used to faith without sight. A divinity whose likeness could not be hewn or graven was hard to conceive. The great prophets, however, had stripped deity of limiting attributes,

and made him a transcendent being; and their aversion to every form and degree of idolatry became sometimes almost a phobia. To claim even that the supreme Godhead could be or actually was embodied in a flesh-and-blood person seemed to them blasphemy. So strong, deep, and persistent was this anti-incarnation trend that it appeared not only in the mad iconoclastic sects which have robbed the modern world of so many ancient treasures of art and limited depictures to the flat, but was the psychological cause of the ever-insistent tendency to a diversion of artistic attention from the essentials of Jesus' form and features to accessories in the way of symbols, cross, crown, neckpiece, conventionalities of gesture and attitude, the crook, sceptre, lamb, dove, and the rest, to which often consummate care was given, and which were not infrequently gilded and bejewelled even, it may be, in the frame and setting. Myths and legendary histories of the pictures themselves grew up. All these tend to press their way into the centre of the field of the observer's consciousness, and widen the irradiation of his interest from the focal desire to know just how Jesus himself looked. It is because this diversion or *Verschiebungs-Motif* is still so strong, more or less unconscious though it be, that even to press the query just how the sarcous Jesus would have seemed to us to-day still appears to the modern Christian a trifle irrelevant, if not irreverent; while to some few in our *questionnaire* returns it seems indelicate, if not indecent. The reason of this vestige of the taboo instinct here is that it is vitally connected with the old and never-solved problem of how God can be man and man God. Excess of either divinity or humanity jeopardizes the integrity of the other, and in ancient times the two conceptions were disparate if not antithetical. If to the disciples during his life Jesus was very man of very man, to Paul and the early Church he was no less very God of very God, in whom divinity had eclipsed humanity, so that to make him too real to sense would be to make him less real to faith. This amphibole has not yet been overcome, and the recent so-called higher criticism that tends to rehumanize Christ has only strengthened the countervalent sensitiveness of orthodoxy on this point, which still wants only a touch, but not too much, of genuine humanity in portraitures of Christ.

In earlier days not only plants but animals often came to aid artists in their work, and it required a decree of a Church Council, as we saw, to permit artists to represent Jesus as a man instead of under the ex-

clusive form of a lamb; in the wake of this new permission the lion was no longer the sole symbol of Mark, and Saint John could have his own head instead of that of an eagle. This kind of animal symbolism culminated perhaps in the fifteenth century. Saint Francis, in striving to "preach the gospel to every creature," indited sermons and canticles to birds and fish, and every form of animal life was to be regenerated. Hercules slew the lion, but Saint Jerome converted him. Perseus killed the dragon, but Saint Margaret changed his nature and led him at her girdle. The wolf, the terror of his country, was exhorted till he became converted and domesticated, and a helpful house-dog, gentle as a lamb, whose death all mourned. In golden legends beasts delighted to serve holy men, and the herbal and bestiary were an important adjunct of sacred art. The ox, ass, or both, are found in every nativity, adoration, or flight to Egypt, and in the latter the ass often seems to press on without bit or bridle, animated by the same purpose as the Holy Family. The ox was a second emblem of Luke, suggestive also of Christ's priesthood and of sacrifice. The horse, though often on the side of God's enemies, as in the crucifixion and when ridden by Paul as a persecutor, is not always pagan. The dog is the emblem of obedience and fidelity, and often is represented as watching the interests of the Church; and in a Spanish picture three white dogs illustrate the effect which the descent of the Holy Ghost exerts on lower animals. Even the cat sometimes sits beside Judas at the last supper, suggesting treachery or the fiend incarnate; for the feline form is a favourite one of the devil, who may have batlike wings, and sometimes accompanies the Holy Family in its journey. The dragon is a favourite image of sin. Professor Owen found one early picture in Italy very like the dinotherium, and says that King Arthur's pendragon may have been suggested by now-extinct monsters. The conquest of paganism by Christianity often suggests a revival of the old struggle of man against the formidable *carnivora*, now mostly extinct. Shy creatures like the quail suggest solitude, and the divinity of Christ is often symbolized as the lion of the tribe of Judah. The fish was the earliest and most universal symbol of the Christian faith, once almost as much so as the cross. Saint Anthony converted swine, and preached to fish on the noble translucent element in which they live, with plenty of food, and refuge from storm. He congratulated them that in the deluge God kept them safe, that they saved Jonah, brought the tribute

money, and were food of the Lord Jesus before the Resurrection. The bird, especially the dove, symbol of the Holy Ghost, is often allegorized as the very spirit of life, and Dante calls angels the birds of God. The pelican, fabled to tear open her breast to feed her young with blood, is a symbol of Jesus, whom Dante calls "our pelican," so that these birds have often been sacred. The goldfinch, too, appears in many sacred pictures, as do the sheep and lamb, while many other species of birds and animals, too numerous to mention, to say nothing of the sphinx and unicorn, are important instruments of ecclesiastical art; for all of them are good or bad, wise or foolish.[1]

This method of indirection has great effectiveness. It is akin to synecdoche, especially to metonymy (where a part stands for the whole, one of its attributes for a substance, the sign for the thing signified, etc.) and to tropes, which play so important a rôle in the psychology of speech development. The Greek gods (particularly Zeus) had not only animals sacred to each, and also different epithets naming different attributes, but in fact as well as in art took widely divergent forms in embodying their different traits. Yahveh hid his face, and was reluctant to reveal his true or secret name (for to do so gives those who know it power to conjure or work magic weal or woe); and so Jesus might be figured to shrink from revealing his countenance, not because it was horrid like that of the veiled prophet of Khorasan, or because it was too ravishingly beauteous for mortal eye to behold and not go mad, or because no man can see God and live; but rather because real divinity is inconceivable without more or less aloofness. Hence, as the centuries passed and accessory attributes and symbols multiplied, he withdrew behind them as their more or less unseen bearer, and thus they became invested with ever greater significance. His ipsissimal humanity also was too hard to represent, and so artists took refuge in items that association and dogma had hallowed. We shall see later what a resource this substitution or surrogate tendency has given to many modern novelists and dramatists who, venturing upon things near the heart of Christianity, either focus upon some person or event near to Jesus; or, if they represent him, do so under the guise of a rather common personage who, at a certain point in the narrative, does, says, or shows some one or more of the things so associated with Jesus that we suddenly feel the thrilling "it is He." All this

[1] "The Ark of the Painters," by Lucy M. Cooke. *Ladies' College Magazine*, Spring No., 1903.

shows again how Jesus' chief effect upon humanity was not made by posing at the focal point of conscious attention, but by making his presence felt in the larger subphenomenal regions of the soul. A recent writer[1] would have us regard Christ, himself, as God's great work of art, and have aesthetics inspired to try its hand more seriously at some of the problems once assigned to dogmatic Christology, to see what can be done in re-recommending or re-accrediting Jesus to the heart and intuitions of man.

With the Renaissance most of the old infirmities and conventions began to be left behind, and we have a long series of bold, frank, free depictions of Christ's face, some of which are transporting and beyond praise. Artists were veritably inspired by their theme and gave rein to their genius, unhampered by tradition. Some of the earliest in this great series agonized for a vision or theophany of the supreme face, and painted metaphorically, if not literally, on their knees. The language of Christian art spoke with new eloquence. Not historic portraits but ideals were striven for, and with a freedom and originality almost suggestive of the German metaphysician who "proceeded to construct God." So those painters proceeded to reconstruct the likeness of the God-man, and were unafraid either of the charge of impiety or of the danger that those who adored their creations were thereby trekking toward a new idolatry. Their license was virtually as unchallenged as that we concede to poets. In their theophanies there was, no doubt, always a man behind the face which they felt, if not saw, with the inner eye, but which they could not put on their canvas. Art, then, as well as theology, had its reformation. These pictures were creations, and not copies. Religion had found a new medium of expression. Their enthusiasm was typified in Fra Angelico, who would not lay down his palette and his imaginative renderings for an archbishopric. Thus it is not surprising that even fidelity to type was thrown to the winds, and we have Christs bearded and beardless, large and small, slender and stout, dark and light, dead and alive, in agony and in ecstasy, brachiocephalic, dolichocephalic, low- and high-browed, the ghostly post-resurrection Christ, the splendidly nourished enfleshment by Rubens, Christ with children and judging the world, etc.

---

[1]Pfennigsdorf: "Christus im modernen Geistesleben," 1910, 343 p. Especially III "Christus und die Künstler," pp. 99-160.

Despite the mummifying traditions that long persisted, early Italian art thus began to break away; and it is remarkable that it was to so great an extent the inspiration of the Virgin that inaugurated the great emancipation. Prescriptions concerning her were less rigid, and she could be so portrayed as to be admired as well as adored. The new naturalism which began with the Renaissance had its best expressions in the domain of religious art in the delineations of the Holy Mother, who was conceived in a truly aesthetic spirit, long before the child she held began to take on traits and aspects of real childhood. Thus the right to think and feel freely was vindicating itself. Classical art did not generally favour the admission of suffering, but this was essential, if not central, in the Christian scheme. The Virgin stood both for beauty and for the new patheticism. Moreover, art at its best is always a passion for all-sided expression, and is as incomplete without shadows as without light.

Although the Gospels tell little of the Virgin, she came to occupy an immense space in Christian art. There is much about her in the apocryphal Gospels. Legends, and hymns, and panegyrics were written of her, churches dedicated to her, and for centuries preceding the Reformation her pictures, thousands in number, were more common and often more adored than those of her Divine Son. In her, painters strove to set forth humanity in its loveliest form. Ruskin says she usually appeared in one of three ways: (a) As the *mater dolorosa*, in which type, after the age of the dark Byzantine matrons had passed, loveliness and patheticism were chiefly striven for. She seemed more merciful than Jesus. She wept and interceded for man's sins; and though the child is often present, her looks and thoughts are rarely for it. Her aspect reflects the cruel times from the sixth to the eighth century, and later, the days of Savonarola. (b) The second type was the exalted crowned and enthroned queen of heaven and of virtue. She became the mother of compassion, overflowing with human pity and sympathy for man's frailty and receiving petitions, and the celestial advocate of fallen man. (c) In a third type, which is the chief characteristic of the Italian Renaissance, she is the ideal mother, holding, perhaps fondling, adoring, sometimes nursing her child. Not only her apparent age, but her social station differs widely. She appears as young girl or mature matron; in homespun, in peasant surroundings, or magnificently robed, in palaces. Often in this third

character she is engaged in various housewifely occupations. Joseph, John, perhaps Elizabeth, Anna, or others are present, and not infrequently there is an atmosphere of real home-likeness and domesticity. The angels are usually adolescent youth or maidens, and there are sometimes urchin, cherubic heads with little supernatural about them, while the angels often play the violin and other instruments. In the so-called "Holy Conversations" saints are introduced.

In the annunciation scenes the angel usually carries a wand of some kind as a symbol of divine authority. A full-blown lily on a stalk often serves this purpose. Sometimes the holy Virgin is surprised reading, or at a *prie-dieu*, or apparently just awakened from sleep. Crivelli makes her indoors, while Gabriel kneels on the street outside the window. Michael Angelo's angel is menacing, and the Virgin seems repellent. Veronese makes him approach with terrifying suddenness. Dürer depicts the devil in the form of a hog looking on. Rossetti makes the angel pass her a lily. Burne-Jones makes him hover above, as if he came straight down from heaven, while she stands below in awe. The Virgin's attitude and face, while extremely different, always express modest submission and holy joy, though sometimes not without astonishment. Very rarely is there anything that could offend the most scrupulous, and the general effect is most wholesome and with enough sublimation. The rôle of the holy Virgin in Christian art might be compared to that of the Greek chorus in Attic tragedy. She certainly reflects in the most typical way the sentiments of humanity toward its Lord, but she has done far more. So great was her charm that artists strove, if all unconsciously, to invest Jesus himself with some of the compelling graces of her femininity. Both men and women need a goddess as much as they need a god, and it would be hard to say which has been most drawn to her. In the domain of art, at least, the Reformation did not succeed in destroying her hold upon the heart of Protestantism. The world has never had another so fond an incarnation of purity and maternity. In the passionate adoration of her as the embodied ideal of womanhood many, if not most, of the highest aspirations of Christendom have found their expression, and she is a standing incitation to the world to keep alive the loftiest ideals of her sex. She should be perhaps especially the *goru* of adolescent youth and maidens, so that there is a sense in which her worship expressed the highest

aesthetic achievement in the early Church in the field of sex pedagogy, which we are so crudely just beginning to enter. In the Nativity pictures, too, the Virgin is always the joyous mother. She is often represented as in prayer before or to her son, while shepherds, magi, angels, and perhaps cherubs are present and in adoration, as are sometimes animals; and there are symbols, symbols everywhere. Voluptuousness is very rare, and always, of course, a sign of decadence, for it is the diametrical opposite of all the creative impulses in this field. A few of the circumcisions are certainly too suggestive, but this theme is rarely depicted, nor is the murder of the Innocents, although Ruskin says that Holman Hunt's "Triumph of the Innocents," the souls of which attend Joseph and Mary fleeing from Herod, is "the greatest religious picture of our times." Dürer has depicted the stay in Egypt. There seem to be no attempts to realize the most idyllic possibilities of the return to Nazareth, although Millais has given us a striking picture of Joseph at work, in which the attention of both parents is distraught because the boy Jesus has wounded his palm on a nail, and a drop of red blood has fallen on the top of his foot.

As to Jesus, Cimabue, a student of the Greek, introduced a somewhat Italianized idea with the intensely poetic conception of angels weeping at the cross and tomb. Giotto in the fourteenth century clings to the Byzantine idea with a dark and perhaps rather heavy golden glory, his Christs being in profile. Orcagna gives us a very human face on an extremely elaborated nimbus background. Angelico's conception shows the greatest refinement, and represents Jesus as tall, with a narrow and extremely delicate face. The early Dutch, Flemish, and German painters were trained in Italy, and show Eastern traces but rapidly developed national types, a freer treatment and a stronger appeal to popular feeling, as witness especially the home-like ideals of Memling. Van Dyck's Christs are old and strained in face, and Rubens' visages differ greatly. Da Vinci is said to have pondered half his life over the true conception, and his drawing of the beardless Jewish face of the Last Supper was in the highest degree original. Angelo's Christs differed, were symbolic, half pagan, and he wrought in a *dies irae* element, while Raphael, idealist that he was, preferred the transfiguration. Dürer is the best case of many whose Christ is himself idealized, for he could only copy with variations

a portrait he painted of himself at the age of twenty-eight. Correggio was more independent than original, and his technique is tender, but his face of Christ certainly suggests patheticism. Luini conceives the contour of Christ's face much as Da Vinci did, but gives him large but unexpressive eyes and nose. Cranach, the friend of Luther, depicts the thorn-crowned anguish, but brings in a company of cherub angels leaning forward to kiss him. Bellini and Matsys give us full, open-eyed front views, with long hair and a really expressionless face. Diverse as were the life and training of these two men, they were evidently dominated by the same ideal, which seems to have been derived from the mosaics of the Basilica. To our thinking, the face of Christ of Van Dyck gives us on the whole a higher ideal of physical and psychic greatness and power than any other. Rembrandt seems to stress all the depression motives. The thorn-crowned pictures of Reni and of Velasquez do not seem to be up to the artists' own high standards. One of the favourites is the French-Roman picture of Delaroche, and perhaps still more the pictures of Scheffer and Hoffmann, the latter of whom has painted more than a score of perfectly consistent and elevated faces of Jesus. Holman Hunt and Dobson are as distinctly English as Merle is French or the adorable Carl Müller is German. Farrar agrees with Ruskin in calling a sculptural figure of *Le Bon Dieu*, made in the thirteenth century, on the front of the Amiens Cathedral, the noblest of all representations of Christ. On his right the prophets look forward to him, and the vices are under his feet.

Most pictures of Jesus during the last century give him a distinctly feminine look. The brow, cheek, and nose, if all below were covered, would generally be taken for those of a refined and superior woman. Nor is this chiefly due to the long hair, parted in the middle, which an almost inflexible tradition has always assigned him. Sometimes, as in Liska's "Gethsemane," his matted hair falls upon his shoulders, his face is turned upward, and his vestment also suggests feminine dishabille. The hair is usually wavy, and sometimes, as in Reni's "Ecce Homo," almost suggestive of an Addisonian wig. Again, as in the "Christ and the Fishermen," of Zimmermann, which is rather an extreme case, the front hair is already thin, suggesting baldness. Distinctly Jewish features are rare. They are usually in repose, even in an environment of great excitement, as in driving out the money-changers and suffering the kiss of Judas. This imper-

turbability suggests ideals drawn from the Stoic sage or possibly from the placidity of the Buddhistic statues. The brow is often so calm and the features are so regular as to suggest characterlessness. The beard is usually, though not always, light, exposing the upper part of the chin, and its scantiness, with the usually very copious hair of the scalp and the feminine features, sometimes almost suggests a bearded lady.

Perhaps next to the conventionalities of hair and beard in modern representations come the expressions of clear-eyed honesty, sincerity, guilelessness, and Parsifal-like naïveté, suggesting impeccability. All these faces are serious, with no trace of mirth or happiness; but never even on the cross is the face expressive of supreme Laocoon anguish. This facial placidity is often in great contrast with the tense position of the hands or fingers, which latter are usually far too delicate to suggest any contact with labour. There is in most of them a pronounced absence of marked individuality, but the surroundings often suggest sentimentality of the highest order. Some artists have sought to maintain similarity between their representations of Jesus as youthful and adult, and sometimes where God the Father is shown, as above the cross in Fürst's notable picture, a family resemblance is distinctly striven for. Of course the Christs with luscious flesh (e. g., Rubens' and Guercino's) are in striking contrast not only with the early but with some modern aesthetic representations which are repulsively lean and even squalid. Where Satan is represented near by, as in the temptation, he is usually much darker in hue and with less raiment, often with a far stronger and more Roman face, to contrast with the Greek physiognomy of Jesus.

The aureole, nimbus, or glory is often a disc in the background of a full profile, as in Hoffmann's "Gethsemane," but is more commonly a ring tipped up and back and never worn at the angle of a modern hat-rim. Often it is an aurora with light streaming outward or in all directions or especially in three points, up and to each side. In general its effect as a symbol suggests some mystic tension of brain forces which irradiate light. Very often we have points that ill comport with nature. The shepherd's crook is not large enough relatively to the lamb beside it; the men elevating the cross take postures and ply their strength in unpractical, futile ways which could not possibly bring it to position; the head after death is not bowed as it must be in the natural fresh cadaver; the tension of the arms and the anatomical

position of the body are often very wrong, even in recent pictures, while the crown of thorns might often be called a botanical impossibility.

The dozen or so pictures by American artists that are worthy of consideration are, for the most part, simple rather than heroic. They attempt little of the sorcery of interpretation, and lack the haunting power of some great works of art. Thus only that of Du Mond is distinctly Jewish. Jesus stands at the entrance of the synagogue over the accused woman, in an attitude of protection and of defiance of the mob. In Low's painting she crouches in terror at his feet, while the Pharisee is seen in the background reading the law. La Farge's window-piece of Christ as a shepherd shows nothing whatever distinctive in his countenance. J. Laube gives him a sunset background with clouds, suggestive of his stormy career; the hands are lifted but in a conspicuously unsymmetrical position. T. S. Lamb's painting is highly symbolic; Jesus is on a mountain and his extended hands throw the shadow of a cross against the sky. Kenyon Cox's Christ is too insipid in countenance to be impressive. Curran has given Jesus a hatchet-face and a positively scrawny physique. Hitchcock is impressive only for his accessories, while Melcher's "Ecce Homo" reverts to the mediaeval. The artists of this country, like most in Europe, prefer highly dramatic moments or else revel in symbolisms of colour, surroundings, pose, etc.; and yet there are hopeful signs of breaking away from traditions and of more freshness and originality which augur well for the future.

The apocryphal Gospels (which are not legends but inventions), as we shall see in the next chapter, are voluble about Jesus' boyhood. He stretched a short board long, carried water in his robe, drew textures of many colours out of one dye-vat, killed with a curse an offending comrade, made a tree grow up and give fruit on the instant to himself and his mates, had the latter make him king, etc.; but all these prodigies art has entirely passed by. Luini painted him as a boy with very soulful eyes; Del Sarto painted a still more faultlessly beautiful boy Christ; while in Reni's well-known picture of the two boys, John is splendidly virile, young as he is, and Jesus looks like a beautiful, delicate, and precocious girl. The boy Jesus confuting the rabbis has always been a favourite theme of art. He is often represented as over-assertive in confounding, or at least astounding them, and as more or less in revolt against his parents, as in Dürer's engraving. Hunt's treatment of the theme is by far the best of all.

On the side is a lame beggar. Builders are at work on the temple. A boy is driving away doves, and there is a seller of animals, while in the centre seven rabbis sit on a divan and other lads look on. The rabbis are evidently impressed and friendly. Joseph and Mary are just seen by Jesus, who rises to salute them, and allows himself to be drawn from the seance, but with a far-away look in his eyes, while there is a natural aureole formed by the light on his golden hair. Da Vinci and Raphael were less impressive here. In another different water colour Hunt represents Jesus as half kneeling in peasant dress before the rabbis, who are historical (Gamaliel, Hillel, Zadok, and others), with their phylacteries, while Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus as boys stand by.

The Gospels present almost innumerable themes to art, not only in what they expressly say but in what they imply, while perhaps their silences offer still stronger incitations to it to fill up the gaps and amplify incidents, so that but for its pageantry Christianity would have seemed both less real and less ideal. Art, indeed, never had such an inspiring galaxy of themes, and none of the great epics or ethnic Bibles have been so copiously illustrated. Rich as the Old Testament is in pictorial themes, the New has proven far more so. Not only has the whole story of Jesus from the annunciation to the judgment day been retold in the most diverse ways in pictures, but history has been vastly amplified by creative imagination, so that these scriptures of art have made a deeper and wider appeal to the masses than the written word, and for all of us have made our religion an incalculably more definite and even a different thing from what it would otherwise have been. The baptism was a favourite theme, even in the catacombs. The temptation was too solemn and subjective, and has been variously treated, although not at all until the Middle Ages. We have not a single great picture of the sermon on the mount or of the miracles save those of healing. That of Cana, the draught of fishes, the multiplication of loaves, which were early favourites, soon fell into neglect. The transfiguration was too difficult until Fra Angelico and Raphael. The parables were rarely illustrated in early art; but in modern galleries we find many representations of the prodigal son, the sower, the wise and foolish virgins, the good Samaritan, the lost sheep, and the widow's mite. Miracles of healing and raising the dead have been often pictured. The woman taken in adultery has inspired many a canvas from

the sixth century, including Rembrandt and Poussin on to the powerful modern representations of the Russian Poulyanov. The Magdalene has evoked the most varied representations, and seems in recent decades an ever more alluring theme in many circles, not only of art but of literature. In the last supper interest is focussed either on the moment of instituting the Eucharist, or on the suspicion of Judas. Leonardo's great picture still dwarfs all others. The entrance into Jerusalem, the washing of the disciples' feet, the cleansing of the temple, the anointing by the woman, the agony in Gethsemane, the kiss, betrayal, arrest, arraignment before Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate, and Herod, the buffeting, flagellation, crown of thorns, *ecce homo*, parting the garments, Pilate washing his hands, the cross-bearing, the Veronica legend amplified into the fourteen stations, the nailing to the cross, its erection to position, the vinegar, the spear thrust, the deposition, the body cared for by holy women, or the *pietàs*, the seven sorrows of Mary, the entombment, the watch, the descent into hell, the Resurrection, the first appearance to Mary, "touch me not," the supper at Emmaus, Thomas's skepticism, the Ascension, the gift of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, and finally, the last judgment, so often attempted in the Middle Ages, till Michael Angelo's awful rendering in the Sistine Chapel, which is one of the very greatest of all the creations of art, and eclipsed all others,—these all have had more or less abundant representations in the history of art. To all this we should add the visioned theophanies with hallucinated minstrelsies and officinal ministrations of saints and anchorites, and finally the fancied representations of Christ in modern guise and circumstance, or more often of one or more Christlike attributes or suggestions of supermanhood which contemporary art, romance, and drama have offered us. All this constellation of themes, suggesting less a single muse than a chorus of them, appeals to artists of every type to present him in every sphere of life, and help on to make the good and true also beautiful. Art should have inspired theology to a freer and more humanistic treatment of Christology than dogma has ever permitted. That artistic liberty was ever tolerated through the great ages of exigeant orthodoxy is vastly to its credit. History is necessarily bound to actual recitals, and cannot transcend their limitations. Hence it is left to psychology to accept and profit by the liberty of art, and not only to construe, but to supplement known data by original attempts at reconstruction, by conscientious ampli-

fication of all new lights concerning the laws and processes of both the collective and the individual soul, and thus to do what in it lies to bring home to a world sadly in need of it a re-realization of the works, words, and character of the Supreme Life. The time must surely come when we can say *bonus psychologus* (not *bonus grammaticus*, as the old phrase ran), *bonus theologus*, and when the laws of the great *biologos* or spirit of life will explain something of the nature of the sacred *Logos*.

All portraits of Jesus are thus mental imagery, as much so as if no such person ever lived; as much so, indeed, as Zarathustra, Parsifal, Orpheus, or Dionysus, the traditions and cults connected with the last two of which many scholars now think had a real individuality at their root. It follows that the liberty of artists who would portray Jesus has to-day no limit, for there are no standards save the canons of art, for which truth is beauty, which has innumerable varieties. Perhaps we might say that the work of incarnating the supreme ideal of humanity is the prime duty of the artist. He must put the divinity, whatever it means, into human form and definite lineaments. If we are in danger of becoming skeptical of Jesus' flesh and blood historicity, the artist must see to it that the ideals of his actuality do not fade. They should feel a Christo-pneustic calling. Indeed, every cultured individual should seek to definitize an ideal of man that has for him a supreme personal appeal. Adonis was thought divine because his beauty ravished mankind. Hercules won divine honours because of his strength, etc. In its excessive interest for technique modern art must not lose its old magic power to produce a veritable hedonic narcosis on the part of the beholder. With its skill in depicting women it should not lose its power to represent virile men. Its virgins should not be superior to its Christs, nor the latter be more effeminate or bisexual in appearance than masculine. The lack of truly male Christs in art is now all the more significant, with the decline of dogma, religion is construed less in terms of intellect and more in those of conduct, and perhaps we might say that piety is now becoming more aesthetic even than ethical. We certainly feel it more than we act it, and forms of worship are more or less aesthetic and apart. Certainly religion has a strong pectoral root, and that is one reason why real ideals of human perfection are those that appeal so strongly to young men, who are by nature most susceptible to and most in need of it.

But whoever heard of a normal adolescent to-day who was really

impressed by artistic representations of Christ? Greek and Roman youth had ideals of physical perfection constantly before them, and it is these that still inspire our young men, and their effigies which we find in their gymnasia and clubs, while the Christian God-man is too often negligible if not repellent by comparison. Within the last decade and a half I have often shown my collection of some fourscore representations of the *theanthropos* to academic youth, several hundred in all, and very common responses are, "Looks sick, unwashed, sissy, ugly, feeble, posing, needs a square meal and exercise," etc. True, my copies were very inadequate, and the originals with their environment and hallowed associations of churches and the glamour of art galleries, beauteous frames, hangings, etc., would have produced very different results. The *Aufgabe*, as I phrased it to these young men, was, "Remember this is not He but the artist's ideal of Him. If you met such a man and did not know who He was or claimed to be, how would He strike you?" It is obvious that ideals of divinity should be exalting; and perhaps it is more disastrous than we realize that during the youthful years of storm and stress, when the flood-gates of emotionality are thrown open, art should not bring a genuine enthusiasm of humanity. The long and wide belief in the plenary divinity of Jesus in the past, even in those souls that now regard it as a superstition, has left its indelible traces. The very idea of superstition is something that stands above us. The relics of it in the soul of even the skeptic often serve to magnetize incidents and traits that are psychic analogues with it, so that a hint of his person in a picture, or story, or on the stage electrifies all with a new zest, and absorbs attention to a degree that would be psycho-analytically impossible but for the long belief in his deity. It is this that in the past has thus laid up for us an aesthetic store of precious possibilities which we can now draw on in this artistic need to irrigate the life of sentiment, when the personality of Jesus is in some danger of paling into ineffectiveness. The better we understand such psycho-kinetic equivalents, the further we can go on the same road that the old homiletics strove to traverse, and translate old symbols into terms which modern life can supply in infinite number.

Expressions of buoyancy such as would make the fortunes of a physician and carry health to the sick, making his very presence curative, we never find in the pictures, because artists, like Christians in general, take their cue from the latter part of Jesus' career when he

foresaw death, rather than from the confident spirit that must have shone from his countenance after he was well started on his career. In more than half of my collection the eyes are rolled upward or cast down or closed as if in prayer. Were many of the great artists' portraits copied from life, we should say the original was posing, perhaps in his official robes, like an actor before a camera in some striking moment of his favourite rôle; and, of course, suggestions of affectation are not attractive. I have often showed my collection of masterpieces to women, and while there are plenty of expressions of devout enthusiasm, those of indifference or even aversion seemed more honest. This certainly raises the question whether, as a whole, artists have done their duty to commend Jesus to women, who are his most devoted worshippers, making him conform to their ideal of what a manly man should be. From the standpoint of physiognomy alone some of the older representations would, according to Lombroso's canons, fit a criminal, weakling, or even idiot, if isolated from all hallowed associations and accessories. Who has not seen faces more expressive, powerful, commanding, among his contemporaries? The reverence, therefore, given to most of these representations of Jesus is still far from resting upon their intrinsic merit as works of art. They are at least not as uplifting as they should and could be, while some are trivial. Surely it is religiously and morally as well as artistically wrong that a painter should be exempt from criticism and be assured an at least fictitious respect for his bad work, because he is sheltered by the sacredness that attaches to his theme. Let us hope that deep-souled and sagacious leaders will ever be ready to invoke another epoch of iconoclasm here. Is man to-day no more capable of approximating the ideas of the over-man that is evolving out of modern humanity than the pigmies or troglodytes were to anticipate the modern Caucasian? Until the spell of his portraiture intrinsically fascinates and thrills beholders with beauty, power, and sublimity, the divine is not yet incarnate, while so far as this is achieved, Jesus lives in the world to-day. Thus the message of psychology to the artist is to relegate to the second place all vestments, colours, symbols, etc., and focus endeavour on and invite attention to the figure, posture, contour of head, expressions of features, giving racial and national tastes the fullest latitude; not letting pain and grief predominate too much, and not being afraid to depart, if the scene requires wrath,

ecstasy, or effort in the climaxes, from the old ideas of classical repose; representing Jesus not only in all the activities of the Gospel record but introducing him into every department and activity of modern life, to make the world more keenly conscious of how he would act and look in every contemporary condition if he were to reappear at any time, place, or circumstance. I agree with an anonymous German authority that, perhaps every young artist should plan and make preliminary studies, with a view to attempting some time something original and culminative here, to the end that the still-too-narrow traditions be ever gradually widened, until all departments of life be pervaded and elevated by the highest ideals of humanity possible in them. Painters of the infancy should not make the holy *bambino* an accessory to the glorious beauty of the Virgin, and should not scorn to take suggestions from modern studies of norms and standards by which babies are judged to-day. The adolescence of Jesus must have been a magnificent processional of the highest human evolution, and is perhaps yet more amenable to artistic treatment. Sinkel, Mengelberg, Hoffmann, Holman Hunt, and long ago Guido Reni, and now Winterstein, have given us inspiring pictures of Jesus during this age. Perhaps it never entered the mind of any artist to conceive how Jesus would look had he lived on to the later decades of life, a theme which, as we shall see, has had some slight treatment in romance. Speculative as it is, still less has it been conjectured what kind of husband or father he would have been. All such un- and anti-historic dreameries are, of course, worse than idle unless we conceive that Jesus might have fulfilled all his own precepts in the field of family, social, and even political life, and that every normative relation here would only have been an extension of the incarnation. Sociologists also have given us their ideals of Jesus as a citizen, fulfilling his political duties.

Waiving all this, however, the Christian world should think more tangibly of its God-man. It should refuse any longer to check, and should positively encourage, more theanthropic imagination, to bode him forth in every noble way creative art can devise. Up to date, liberal Christianity has produced no art in this field, but merely accepts that which sprang from the heart of the old saturated orthodoxy which it rejects. But the religious *éclaircissement* will remain arid and ineffective with the masses till it has made good this defect by entering this field and bringing forth aesthetic fruits if it has vitality

enough to do so. Is not its Jesus all too human and unideal to evoke aspiration? Still, if he had experienced to the uttermost all the essentials that make up human life, and not been a Pauline harmatological impossibility (tempted in all points but without sin, which would place him outside the greatest of all distinctions in the world, viz., that between good and evil), still further new possibilities are open to art by theoretical dedivinitization. Let us at any rate cling to the assumption that all art that exalts man is Christian just so far as it does so.

Paul had an apparently very real though unsought vision of Jesus which changed his life; and in the stories of the saints we find many apparitions of Jesus, while ascetic regimen was often motivated by an intense desire for some *parousia* which was, indeed, vouchsafed to men of exceptional sanctity, whose after lives were hallowed by this experience. The Lord has often shown himself to devout souls in dreams and ecstasies, perhaps in answer to prayers to see his face. As the adolescent American Indian goes into solitude, and fasts, perhaps denies himself sleep, until he sees a vision of his Good Spirit, and then gets his name and is fully initiated into the life of the tribe; as the East Indian struggles to attain his *goru;* as many men have had a *Doppelgänger*[1] which is always an hallucinated objectivization of themselves, although perhaps more often of their worse than their better selves; as religious fanatics have often been ravished in soul by spontaneous creations of their imagination wherein they seemed to see the Virgin or the Christ in transporting loveliness; as the followers of Zinzendorf[2] in their trancoidal ecstasies objectified even his bleeding body and revelled in disgustingly realistic descriptions of fancied experiences with his festering wounds; as many have comfort in imaginary companions (women perhaps of ideal men and men of ideal women) that have become their guardian angels (see as a type a recent anonymous novel entitled "Whispering Dust"); so deep in the soul of every one, old or young, man or woman, lies the unconscious material for a more or less definite ideal of supreme attractiveness. This is a modern form of the old idea that each person has a good genius guiding and watching him. Sometimes this takes the form of a goal which the individual must attain, or else it is an ideal to

[1]Otto Rank: "Der Doppelgänger," *Imago*, 1914, p. 97-164.
[2]Oskar Pfister: "Die Frommigkeit des Grafen Ludwig von Zinzendorf." Leipzig, 1910, 122 p.

inspire, perhaps according to the laws of compensation that complements one's own imperfections; or it may be an over-man representing finished humanity or what the race may be expected to attain when it is more developed. All these quite diverse functions should now focus in inciting us to evolve, perhaps each one of us, a normative Jesus figure. Without it man lacks orientation for the direction of growth and progress. Indeed, it may be this long, strong wish that has brought God down to earth in all his incarnations, and especially where it has given him human form, while in cruder ages it was this passion that made idolatry and image worship. We cannot adore the universe, but must have a specific if not a personified object. If religion is a feeling of dependence upon the absolute, the intellect must find or make some *eidolon* of what it is the heart depends upon. Here religious pedagogy confronts one of its supreme problems, viz., under what form can all of the highest wealth and worth which the heart feels and which man calls divine be best represented as human? This question can hardly be distinguished from that of how ideal beauty, virtue, and truth look when consummately anthropomorphized. These all seekers try to find just in proportion as the evolutionary *nisus*, which has made man what he is, is strong in them and attains a conception of its goal. It is a different thing from the ravishing beauty of one sex as it appeals to the other. Man's ideal of the holy Virgin and woman's idea of Jesus, to which artists have so much appealed and so much shaped, need to be supplemented at least by man's more virile conceptions of his own sex, if not by woman's more virginal and maternal ideas of her own. This kind of ideal must be different in each individual. We have lost the old parousia-mania which made the gods of all the faiths take on their diverse shapes and attributes. We ask our youths and maidens what calling they would like to enter, but never incite them to definitize what kind of man or woman they would like to be in order to satisfy all their highest ethical and developmental ideals and realize all their highest possibilities, or even needs. In the days of classic male friendship, as conceived by Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, each youth had an adult male mentor or big brother, on and by whom his life was shaped and on whom he lavished all the hero-worshipping proclivities so strong in youth. The current mental imagery of Jesus is not such as to make him the hero of youth to-day. If the psychic *humus* in which the old religions grew so rank has become

too thin and poor for the modern folk-soul to evolve a superman that fits our age, cannot art or literature create a Christ image that shall be at least manly and have in it some vital appeal to the ideals and inspirations of the rising generation? Cannot art free itself enough from the conventionalities and traditions of the past to give us a variety of types as diverse as youth now is? He should be modernized to do things in the higher life of Mansoul that represent its few summital moments, that bode forth the phenomena of moral, mental, and emotional altitude, and that are far more common than we think at certain stages of the development of every truly ambitious youth and now go to waste unutilized and unrecognized. Surely we should study these ideals, unconscious though they be, and delineate a Jesus that truly embodies them. We should bring out in him every quality our age admires, so that he be no longer an anachronism, a ghost of the past.

As Zeus or Jove took many diverse forms, each expressing some chief trait or attribute, so let Jesus be again incarnated in every domain of life where superlative excellence is possible, even though the old incidents of the Gospel record be used as mere symbols by which to identify him in his new and more manifold incarnations. Let him become a polymorphic category of the ideal. Though corporeal, Jesus has not even yet fully come to art or literature, and in these domains he needs a rehabilitation. Even his history should be written anew for every age. His soul is not in the old Gospels, nor is his life as given in the ancient records of prime psychological moment for us to-day. Only so far as he is a living force in contemporary men and women does he really exist, or is he truly divine, whatever happened or did not happen in ancient Palestine, and whether he did or did not live in the flesh two thousand years ago in Western Asia. If the primitive Church made him, instead of his making the Church, the Church was then a mighty creative power. If he be conceived as the greatest projection that the folk-soul ever made, his figure and story are the most precious of all things, perhaps more potent as an ideal than as an antique reality. The Jesus of the Gospels died, but the idea of Jesus lives more truly now perhaps than he did then, and this is the true resurrection. The Jesus of history is crassly real. The Jesus of genetic psychology is the most precious and real thing ever made out of mind-stuff. If unconscious man-soul evolved him in the travail of ages, he becomes thus in a new sense the "son of man,"

a *Doppelgänger* of our inner, deeper, better nature. The believer's insight and conviction are small and faint representatives of the same power that created this masterpiece of the race-soul, and faith in him is a flaming up in us of the age-long and many-voiced collectivity and consensus that made it all. We stand in awe before this product of creative evolution because plenary conviction reinforces in the depths of our own soul the *rapport* with the submerged soul of the race, which slowly, without haste and without rest, by laws we are only just beginning to glimpse, wrought out its supreme masterpiece. Whether we regard Jesus as myth or history, we all need him alike. If I hold him a better and purer psychological being than any other, although made warp and woof of human wishes, and needs, and ideals, I insist that on this basis I ought to be called an orthodox Christian, because thus to me he remains the highest, best, and most helpful of all who ever lived, whether that life be in Judea or in the soul of man.

We now have a small recent literature on the imaginary companions children invent, which may become very real and insistent. A recent, but as yet unpublished, study of a friend shows that many cultured girls in the later teens and early twenties evolve rather definite ideals of young men, and Lehmann thought all youths and maidens tended to and should do so of their counterparts, complementing all their own defects of body and soul. This instinct has never been utilized pedagogically. Perhaps none of the representations of Jesus' childhood and boyhood are fitted to be the *modulus* of this propensity, but should there not be something in this field for it? Mary's childhood is rarely represented in art; but do not children, boys and especially girls, need this? Youth, too, is incomplete without its vision, and the hero-worshipping instinct of this age is very strong. Has not Christian art, here, too, a field to occupy and a duty to perform which the best Sunday-schools, where photographs and sometimes gaudy pictures are used, need? Only the Catholic Church in Spain and Italy was ever bold enough to sanction Jesus dolls; but even these were not the best, and made no unique appeal. Has art ever made or tried to make an appeal to this unique propensity at this unique age, in which statistics show that Daniel among the lions, or Samson, is a greater favourite than Jesus or any other Bible character? Could we not have Jesus as an athletic champion, illustrating perhaps the

ideal of doing the prodigies that athletes so admire? Could Jesus be knight, priest, banker, sailor, landed proprietor, society man, manufacturer, actor, professor, editor, etc.? and if so, how? and if not, why not? Almost all these go to him, and not he to them. He might perhaps better be represented as insurer, builder, inventor, labourer, artist, legislator, agriculturist, if, and just so far as, these vocations were idealized.

In view of all this, there are four pertinent, if conjectural, inferences. First, there is some psychological, historical, and much aesthetic justification for conceiving Jesus as a *large* man. Large children are more likely to be treated as if they were older, to associate with those more mature, to be leaders, to attract attention and care, and thus to be brought to early and more complete maturity. Probably they are on the average intellectually superior to small children. Large men are certainly more frequently found among natural, self-made pioneers; in savage life, chiefs; now, captains of industry. Size has a great natural advantage of prestige, favours dominating manners, inclines to the assumption of superiority and to the subordination of others, who have to look up to it, literally and symbolically. If we find the leaders of a race which is on the march toward a higher plane of human development to be larger than the average, then the latter, as well as men below the average, according to Bayer, Galton, and others, instead of being the fittest to survive, only do so by virtue of the protection offered them by the superior quality of the advance guard. If their contention that most of the present leaders of mankind are somewhat above the average height and weight be true, it is the large people that are bearing the burden of the forward march of humanity, and those below the average size are followers, somewhat sheltered and protected, in the wake of the leaders. If this be so, then the race is slowly but surely tending upward in size, as we have other reasons to believe it is; and if the reverse be true, it is tending downward. As has been often noted, there is no inherent reason why man should stop growing at all or till near the end of his life, like the great saurians. While excessive size, then, has marked disadvantages, a prolonged period of growth to dimensions distinctly above the average would seem to be the natural concomitant of prolonging the golden period of development, and would suggest that the nascent period of adolescence in Jesus was exceptionally prolonged to a higher than average maturity

of both mind and body, so that, as civilized man is slowly growing larger, he was even in this respect a superman. Commanding size, therefore, not only has great psychological advantages, but other things being equal, always gives a certain prestige, dignity, and moral weight and impressiveness, and also makes for poise, and works against the instinctive tendency to assert themselves ostensively, if not offensively, so often noted in small men. Not colossal, then, but superior development in this respect may be assumed if we wish. The mere size of the great image of Buddha or of the monumental figure of Christ that stands high on the Andes as keeper of eternal peace between Chile and Argentina is impressive.

Second, physical *strength* also has its own immediate advantage, and is an important factor in heroölogy. Samson, Hercules, and strong men generally, with mighty thews and sinews, have in many ages and races won divine honours from this quality alone. The strength of the instinct to worship muscular force is seen in every athletic contest, and muscular Christianity shows its inspiration in many a tale and incident of common life where weakness is sometimes almost contemptible. Jesus was the son of a carpenter, or, as Weinel explains, a builder working with heavy material, and according to tradition engaged in his avocation through all the period of maximal muscle development. No feats of strength are recorded, but such achievements as bearing the heavy cross until he fell, and the expulsion of the money-changers with the whip of cords, seem more natural and less miraculous with the aid of some such assumption. Moreover, strong and tense muscles tend to close the chasm often so fatal between knowing and doing, and make willed action the language of complete men. In the thrilling story of Jahn and the *Turner* movement with its watchword that only strong muscles can make men great and nations free, which generated such a fervour of patriotism that the government feared its influence, and which had much to do with the regeneration of modern Germany after its threatened extinction by Napoleon; and again, earlier in the enthusiasm of humanity which centred in the Greek festivals, the focus of which was the physical achievements of youth, where the victors were accorded almost divine honours, which Pindar devoted his ardent life to celebrate, declaring that no man could be truly great who was not in youth great with his hands and feet, and whose form has given us the standards of manly

proportion and beauty—by these records there must be awakened in every enlightened soul that is at once scientific and Christian, at least the hope and, perhaps, we might say, the faith to believe, that Jesus was not a weakling.

Third, manly *beauty* has inspirations, and works wonders in the soul of man. Adonis and Balder ravished the heart so that the world seemed dull and mankind commonplace when they died. For the Greeks the good was incomplete unless it was also beautiful, and their reverence for the fair soul in the fair body and for the *Kalokagathon* shows us how mighty a reinforcement aesthetics can supply to morals. Some of the youth in Plato's "Dialogues," especially Alcibiades, were so beauteous as to stir the pulses of mature men and make them vie with each other to be near, serve, and teach them. The whole world perhaps affords nothing more provocative of natural love, reverence, and the passion to serve than a young man in the well-tempered glory of harmonious bodily beauty. Jesus was evidently attractive to women, who, from the biological standpoint, set the fashions and by their choices determine the standard of man's physical perfection. Nothing in the record suggests that his character was ever endangered by adulation, and when he was transfigured till his face shone with the glory of an angel, it is hard to believe that those present were not moved by some of the natural impulses by which man is stirred at the contemplation of the superior perfections of the human form divine. We must admit that the anaemic, sallow likeness of Christ does small credit to his divine Father in whose image he is made, or to the traditional beauty of his mother, while the quality of the contemporary regard which he evoked has a more normal explanation if we conceive him as the fairest among men, who withstood all the temptations of blandishment and perversion, while he worked out the loftiest beauties of the soul.

A fourth element of personal impressiveness not unconnected with these is of a composite nature and might be designated as presence, bearing, or what popular speech designates as *personal magnetism.* This sometimes arises from perfection of control or tension with poise, intensely motivated impulses bridled by inhibitory power, which makes the impression of abundant resources of energy. It often involves grace of bearing, gesture, movement and expression, well-cadenced rhythm of all bodily and mental functions, and the regulated

play of moods; a balance between familiarity and *hauteur;* an inner concentration of soul, whether upon person or object; the keenest *Einfühlung* or responsiveness to others; the talent for friendship and all its sacred confidences; a gentleness that involves all that our term "gentleman" connotes; the fascinations of conversation upon noble themes in which perhaps personal relations culminate; a voice flexible, well-timbred, full of the old love charms which primitive courtship developed, but attuned to the song of ideas, often more potent than that of music, which reflects both the depths and the shallows of the heart and has wrought wonders in the history of oratory and song; an eye that can speak, languish, penetrate, hypnotize, melt, that can realize all that the poetry of love sees in it, and take in all the environment at a glance; together with the best gifts of temperament. To these factors of personal influence, the full comprehension of which is still beyond our psychology, might be added the irresistible charm of youth and joy, which should always go together. How men gravitate toward all those whose lives are a fountain of happiness, whom pain cannot overwhelm, who carry an atmosphere of euphoria that neutralizes the curse of labour and fatigue! The very presence of youth, which must be served—its buoyancy and its elasticity—is a potent provocation which puts men on their mettle to do, be, say, feel all the best that is in them; to help it on. How the world loves a real master, and how even cowards and recreants in the battles of life in his presence grow brave and ready to fight to the finish! Unpretentiousness or humility, good taste, unerring tact, ambition transfigured to achieve the greatest things possible to man—we surely cannot conceive very many of these modern elements of perfection to have been lacking, either as regulative or constitutive factors, if we would account for the wondrous impression which Jesus made.[1]

---

[1] J. Burns: "Christ Face in Art." London, 1907, 252 p. J. L. French: "Christ in Art." Mrs. A. B. Jameson: "History of Our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art." New York, Longmans, 1892, 2 Vol. J. H. Larson: "Face of Christ in Art." J. H. Larson, Haileybury, Ont., 1909. C. Torr: "Portraits of Jesus in the British Museum." Putnam. I. P. Whitcomb and S. E. Grosvenor: "Christ-Child in Legend and Art." Dodd, 1910. I. S. Dodd: "Pictorial Life of Jesus." Dodd, 1913. J. La Farge: "Gospel Story in Art." New York, Macmillan, 1913. Wt. Rothes: "Die Schönheit des menschlichen Antlitzes in der christlichen Kunst." Cöln, 1914, 165 p., mit 165 Abbildgn. Hans Preuss: "Das Bild Christi im Wandel der Zeiten." Leipzig, 1915, 215 p. (All pictures.) "Maria im Rosenhag, Madonnen-Bilder alter Deutscher und Niederlandisch-Flamischer Meister." Leipzig, 1915, 8p. 96 plates. "The Pictorial Life of Christ." 80 sculptural reliefs by Dominico Mastroianni. Text by I. S. Dodd, 1912, 202 p. Adolf Fäh: "Das Madonnen-Ideal in den älteren deutschen Schulen." Leipzig, 86 p. Wilhelm Tappenbeck: "Die Religion der Schönheit." 1898, 96 p. Gerald Stanley Lee: "The Shadow Christ." 1896, 150 p. Mrs. A. B. Jameson: "Legends of the Madonna." 1860, 483 p. Grant Allen: "Evolution in Italian Art." London, 1908, 372 p., 65 illustrations. See especially, J. J. Tissot: "La vie de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ." 1896, 2 v. Edition de grand luxe. Tissot spent a long time in Palestine in preparation for this work and his less elaborate but no less bold and original "Pictures of Old Testament Scenes." Such reconstructions for art have much psychological analogy with such idealizations as those of Paul Haupt's "Wo lag das Paradies" or B. Poertner's "Das Biblische Paradies," 1901. "Madonnas." Introduction by Jane Weir, Malden, 1916.

CHAPTER TWO

JESUS IN LITERATURE

(1) The life of Jesus as compiled from the scores of apocryphal writers of the early centuries from the annunciation to the events following the Ascension, with psychological inferences from these data—(2) Mediaeval representations of Jesus and his life in the miracle and mystery cycles, and the psychological implications—(3) Jesus in modern literature—(a) Stories of his life that follow pretty closely scriptural records, with a little freedom—(b) Stories with more freedom in filling in gaps left by the synoptists and introducing new events and personages, bringing in adventitious story interest which is kept more or less subordinate to the Gospel message—(c) Novels and dramas of struggle, doubt, and faith, depicting the soul of modern man in its various attitudes to Christianity—(d) Literature which represents Jesus as masked at first under the form of the common man who stands forth revealed in the *dénouement* for what he really is—(e) The various lives of Christ which assume that he was the tool of some mystic secret conclave or academy—(f) The superman, usually portrayed as the Antichrist, and his literary cult. Stories and plays that represent Jesus as a moron, epileptic, or otherwise defective, and contemporary presentations of Christ or characters like him, who are altruistic and devoted to service. The revival of Christianity among the intellectuals in the predominance under the influence of the war of the altruistic or Christ type over the selfish superman type of character—(4) Outline of the point of view and conclusions of twelve recent typical scientific lives of Christ by Paulus, Strauss, Renan, Keim; C. H. Weiss, B. Bauer, Sanday, Wrede, Wernle, Schweitzer, Petrie, Loisy.

Apocrypha. From his day to ours Jesus has appealed to the literary imagination as no one else has ever begun to do. If the legends spun about the facts have not been as extravagant, the line between fact and fiction is on the whole harder to draw for that very reason than in the case of Buddha. Vastly more labour has been directed toward determining it, and learned opinion ranges all the way from volatilizing Jesus and everything about him into myth and symbol till no vestige of history remains, to the Catholic scholarship,

which accepts many of even the extra-canonical narratives as veracious. No one competent to form any opinion to-day considers all of our New Testament as literally and exactly true, and all these paralipomena as certainly false. Fiction about Jesus began with the earliest apocryphal Gospels, and was continued through every century of the Christian era down to the epics, novels, dramas of our own day, dealing with various aspects and episodes of his life and work. Many of the early writings are certainly lost and some are known by name only in the early patristic writings. Some have made a strong claim for canonicity, and doubtless greatly influenced early thought and sentiment (especially the apocalypses), perhaps most especially concerning hell, the devil, and heaven, and to some extent concerning Jesus himself. The word apocrypha originally meant not as now, non-canonical, but merely esoteric or secret. Some were mere compilations, varying but little from the Gospels and other New Testament writings, while others chiefly aim to fill gaps and gratify curiosity. Donehoo,[1] whom I follow here, lists no less than ninety-five Gospels, protevangelia, histories, acts, epistles, and other early documents as main sources, and adds forty-seven lost or fragmentary Gospels, and ninety-five early church writers, authentic, anonymous, pseudonymous, etc., that treat of the subject. Donehoo follows, though independently, Hoffmann's early method[2] of mosaicking all these narratives into a continuous story. Reich's monumental work was followed by Nestle[3] and Uhlhorn[4] who concludes that of his 154 agraphia only ten have real value. Kostelmann treats eighty-eight agraphia. We may agree with B. Peck who says: "There is no doubt that throughout the first century and even in the early part of the second there was a living tradition of the life of Jesus which, apart from the Gospels, continued to hand down and to circulate the utterances of Jesus, some of which are not contained in the canonical Gospels." These sayings of Jesus are very numerous. While in general they seem to be in harmony with what we know of Jesus, their new matter is

---

[1] "Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ." N. Y., 1903, 531 p.

[2] "Das Leben Jesu nach dem Apokryphen." Leipzig, 1851. Other important authorities on this subject are B. H. Cowper, "The Apocryphal Gospels." London, 1870, translating Tischendorf's texts; C. Reich, "Agraphia ausserevangelische Fragmente," 4 Vols., Leipzig, 1889; R. A. Lipsius, "Die Apokryphal Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegende," 3 Vols., 1883. "The Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels." T. J. Thorburn, N. Y., 1916. 356 p.

[3] E. Nestle: "De Sancta Cruce; ein Beitrag zur christl. Legendengeschichte." Berlin, Reuther, 1889.

[4] Gerhard Uhlhorn: "The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism." Ed. and tr. from 3d German ed. by E. C. Smyth and C. J. H. Ropes. N. Y., 1912, 508 p.

of little value, and modern studies in this field increase our confidence in the common sense with which our canon was selected. The apocalypse group of them, especially, has shed a flood of light not only on books like Daniel and Revelations, but upon the entire eschatology of Jesus, so that these books in our Scriptures, instead of being the most unintelligible, have become the best understood, perhaps, of all, and have, as we shall see in a later chapter, opened an entirely new point of view respecting Jesus. Most of the Gospels are more or less gnostic, and this system was very prolific in pseudepigraphia like the Jewish Haggadoth or fictive or didactic amplifications of the sacred text. Synthetizing these apocryphal narratives we have a story somewhat as follows: Near Nazareth dwelt a rich shepherd-priest, Joachim, who gave away two thirds of his increase in charity, living on the other third. God prospered him. When he was twenty his parents took as a wife for him, Anna of the tribe of Levi; but for twenty years they had no offspring, despite their piety and their prayers. So they went to Jerusalem, where both were taunted for their childlessness. Joachim returned from the temple so humiliated that with his shepherds he withdrew into the mountains and fasted forty days. Anna retired to her home in great distress, where one night she had a vision of a white dove which sat on her hand and bosom and kissed her mouth. Joachim also had a vision of a white dove by a spring, which flew about and sat on his head. For five months Anna heard nothing of her husband, and mourned, fearing he was dead, and praying that like all beasts, fowls, plants, and fish, she might have offspring. Here an angel appeared saying she should bear a daughter called Mary who should be most blessed of all women, and commanding her to go to Jerusalem where she would meet her husband. Joachim also was visited by an angel, who told him to return to his wife, reminding him how Isaac, Joseph, Samson, and Samuel were born of barren women by a miracle, and stating that Anna would in a few months bear a daughter by him who should bring forth the son of the Most High. While lying in a deep trance and in doubt, another angel repeated the message, making a rendezvous for each with the other in the temple. Carrying his offering up to the altar, he saw from the priest's plate that there was no sin in him. Joachim and Anna knew not each other, and there was great joy among all their relatives.

At the nativity of Mary, still celebrated by the Church, David appeared with his harp. Neighbours brought gifts. Zacharias, Joachim's brother, had a vision by an angel, and sent a greeting telling Anna to nurse the child three years, and then to commit her to the temple. Washing her child, she saw its face so full of divine grace that she chanted a *magnificat.* When the child was six months old she walked seven steps, till her mother caught her to her breast saying she should walk no more till she was brought to the temple. On her first birthday was the weaning festival, but the mother would not consent, nor would she again when the child was two; but on her third birthday occurred the presentation, which the Church still celebrates, at which the child without looking back ran swiftly up the steps to the altar, where her face shone, full of grace, whereon Anna prophesied. One tradition says these steps were half an ell high, and that she danced on them and did not regret the parting from her parents. By a lot of reeds she was committed to Zacharias. She was marvellously mature and devout. She never painted her eyes or cheeks, plaited her hair or used perfume or ointment. She never looked out of doors, "lest she should see a strange man." Her raiment was never dyed, but remained marvellously the same that she wore on entering the temple to her death. She was fed by angels with heavenly food, and they often bore her fruit from the tree of life. The temple food given her she gave to the poor. She became a very skilful weaver of wool, also learned in the law of God. She spoke little, never laughed or was angry, was beautiful in form and feature. Her two ambitions were oblation and virginity.

Thus she grew to her fourteenth year, when by custom she should return home and think of marriage. But Mary refused, saying she was devoted to the Lord. In their perplexity the priests sent the heralds with a trumpet-call for a council, and among those who came was Joseph, an old man, many years a widower. All decided finally to consult the Lord by lot whether she should remain unmarried. All marriageable men should bring their rods to the altar, and that rod which produced a flower on the end of which God's Spirit settled as a dove was to marry the Virgin. Joseph's rod was made on the sixth day of creation, and graven with the inscrutable name. It was passed on from Adam to Jacob, Moses, etc., and was very short, but it was his rod last of all that blossomed. He protested being set

over this maiden, younger than his grandsons, but the Lord had spoken and there was no escape. Mary was given five virgins to attend her, and was commissioned to make a costly veil for the temple. Meanwhile Zacharias himself had grown dumb and his wife had "conceived of his chaste kisses." Having conducted Mary and her virgins to his home Joseph departed, and Gabriel visited Mary in the annunciation, the mystery of which greatly perplexed her, but the anniversary of which is the same as that of the creation of Adam, the crossing of the Red Sea, the crucifixion, etc.

Now came the visit to Elizabeth. Joseph on his return was greatly alarmed and perplexed; he bitterly accused Mary of infidelity, and was not convinced by her protests. This situation is much amplified in the apocryphal writings, as if to compensate for the rather summary narrative of the Gospels. Here the five virgins were invoked, and testified for Mary. Joseph declared that the angel might have been a lover masquerading, as Celsus later taught that the father of Mary's child was Panthera. The Talmud has similar tales. Joseph feared the accusation of the priests for not watching the virgin committed to his care, and thought of fleeing, also of sending her away secretly. Only the vision of Gabriel convinced him, and Jesus himself spoke from his mother's body and reproached him, until he was at last convinced and vowed to repel calumnies. The report of Mary's condition caused consternation, and Joseph was accused of stealth and treachery by the high priests, who thought he had betrayed his charge. To determine the truth of Joseph's protestation he was given the water of the ordeal, after which he walked seven times around the altar and no harm came. When Mary did the same, the tragic trial of her virginity was ended, although there were still many who doubted.

Nine of the apocryphal writings describe the Nativity, which is generally represented as in a dark cave supernaturally illuminated. The babe was born while Joseph was seeking a midwife. At the moment, the world and everything in it stood still. Not a thing in nature moved, but the temple of Apollo at Rome fell down and the earth was cleft in many places, so those in Hades could see. A wheel-like star bearing a cross appeared, and all the stars sang a chorus. In the birth of the babe there was no pain or blood, and the mother was proven still a virgin. One midwife had a withered hand, and by touching the child's clothes was made well. This was the first miracle.

The Emperor Augustus was most beautiful and fortunate, but a sibyl explained to him that the newborn child was yet more so. There are many details about the shepherds, the kneeling of animals to Jesus, the circumcision, Simeon and Anna. The visit of the Magi is greatly magnified. They came from Zoroaster, and had read of the coming one in their book of Seth. In the great Persian temple of Juno the king was told that this goddess had come to life and was renamed Mary. All the statues here greeted Juno-Mary as the fountain. Even the images of the animals began to chant. A star appeared before which the statues fell down crying out their adoration. Bacchus and his satyrs joined, and all confessed they had been deceivers and their oracles liars, and prophesied a new Lord and earth. Having made their presents, the Magi received from Mary a swaddling cloth which the hottest fire could not burn.

Herod, deceived by the Magi, issued his edict of slaughter. John and Elizabeth were saved by being taken into a great cleft in a mountain. Zacharias, refusing to betray John's hiding-place, was slain at the altar. The trip to Egypt is greatly amplified. Here Jesus threw a handful of wheat on the road, and immediately it grew and became ripe. Dragons came out of a cave, but Jesus approached them, and they retired. All animals of the desert saluted and obeyed him. A tall palm bent at his command to give its fruit. Springs burst forth. In one day he accomplished miraculously thirty days' journey. A great medicine-tree bowed to salute him. A great idol in a temple, to which three hundred and fifty-five other idols sacrificed, fell down with all his satellites and was broken when Jesus entered. From a demoniac boy many devils were driven by putting upon his head a cloth Jesus had worn. By touching growing wheat Jesus greatly increased the harvest. Robbers were terrified and left their plunder; but in the desert the Holy Family was captured by the two who later hung on the cross with Jesus. He cured a dumb bride, also a possessed woman. Others, even lepers, were healed by contact with the water in which the babe had been washed. A newly married pair who had been bewitched were cured. Three sisters were found kissing, feeding, and bewailing a richly caparisoned mule which was their brother, and which Jesus restored to his natural shape. He delivered women in travail, discerned unspoken and disguised thoughts, in play put a dried fish in a basin and made it come to life and swim. He made

salt and brackish water pure, and fountains gushed forth wherever Mary thrust her finger into the earth. The water in which his garments had been washed had marvellous power to stimulate crops. Once Jesus stuck three seeds into the earth, and they immediately grew to trees and blossomed. An angel brought him food from heaven daily.

Jesus had a garment woven from top to bottom when he was a child, which grew with his own growth. Joseph having made two boards which should have been alike, unequal, Jesus stretched the shorter one to the requisite size, as he also did a very elaborate throne his father had made too narrow. Wanting playmates one day, he changed a group of kids into boys. In a dyer's shop he threw many pieces of cloth into a tub of indigo, and drew them out in any colour the owner wished. A sycamore opened and received him and his mother till robbers had passed; his sweat made magic balsam; when a pitcher broke, he carried water in his cloak; he bore fire in his lap scatheless; he moulded images of many species of animals, and then made them alive; he entered a cave of lions who fawned on and obeyed him as if they knew him before man did. He made a venomous serpent suck out the poison from a corpse which he then revived; cured a mortal blow of an axe which had nearly severed the foot of a young man; raised a boy from the dead; sprang into a well and rescued another. When a playmate fell from a high roof and died, and Jesus was accused of pushing him off, he leaped down, restored him to life, and made him tell who had pushed him; he rescued a neighbour's infant from death. Many who were blind and with eye diseases were cured by a lotion of water in which he had been bathed. A jealous woman threw her rival's son, Cleopas, into a well, but he only sat on the water, playing. She then shut him into a hot oven, which grew cold by Jesus' power. A dying boy was cured by being placed in Jesus' bed; a leprous bride was cured; and so, too, was a girl whom Satan had oppressed as a dragon, this by means of Jesus' swaddling cloth; the boy Judas struck Jesus, who expelled Satan from him in the form of a mad dog (Judas' mother, Cyborea, had had an Oedipus dream in which her son killed his father, married his mother, and sold his God). On one occasion Jesus sent a kerchief which revived a dead man.

Many of Jesus' miracles as a boy were destructive. His curse, e. g., killed a boy who destroyed his mud dams and pools; but when the

boy's parents and many others protested, Jesus "kicked the hinder parts of the dead boy and said 'Rise, thou son of iniquity' and the dead rose up and went away." Jesus also made many mud sparrows, and when the Jews protested against such a play on Sunday Jesus said to the sparrows, "Fly," and they did so, "twittering the praise of God." Another boy who had destroyed his mud-puddles he cursed, and the boy withered up and died, but upon intercession Jesus restored him, all "save a certain little member which remained useless, to admonish him." Another rude boy who jostled and knocked him about fell down and died. Those who complained of Jesus' conduct to his parents were often struck blind. There are several more or less elaborate accounts of his breaking tiles and pottery and then restoring them miraculously, accelerating the workmen until they could do twelve days' work in one, or perhaps causing very beautiful ware to appear.

Six of the apocryphal Gospels record Jesus' experience with teachers. One called to exhort his parents to send him to his school, setting forth the advantages of learning, although Joseph doubted if his son could be taught anything. Thereupon Jesus told his father that he was not his son, but the son of God. At last, however, he was prevailed on to attend school to Master Levi, who repeated all the letters. When Jesus would not speak in answer, he struck him with the rod, whereupon Jesus reproached his teacher with ignorance, naming all the letters and explaining their hidden powers and the meaning of all the angles, "graduate, subacute, mediate, oblate," etc., till Levi was thunderstruck at the deep analogies and erudition, and said, "No man but only God can understand him," and was ashamed and besought his parents to take him away and that quickly; for he said, "I have found my master. He is either a wizard or a God." Again his parents desired to send him to school, and nearly the same incidents followed, save now he is taught Greek instead of Hebrew, and when the master flogged him for impertinence in trying to teach his teacher, his hand withered and he fell dead. The third time he was sent to school, he took the teacher's book and discoursed so marvellously on law that his master "fell to the ground and adored him," but implored his parents to take him away. Now come many amplifications of Jesus' visit to the temple at the age of twelve. Here a philosopher asked him if he knew astronomy, whereon he repeated the number, spheres, oppositions, of all the heavenly bodies, "their aspect, triangular, square,

sextant; their course, direct, retrograde, twenty-fourth and sixtieth of twenty-fourth, and other things beyond the reach of reason." Asked if he had studied medicine, he explained "physics, metaphysics, hyperphysics and the humours of the body, numbers of bones, veins, arteries, etc.," whereupon the questioner vowed to be his disciple and slave.

From this day he began to hide his mysteries and miracles and give attention to the law, till he had reached his thirtieth year, so that we have eighteen years of almost absolute silence on the part of even legend. We are told that "he did every work of mankind, sin only excepted." His family would never eat and drink until he had done so first and blessed the food. His whole being shone when he slept.

Joseph died of old age at 111 years, and this the apocrypha elaborate without stint. Joseph soliloquizes and makes long prayers. He died very slowly from the feet, where Mary sat, up to the head, where Jesus stood, who saw Death coming followed by Gehenna, as Joseph's soul had reached his throat in its preparations to leave the body. Jesus rebuked Death and his hosts, who fled; they had no power over Joseph, who wished cherubim and Michael sent for him as his numbness and panting increased, for his death was like labour pains. Finally Abaddon went in, took and brought forth Joseph's soul, which Michael and Gabriel wrapped in a shining silk napkin, and thus, singing and secure from plunderers, they took it up to heaven. Then follows mourning over the body when the relatives found he was dead. Jesus himself prepared it for burial, and angels wrapped the body of "the blessed old man" in their garments, and Jesus decreed that no evil smell of death or worm appear, and that even the shroud and every hair remain as they were for a thousand years. The shroud was miraculously fitted to his body, "with no entrance or ends to the linen." Finally, alone, Jesus stretched himself upon his father's body and wept, soliloquized and prayed, and then the body was placed in the tomb of Jacob.

At length, when Jesus had begun to show himself and teach, one of the twenty-two priests of the temple died, and after they had failed to agree upon any one else, Jesus was unanimously chosen as fittest although not of the tribe of Levi. It was necessary for Mary to appear and testify as to his paternity, and this in a dramatic scene she did, declaring that he was conceived of the Holy Ghost. An official

examination convinced them that she was still a virgin, and so her story was accepted and Jesus duly installed. He came to John's baptism unwillingly, at the intercession of his mother. When he came up from the baptism, the sun bent its rays, and all the stars and waters adored him.

In a controversy with the devil the latter threatens as king of earth, and Jesus denounces him till the devil is angry and sends myriads of demons which made Peter tremble; but Jesus changed himself to a more glorious form and suspended Satan in the sky till he begged for mercy, and his cohorts fled in terror, only to come back when Jesus resumed human form. Then Jesus opened the earth and threatened to seal Satan in its bowels after he had fallen for fifty years. In each encounter both change form. Jesus is always victorious, but the devil always returns to the encounter.

The conspiracy of Herod and the Jews against Jesus is much elaborated. He is taunted with illegitimacy, and there are much plotting and many accusations. Judas now begins to play an important rôle. What each member of the council said pro and con concerning the contemplated arrest is reported as if verbatim. At the Last Supper Jesus chants a hymn as the disciples turn about him in a ring with joined hands and responses of "Amen" at the end of each line. The inquisition before Pilate is richly dight with incidents. The Roman standard bowed before Jesus, so that twelve stalwart soldiers could not hold it up. The first part of the Gospel of Nicodemus exploits at great length the hearing before Pilate. There were many witnesses pro and con, a number being those whom Jesus had healed. At last, after many vicissitudes, Pilate drew up a sentence in the form of an elaborate legal document signed by nineteen witnesses. The cross was in four pieces, each of a different kind of wood, each of which had its history. The beam was given by an angel to Seth and grew in Eden. It had been removed to heaven, and also restored on earth from a branch. On it the brazen serpent had been reared. It had also been in Solomon's temple. The Queen of Sheba told Solomon some one would die on it whose death would destroy Judaism, and hence Solomon buried it in the bowels of the earth, where it lay till it was dug up later in excavating for the pool of Bethesda. The virtue of its wood healed. Some say it grew from a branch of the tree of life. As for Judas, after the betrayal his eyes were bleared; his body, full of worms and vermin,

swelled so that he could not pass through a chariot gate till at last he burst asunder and died in a place which no man could approach for the smell of him. Again, as Jesus passed by bearing the cross, the cobbler Ahasuerus struck him and commanded him to go faster, and as a punishment was told by Jesus to remain on earth till his return. The world has since known him as the Wandering Jew, and as often as he becomes a hundred years old he is set back to thirty.

Golgotha or Calvary was so called because Adam's skull had been found there. As Jesus hung on the cross, the robber on his left taunted him and wished he had slain him; but the thief on the right confessed his sin, and Jesus had a passport to heaven written out in due legal form, signed and sealed, for him. Jesus also executed a personal will (fifteenth century) bequeathing, in the quaint terminology of Roman law, his soul to God, his mother to John's care, his patience to all who suffer, etc. This will was attested by the four Evangelists, as notaries, and signed "Jesus of Paradise Street."

As to Jesus' burial, there was also much confabulation and great detail in the accounts, especially concerning the taking down of the body. Joseph, with hammer and pincers, with great effort succeeded in drawing out the nail of the right hand, carefully concealing it from Mary, yet preserving it, while Nicodemus did the same for the left hand, etc. Long sat the tearful mother with the head of her dead son in her lap, dolorously bewailing his death, kissing his face, washing away the blood and saliva with her tears, invoking alternately the Lord in heaven and her son, while the Magdalene embraced the feet at which she erstwhile had found pardon. With great difficulty could they be persuaded to permit the burial, but at last both helped to wind the shroud. Joseph preserved with great care every drop of blood which exuded from the body, the print of which was left on the linen where he lay. The sepulchre was in a rock out of which water had gushed at the touch of Moses' rod, and the tomb was in the exact centre of the world. A great stone was fastened with iron clamps and great seals, and guarded by five hundred soldiers.

Now Hades personified and the devil held a long converse respecting Jesus' impending advent into their realm. Into it he advanced five hundred paces at a time, calling upon the gates to lift and admit the King of Glory, bringing golden light to those who had never seen it since they had entered, including Abraham, Isaiah, Simeon, and the

Baptist, who was still preaching there. In long discourse Satan, Prince of Tartarus, seeks to hearten Hades, who, however, finally expels him. David and Jeremiah appear, and at last the bolts of the brazen gates are destroyed, and they open and the King of Glory really does enter in triumph. Thereupon Death trembled on his throne, and legions of demons fled precipitately. Satan himself was seized, given a hundred wounds, and bound on his back with great chains. Taking Adam by the hand, adored by him and Eve, Jesus led out the elect, the cross was set up, psalms were sung, David leading, and the saints were gathered and brought safely over to Paradise, but some were attracted back to Palestine and were seen of many during the three days before Jesus arose. Nearly all the persons named speak briefly, or at length, and in character.

During the forty days between the Resurrection and the Ascension Mary, by a special request, while the disciples and their friends listened, gave a highly coloured and rather new version of the annunciation, till flame began to come out of her mouth, which would have consumed the world had not Jesus intervened. In an impressive scene the monster Bealiar, sixteen hundred cubits long and fastened by sixty-three fiery chains, is invoked by Bartholomew, trembling but supported by Jesus, to tell something of the mystery and the history of the nether-world, its great demons by name, with their achievements. He proceeds with his apocalypse of hell till his questioner can bear no more, and all the apostles, who had longed with great curiosity to get some glimpse of the abyss of hell from which Jesus had just come, were satisfied. To Bartholomew, the chief interlocutor of Jesus after the Resurrection, Satan told how Adam was made, whom Michael then commanded him to worship as God's image, but he would not, since he himself was made of fire, but Adam only of a clod and water from the four rivers. For this, with his six hundred, he was expelled from heaven. He then plotted the seduction of Eve with a vial of his sweat, which would induce in her "a certain longing." Being asked to show to his followers the righteous who had left this earth, Jesus caused two men to appear, so dazzling in pink and white, and so beautiful, that none could behold them; and then Jesus showed them a wondrous country full of light, flowers, fruit, and hovering and singing angels. These were the blessed, and this was their eternal home. Over against this Peter saw the place of torment where blasphemers were hung by their

tongues with fire under them; perverters of righteousness were in a fiery lake, tormented by demons; adulteresses hung by their hair over boiling mire; murderesses were in chasms full of serpents, evil beasts and worms; abortionists sat in a "straight place" up to their necks in gore and filth, beholding the children born out of time, from whom sparks smote the women in the eyes; certain perverts were burning up to their middle, beaten and their entrails eaten by worms; slanderers gnawed their own lips, and had red-hot irons thrust into their eyes; false witnesses gnawed their own tongues, and fire flamed from their mouths; the wicked rich rolled on sharp, hot pebbles, in tattered and filthy garments; usurers were knee-deep in bubbling pitch and blood; homosexuals were driven over a cliff and then forced to climb up and fall again forever; mockers of high ideals were in the fire and beat each other. These descriptions are bald and bold but with no Dantesque details. Jesus also uttered several prayers in a tongue which no man can identify.

After forty days, one Sabbath at early dawn, after parting injunctions to his disciples, as he raised his hands in blessing, Jesus was taken up from the Mount of Olives. A cloud upbore him, and he was seen to sit down at God's right hand. Then all returned to Jerusalem rejoicing. Telling of this wondrous experience, they were called liars by the scribes and Pharisees, who made them swear to it, and then sent them back to Galilee lest they should proclaim it in Jerusalem. The Sanhedrin behind locked doors decided to announce that Jesus' body had been stolen, although Nicodemus protested, citing Elijah and Elisha as prototypes. Finally they sent soldiers to Galilee who sought in every spot to find Jesus' body, but in vain. Joseph, however, was found and brought back, and asked how he had escaped from the closed room in which he was confined, sealed, and guarded. Three witnesses from Galilee arrived and confirmed the Resurrection. Much testimony was taken at several hearings, and many appeared who had arisen with the Lord. Two men, Leucius and Charimus, came back from their tombs, and were placed in separate cells and made to write out the story of the Lord's descent to hell. This they did, and then retired to their graves. Their two papers were alike to the very form of every letter.

Pilate in his inquiries entered the temple, and in secret conclave asked the Jews to consult their books. He was told that the advent

of Jesus as sent of God had been expected and foretold for fifty-five hundred years. But Pilate was told to keep it secret. He entered it, however, in the records of the praetorium and wrote to the Roman emperor, Tiberius, recounting at great length most of the miracles of Jesus; swearing by Hercules that he had done, as the prophets and the Roman sibyls had foretold, greater things than could be done by any of the gods the Romans worshipped; declaring that he yielded with reluctance to the envy and malice of the Jews. He described the crucifixion, when darkness fell and lamps were lit for three hours; the earth yawned with earthquakes; the stars and Orion lamented; Moses, Jove, Noah, and many others appeared; a light shone seven-fold that of day, with winter lightnings, and then Jesus arose. The Roman guards saw Jesus arise, but were given money by the Jews to conceal the fact, and say the body had been stolen. The earth had swallowed most of Jesus' enemies. Pilate said that against his will he allowed Christ to be crucified, because he called himself king. King Abgarus of Edessa also wrote Tiberius of the Resurrection, and begged to avenge Jesus' death by destroying Jerusalem. Tiberius had nine kinds of leprosy, and hearing of Jesus' cures, sent his friend, Volusianus, to bring this great physician to him. He sailed a year and seven days, and was shocked to find Jesus dead, and to be told by Pilate that he was a malefactor. He told Pilate he might have received Jesus, if not as a god, at least as a physician. Others testified of Jesus to Volusianus, who also met Veronica, and heard of and saw her marvellous portrait. He wrapped the portrait in silk and gold, and took Veronica and it back to Rome. Tiberius proposed to the senate to admit Jesus as one of their gods, and condemned it because it refused to deify him by its suffrages. The precious canvas or shawl was then unrolled, and Tiberius adored it on his knees, and instantly his flesh was cleansed like that of a child; whereupon Tiberius asked for baptism and was instructed in the articles of faith.

Titus, suffering from a cancer in his face that had eaten away the right nostril, had sought cure of every herb. Nathan told him of Jesus. Titus then wrote reproaching Tiberius for appointing rulers in Judea under whom such outrages could be committed against Jesus, and declaring that he would have slain the very carcasses of the Jews; whereupon, not only Titus's face, but all the ill who were present, were cured. He then sent to Vespasian to send five thousand men to

destroy the enemies of Jesus. Pilate meanwhile wrote to Herod, confirming the Resurrection, recounting the conversion of his wife, Procla, telling of his own anguish and remorse, and of the wonders which occurred when he approached the risen Jesus, how he saw his scarred body and fell on his face. Herod replied, telling how his daughter's head had been cut off by the ice, deploring his father's slaughter of the Innocents and his beheading of John, describing how his son was afflicted, and his wife half blind, declaring that worms were already issuing from his own mouth, and imploring Pilate to bury the members of his family decently as they died. The earth would not receive Herod's body, but spewed it out, and fowls took his flesh. The head of Longinus, who pierced Jesus, was brought to a cave where a lion consumed his body all day and it was restored at night; and this was to go on till the second coming of the Lord. Rahab took Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, and all the chiefs of the Jews bound to Rome. On the way Caiaphas died, and the earth would not receive the whole of him, so the burial was completed with stones. Pilate put on the seamless tunic of Jesus; and so, though the emperor had been very wroth, when he appeared he was mild, and wroth again as soon as he was away, till the tunic was taken off. Then his wrath blazed forth, and Pilate was condemned. When Caesar spoke the name of Christ all the gods fell down before the senate and became as dust. Pilate was decapitated, although by reason of a very abject prayer of submission his soul was received by an angel, and his wife died with him. Some say Pilate was slain by Caesar himself. His body was sunk in the Tiber; but the vile spirit and filthy body made such a turmoil of tempests, thunder, and hail, that he was dug up and taken to the Rhone, where the same thing occurred by demons, until he was removed to a far land and sunk in a pit by mountains, where diabolical bubblings still occur. Annas was wrapped in the skin of an ox, which shrank as it dried until his bowels issued from his mouth. Others slew themselves, and there was great stench of the corpses of those who gave up Christ to death, but were now given up to death themselves. Titus and Vespasian stoned, hung, pierced others. Twelve thousand smote themselves. The rest were divided into four parts and dispersed, and thirty of the remnant were sold for one piece of silver, since "the Jews sold Our Lord for thirty, Amen."

Most of the many sources, the contents of which are so briefly

listed above, are far later than our New Testament canon, although a few of them are coeval with or prior to its formation, and candidates for admission to it. Many of them, even those late in composition, probably embody traditions far older than can be traced; still others are pure fabrications composed for edification or to stop the mouths of critics, or else they arose in the stringencies of controversy with heresies. The oblivion to which they were consigned after the canon was established, and again the opprobrium into which they fell under the influence of Protestantism, and the scorn in which they are now held by those engaged in the dry quest of literal historicity, are hard for the psychologist to understand. About all were written with devout intent, and they played an important rôle in early days in commending Jesus to the world. The very naïveté of their credulity has a certain fascination. They are precious documents of a time when men believed with the heart, and they still have a most unique charm for childhood. With wise and discriminating pedagogic treatment much of the material might be used to-day with the best effect in the Sunday-school. Of much of it Christian art has made use, so that the student of art must know something of it. The stories preserve for us the wishes and reveries of believers of many bygone generations. Regarded as prose records of fact, they contain very little that is authentic and to the most Philistine of skeptics they seem but idle tales. From full childish belief in the truth of them, the way that had to be traversed to the rejection of them by Protestant orthodoxy is a far longer journey than from this latter position on to the most complete skepticism. In other words, the Christian Church as a whole stands far nearer to the disbelief in everything supernatural, if not historic, about Jesus than it does to the full acceptance of all these tales.

Despite his too-ready recourse to miracles, the boy Jesus is not without natural charm as a street urchin, ringleader, and mischief-maker, and most of his juvenile miracles are only the wishes every boy has, but which Jesus was unique in being able to realize. In anger, e. g., every child has had the death wish; but if Jesus felt it, his mates to whom it was directed really died. What child has not wanted to have his toy animals live? Those of Jesus did so. What boy is not prone to make himself important in his world by secret mischief, pranks, and tricks such as Jesus indulged in without stint? If the ordinary boy cannot turn kids into playmates, he can create

kiddish imaginary companions. What schoolboy would not delight to "get back at" his teacher, scold and denounce him, confound him by a sudden outburst of wisdom, and make him suffer if he tried to inflict punishment? The father complex, too, has an exquisite illustration in these tales of alternate obedience and declarations of independence and defiance. Every boy would love to be a great animal trainer, and have them all fear and obey him as they did Jesus. Paidology shows a strange childish fascination in smashing pots, dishes, crockery. One of the great dreams of the normal boy is to have his parents do homage to him. Thus as a boy Jesus seems to have had no unrealized wishes and so suffered no repression. He was always *ausgelassen*, and acted, thought, felt, with abandon. Thus the Gospels of the infancy contain much that, if not true to fact, is very true to boy nature, which is a higher kind of truth. Those who wrote these Gospels certainly had a sympathetic insight into boyhood, which must have been less developed in those who would consign them all to oblivion. Above all they suggest a most alluring and fascinating theme for one who really knows boys and genetic psychology, viz., to write the biography of a boy all of whose wishes came true, whose dreams and reveries became realities, and who actually did all he felt impelled to do, regardless of consequences and of all restraints, could lord it over everything and everybody with whom he came in contact.

Mariolatry rests chiefly on these legends rather than on the canon. Although she is chaste as a vestal or nun, she is all mother rather than wife. Of the four K's which Germans tell us mark woman's sphere (*Kirche*, *Kinder*, *Kleide*, *Küche*), she is devoted solely to the first two. She has no culinary needs, for she is fed from heaven. Of garments we are told that, like Jesus, she had but one which grew with her growth, from swaddling-cloth to shroud. Joseph's doubts and his fears of a clandestine or disguised lover, and the final silencing of these questionings, are greatly and repeatedly elaborated. Her chastity is triumphantly established by oaths, testimony, examinations, etc. Later, others catechized, and the Pharisees cross-examined and subjected her to other ordeals and tests, although a few remain unconvinced. Even after Jesus' death she must recount for a conclave of believers all she can tell of the annunciation, and again be tested. All this compensation shows how acute was the consciousness of

believers on this vulnerable point, and how vituperative skeptics were. The apocryphal Mary did not marry again, and bore no other children but Jesus. She was committed to the special charge first of John, then of Peter. There is much parallelism between her conception, birth, and infancy and those of Jesus. She was a prodigy of precocious piety, charity, and submission, serving and adoring her son, pained yet patient and indulgent to his boyish pranks, urging him to take John's baptism, etc. Yet more prominent is her figure as the *mater dolorosa* at Jesus' death, burial, Resurrection, and Ascension. She follows subtly and pathetically all the tragic and sublime processional of events, and we feel all their pathos anew and deeper as it is reflected in her soul. We are not even told whether she was literate or illiterate No great and wise sayings, almost no miracles are done directly by her, and even her affection for her son, all dominant as it is, is often dumb. She stands before the world as a paragon of passivity, resignation, self-effacement, with little trace of the aggressive will or intuitive intellect that shone forth so conspicuously in her son. Indeed, she seems an ideal totemic woman according to ancient notions of her sex. She has been through the Christian ages an object of contemplation, a mechanism of sex sublimation for all who adore her. She shows no vestige of earthly love, for this was from the first repressed and spiritualized; and she has always stood forth in doctrine and in art as the embodiment of the ideal of virginity, both of her own and for our sake, although modern feminism has departed almost as far from her type as men have from that of Jesus.

For the Resurrection, descent to Hades, and Ascension, the apocrypha seek to compensate for the all-too-brief uncircumstantial synoptic statements yet more copiously than they do in the case of the Nativity. Their method to this end is amplification and repetition. Over and over again the story of the Resurrection is rehearsed in many mouths. Every possible proof is circumstantially adduced—eye witnesses, visions, legal affidavits and letters—till many of Jesus' Jewish enemies and prominent characters in Roman history are convinced and testify. We are told little about the early spread of Christianity, but very much about the vengeance with which those who still derided or were recalcitrant were visited, till, as the last act in the great drama, come the fall and sack of Jerusalem and the indiscriminate slaughter, suicide, leading to captivity. All who opposed, and es-

pecially all responsible for Jesus' death, meet awful retribution, and thus the scales of justice are evened on this earth. Why is even legend, which is so voluble concerning Jesus' early years and the end of his career, so silent on the nearly eighteen years embracing the most interesting and significant period of adolescence? If the apocrypha were pure fiction and not based on tradition, with some admixture of fact or authenticity, we should expect to find those silent years filled out by the imagination. As it is, Jesus seems to have burst upon the world at the baptism out of utter obscurity. He emerges like an unknown prophet from the desert. Was he a common labourer during these years, with each day so like another that there is nothing to record? The legends represent him as a not very good or always very amiable boy, extraordinarily endowed with the futile learning of his time, and invested with no less limitless power to work wonders; but nevertheless he has very few salient traits of character save a certain waywardness and headstrongness and illimitable consciousness of his own powers. He is neither devout nor respectful to his elders, but somewhat prone to bully and swagger, so that such data as exist for prognosticating the kind of adult he will become are not very favourable. Indeed, one almost wonders if the infancy Gospels are not by some colossal blunder really concerned with another personage, so that the records of the childhood were only later attached to Jesus, or else are all a very inept and perverse fiction. If both concern the same person, there was certainly great need for him to grow in favour with God and man.

(2) *Mediaeval Literature.* The mediaeval Church, dimly mindful of the glories of antiquity, slowly gave birth to a poetry and art which came to be almost as expressive of the new religious life as the rites about the altar of Dionysus were of that of classical antiquity. The early Church fathers, however, bitterly condemned the theatre and spectacles, which had grossly degenerated. The Church long threatened to expel all who even attended the theatre, and was yet more bitter against actors. Still, even in the fourth century came the oldest Christian tragedy on the Passion, a third of its verses borrowed from different passages of Euripides, so as to celebrate the new "hero of tragedy" in familiar classic terms and also to imply that the Attic poets heralded Christ. There are faint analogies to Prometheus, the demigod bound to a rock, like Jesus to his cross, for the benefit of man-

kind. In this first Christian tragedy most of the action is behind the scenes and only reported by messengers. It suggests many an early church built on the ruins of an ancient temple and adorned with its columns. It was meant only for schools and not for the stage, which, however, the Roman Christians loved. Actors, under the influence of the Church, fell into great disrepute and degenerated to jongleurs and mummers and perhaps bards. Even in the dark tenth century the comedies of Terence were presented in cloisters, and we have many dramatic dialogues in praise of chastity and illustrating its opposite. The new popular drama, however, grew from the very heart of the Church, from her altar, from her liturgy, and from the theme of redemption. From the age of Gregory the mass became a dramatic celebration of the great tragedy at Golgotha, presenting the whole range of human emotion from the *miserere* to the *gloria in excelsis*. During Passion Week rudimentary oratorios developed as men tired of the Gregorian music, with Christ as tenor and Pilate as bass. There were picturesquely gowned processionals, often out of doors, not only of priests but of guilds and corporations. Adam and Eve carried between them the tree of knowledge; the Baptist a banner and a lamp; Judas a money-bag; the devil a gallows, etc. Elsewhere personations of the Virgin and Our Lord wandered on Advent evenings, admonishing children and giving Christmas gifts. Froissart, the last chronicler of chivalry, tells what he saw in 1389, in Paris, where God the Father sat on his throne with the Son and Holy Ghost, surrounded by choristers dressed as angels, while angels floated down suspended by wires, and placed a crown of gold on the head of the Queen. On Good Friday the cross was sometimes placed in a grave beneath the altar, and taken out and elevated on Easter Day with solemn singing. Sometimes the three Marys came to anoint the body of the Lord. Such simple Easter pageants seem to have been the first miracle plays, often containing the descent into hell, the conquest of Satan, release of the saints of the Old Testament, etc. Sometimes the Christ-story began with a preface, which included even Vergil, Eden, the tree of knowledge, the dying Adam; and later the beginnings of the play were put still farther back to the fall of Lucifer. Thus the Passion, with its annexes, was the core from which a new religious drama had already begun to arise.

The Christmas plays focus on the birth of the Divine Child. This

was often elaborately celebrated in the Church, which had often a stock of properties in the form of pictures of the ox and the ass, images of small animals, costumes, admonitory ornaments, a messenger, trees. Sometimes real animals and peasant shepherds with their lusty, rustic songs were introduced. In these plays the shepherds often brought cheese and eggs as offerings, and wealthier people made richer presents, particularly nobles, who represented, perhaps, the three kings and Herod. Often here, too, the play began with the Old Testament, with perhaps a glimpse of Eden and Eve. The birth was often very realistic. So were the flight to Egypt, and the slaughter of the Innocents. The results of the fall of man are often graphic—even patriarchs and prophets, after finishing their speeches, are carried off by the devil to hell or purgatory. There were musical accompaniments introducing fragments of the liturgy, many words spoken by God himself, all as simple as the old script which in ancient pictures often seems to proceed from the mouths of the figures. The miracle play, which dates back to the eleventh century, was often attended by elaborate music in the form of chants and hymns, and a favourite theme of the Easter plays in the twelfth century was the rise and fall of Antichrist. Allegorical personages open these plays, representing, e. g., paganism and Judaism, mercy, justice, pope, king of earth. Antichrist personifies all the powers inimical to Christianity. He wears a mail shirt under his wings, and his companions are hypocrisy and heresy. Another favourite theme was that of the wise and foolish virgins, and here generally, although Mary and the other characters plead for the latter, who have really only been a little thoughtless, Jesus is inexorable and represents a Calvinistic rigour hard to understand, which often prejudiced intelligent laymen against Christianity. In Rome these plays in Passion Week were given with great magnificence in the arena of the Coliseum where so many martyrs had died. Often the whole town undertook a play in which all were called to join for the honour of Christ. The actors now became so many that the language had to be the vernacular; for often half the town were in the play and only the other half were spectators. This necessitated a very large stage with different places, towns, forests, etc., fenced off, perhaps labelled. As the miracle plays extended beyond this world, the stage sometimes had three stories, the upper representing Paradise, in which the Trinity, saints, and angels sat, and

which was carefully adorned and shaded. The middle was the earthly stage, made as large as possible, while below was hell, often personified with enormous jaws. If unity of place was preserved, that of time was defied; for sometimes in a single day we have the whole life of Jesus presented from birth to burial. In these plays women's parts were always enacted by men or boys, and Christ and the other characters were generally attired as bishops, while in hell all wore close-fitting shirts. There were many stage tricks. In one where the devil hangs Judas, he has to take out the fastenings and sit behind him on the bar of the gallows. Judas carried a concealed blackbird, also the entrails of some animal, in his coat, so that as he died both bird and entrails would escape when he and the devil slid down to hell on a rope. Sometimes Aaron's rod seemed really to blossom, and ladders led from hell to heaven.

The Moralities had no such hold upon the people. Their characters were allegories, Faith, Hope, Charity, Virtue, Vice; but the Passion of Christ was in one way or another generally the core, or at least, the *point de repère* of all. The English moral play, "Everyman," is supposed to show the lot of Man. God complains that he has degenerated, and summons Death; and in his terror Everyman turns successively to Relatives, Conviviality, Riches, who all fail him, and then he turns to Good Works, who sends him on to Wisdom, and he is finally taken to the sacraments. Overcome by Death, Strength, Beauty, Intellect, and Senses leave him, until in the end only Christ remains, and angels take him with a requiem. The plays of the Virgin, too, are classed by themselves. Her tears avail almost as much as the blood of her Divine Son. Another favourite theme is the cavalier who pledges his wife, whom he loves, to the devil, on condition that he has all he wants for seven years. Generally the devil is tricked in the end. The miseries of the lost are often described in much detail in the very many of these plays on which so much ingenuity was spent, and of which every great town had its own proud collection.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries humour and fun assumed a prominent place in all these sacred dramas, and the devil and hell became more prominent. There is much of this element in the many versions of Theophilus and Dame Jutta, who, tradition says, became Pope in 855. While some plays began in heaven, this begins in hell, where it is all planned in advance. "Eulenspiegel" marked a great

increase of the comic element. Much of the fun was mere naïveté, rusticity, or uncouthness. Births actually take place on the stage. In one God sleeps on his throne during the crucifixion, and is reproached by an angel therefor. The souls of the dying fly from their mouths in the forms of small images, as in the case of Judas. In instituting the Lord's Supper Jesus is made to sing the first mass. There was much jocose by-play and even horse-play. The hosts of hell, often a satyr-like masquerade, were often very weird, and hoofs, horns, tails, and methods for fetching souls were never lacking to the devil, who very strangely came to be more and more a comic personage, till in the fifteenth century he vacated the drama, and his place was taken by, or, in a sense, he changed into, the fool, who is often, by the way, an embodiment of good sense It is difficult to distinguish tragedy from comedy, so closely are they blended in these plays. Some of them follow the Gospels and others are based very largely upon apocryphal tradition, while invention is given considerable scope. Many relics of all this survive in Ober-Ammergau. In these ancient plays the crucifixion, which is the climax of the play, is usually closely followed by the Resurrection, and then comes the sepulture which is often very gross, with wrangling and fighting of the soldiers, who are to watch the grave, the gossip of the gardener who talks of the effects of herbs, the chatter of the ointment sellers, old wives' quarrels, and all in all a strange mixture of burlesque and solemnity. The fools' and asses' festivals began in jest, but became a more serious part of Christmas amusements. Plenty of travesty and parody was allowed; and perhaps the whole clerical staff appear as buffoons, as if these were more attractive characters than New Testament personages. In these celebrations the ass was often led to the high altar, and sometimes interrupted the service; but the laugh seemed not to interfere with the very unique commingling of the comic and the tragic such as we see, for instance, in the dance of death, composed in the excitement of an awful pestilence. In these plays Mary Magdalene is very commonly identified with the Madonna, and she and Martha are generally the more prominent female rôles. Some episodes are wrought out very much in the spirit of early romance.

In fine, the miracle play, with all its relations, was an almost inevitable product in a day when the Church contained nearly all the culture of the world and retained her empire over the minds of men.

Thus she brought home the great truths of Christianity to the hearts of simple people, as indeed it was necessary for her to do; for to maintain her supremacy she must satisfy every sentiment. These representations came to be great popular festivals full of edification for both old and young, which were long anticipated and remembered with joy. As in the case of the old Greek tragedy, we have here the great advantage that the people were generally familiar with the outlines of the plot, and therefore each character seemed already known, and thus gave pleasure; and it was a delight to see in life those persons whose words the spectators had often heard and whose images they had seen in the church. The sacredness, however, of the Bible narrative more or less impeded the free play of creative fancy, although this differed very much with different writers and in different places. There was more delusion, perhaps, than original creation. The scenes were generally panoramic with little to develop a deeper subjective side, but the pathos was strongly brought out. It was the great misfortune of Protestantism to rob faith of much of this material. It was too serious and inward to appreciate the light play of fancy about solemn topics. It did, however, give a new depth to Christianity, although all was changed when in the fifteenth century the Renaissance brought again into the world the immortal spirit of classical antiquity. Thus appeared a very noble secular culture rooted in the ideal, with a very different theme, but still a noble prototype. Hence the great strife between Christian and classic culture which followed.

Hell in these plays is the home of famine, pestilence, disease, war, earthquake, and storm; all of which may be impersonated, and which are sent forth to scourge mankind. Temptations, particularly to lasciviousness, are brought to man by their agents, who are seducers. This is the devil's chief bait in ensnaring souls, and hell tortures were no doubt most effective in stemming the tide of corruption and obscenity which caused the fall of the old civilizations and threatened to engulf the world. Many now hold with Forlong,[1] Jennings,[2] Westropp,[3] and Crawley,[4] that in early prehistoric times there was a phallic age which sexed every neuter object, made sex the dominant apperceptive organ by which even cosmogony was explained, and left its in-

[1] "Rivers of Life." London, 1883, 2 vols.
[2] "The Indian Religions," London, 1890, 267 p.
[3] Hodder M. Westropp: "Ancient Symbol Worship," New York, 1874, 98 p.
[4] "The Mystic Rose," London, 1902, 485 p.

delible marks upon all early religions. Modesty in later ages has sought with only partial success to score its traces away. They hold, too, that these propensities had a later recrudescence in the ancient empires; that Christianity did its greatest and hardest work in saving the world from this danger that threatened almost bestial degeneration; and that hell was one of the most potent agents in this great work. But this is not the place to detail this antiscortatory function of hell.

Why did hell come to play such a prominent rôle, not only in these plays, but in the art, language, and imagination of so many Christian centuries? No ancient race or cult so amplified post-mortem torments. Are hell and the devil necessary antitheses of heaven and Christ, each vivifying the other by contrast? or is there a principle of ambivalence here? If this is all, then alas for either if the other fades! Many causes probably concurred to make vivid depictions of hell popular. They were in some sense a vicariate for war in that they served as a vent for the cruel animal propensities; for war and hell have deep psychological affinities. Hell, too, kept alive a sense of the hideousness of sin, because belief in it for the wicked expressed man's sense of justice as a basal cosmic principle; for it brought iniquity and pain together in the end, as must be if this is a moral universe. Hell is a standing expression of God's wrath at sin. To those powerless to punish evil themselves it gives a deep satisfaction to consign it to eternal flames by oaths and imprecations. To gloat over the imaginary tortures of others may express Sadistic inclinations unleashed all the more freely because cloaked by a sense that it is vengeance for merited sin. There is much nudity, also, in the mediaeval hell, and not only thermal but every conceivable physical torture was applied to raw flesh and to every part and organ. There are wails, shrieks, quivering muscles, despair, nameless filth, nausea, strangling fumes, ravening monsters, venomous snakes and serpentine coils, darkness, awful noises, imps that choke and lacerate, every conceivable fear, and prayers for death that can never come. All simply show the real nature of sin, what it deserves, and what God thinks of it. Hell is the negative motif of Jesus' eschatology and conceptions of judgment realized, perpetuated, and transcendentalized. Belief in it makes men suffer wrongs which they would otherwise have revolted against, because it both implanted and expressed a deep sense that doers of iniquity, although they escape penalty here, are reserved for an awful

doom that some time will abundantly vindicate divine justice. Again, the worse hell is the more it magnifies Christ's work, because it sets forth the hideousness of the fate from which he has saved even the elect. All have deserved it. Even the saints of the old covenant have entered its purlieus, and all who escape its utmost horrors are redeemed by Jesus' superlative achievements, which culminated in harrowing it. Hell more than death is thus the great leveller and evener where the great, rich, or famous in this life meet full compensation, so that it has a democratizing function. To it Christian hate and rage now consign their objects. It brought a new morbid fear relatively unknown to antiquity into the world, and it implanted a new shudder in sensitive nerves. If this nightmare has any redeeming feature, it is that it served in some sense a moral end. Its very delirium is deterrent from evil; and, crude as it is, it may have been needed in an age of corruption such as had undermined the nations and races of antiquity. At the height of its obsession it was vastly more defined, real, and variegated than heaven ever was; and although modern culture claims to have outgrown it, still in times of panic, or revivalism, as well as when we swear, it shows that we still feel it to be very real.

Rough and unkempt as the miracle plays were in form, they sounded the whole gamut of emotions as no art had ever done before. They played on every sentiment and passion of the human heart—love, hate, pity, terror, fear, and anger—ranging, as they did, from the zenith of pleasure to the nadir of pain. Hell, heaven, God, devil, birth, death, resurrection, immortality, beauty, ugliness, wisdom, folly, wealth, poverty, disease, cruelty, murder, truth, lies—all were there, but not in the abstract form of allegory as human qualities came to be presented later in the Moralities. The human characters that represented these traits came to be so exclusively their embodiments that something like the purely abstract allegorical personages of the latter was inevitable. In the old animal epos each beast came to be more and more the incarnation of one characteristic; the lion of courage, the fox of cunning, the ass of stupidity, the wolf of cruelty, the lamb of peace and inoffensiveness, the serpent of slitheyness, the ant of industry and forethought, the turtle-dove of love, etc. In this way the rôle of each animal came to be more and more exclusively the expression of the trait it stood for. In the Mysteries each *dramatis*

persona also tended more and more to become a personal embodiment of a single human trait. Judas was treachery; Pilate, shiftiness; Herod, cruelty; Peter, steadfastness; John, love and insight; Mary, ideal motherhood; Magdalene, the repentant sinner; Herodias, female malignity; the Pharisees and Sadducees, hypocrites and plotters; Thomas, the skeptic, and so on through the list. Indeed, animal symbolism was closely connected, not only with the four Evangelists, but with the personages and the incidents of many of the rôles in the sacred drama. Thus it came that we have here the chief psychological traits of human nature and character, often in very extreme and typical form, and each playing his or her part in the great tragedy. This, I believe, goes far to explain what to most writers on the subject seems a mystery, viz., how the Morality plays could have arisen out of the Mysteries. On this view the transition from the latter into the former was long preformed and indeed inevitable; and although it was quite a step from the one to the other, the whole trend of the miracle plays was in that direction.

It is no wonder that the miracle plays, setting forth as they did in concrete objective form every essential interest, instinct, and desire of the human heart, should have had, as Jusserand says they did, an uninterrupted run of six centuries; and they were one of the chief forms of culture and amusement among the people of every Christian land. Often the populace, coming from great distances as they did to fairs, markets, and other festivities on holy days, would sit all day and sometimes several days, while their souls were not only undergoing an Aristotelian *katharsis* which is necessary to give vent and exercise to the deeper emotions, but were cadenced and oriented in unison to the greatest things of life. Composite as was the authorship of many of these plays, despite their crudeness and their amazing anachronisms, their preposterous realism, and their occasional degeneration to horse-play, they had for the most part a dramatic unity hardly inferior to that of the antique or the Elizabethan drama. More yet, if the populace at last grew wonted and sometimes suffered ennui, it was these plays that prepared the psychic soil for the secular drama, so that before the Reformation was able to frown them down they had given a range and freedom of movement, a zest and a kind of standard of interest which was later a great stimulus to the stage. There is a good deal of parallelism, both conscious and unconscious, between profane

and sacred story in those days. Even Beowulf's adventures under-sea were only a secularized hell-harrowing; and when the Renaissance unveiled antiquity again, the psychic acreage was already ploughed, fertilized, and made friable by the most propitious possible *Vorfrucht*, which had been sown for many generations at the three festivals of Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter, from the liturgy of which all the religious plays of the Middle Ages originated. Nearly all the great local types of mysteries, rich as some of them were in incident and especially in variations so characteristic that the modern expert can predict with some accuracy the locality in which any specimen of them was developed, made great use of the apocryphal Gospels and other Christian traditions. This gave great range, and richness, not to say raciness of treatment; for this material could be handled with more freedom than could the canon. The mysteries not only vastly augmented the dominion of the Church over the lives of men, but gave the humblest class a taste for the theatre and its pageantry. So realistic was often this divine tragedy that the very tension made relief in a touch of comedy here and there most grateful. But this never, especially in England, was able to abate the reverence with which the divine personages were treated by the playwrights of the miracle cycles. The sublimity of the theme and the awe of the people toward the heavenly heroes that were introduced were so great that they could withstand the petty and clumsy treatment which was always sincere. Hence it was that, through these centuries of passion and of faith, the stupendous themes of sin, doomsday, hell-mouth, redemption, salvation, the awful fundamental conflict between the personified powers of light and darkness, good and evil, which raged not only through this but the upper and the nether world, thrilled and expanded Mansoul, and brought it into vital *rapport* with the master powers of life. Who shall say that beneath all our conscious beliefs or skepticisms we of to-day do not feel quintessential Christianity a little more than we should do but for the psychic attitudes which these spectacles helped to stamp upon the souls of our ruder forbears?[1]

(3) *Jesus in Modern Literature.* (a) Besides the setting in scene of incidents from Jesus' life inspired by ecclesiasticism and following the

[1]See, on the general subject of mysteries and moralities, J. L. Klein's great "Geschichte des Dramas," Bd. 12-13 K. Haase and H. Reidt have both written works entitled "Das geistliche Schauspiel des Mittelalters," the former being translated under the title, "Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas," Boston, 1880, 273 p. See also two excellent works, "The English Religious Drama," by K. L. Bates, New York, 1909, 254 p., and "Plays of Our Forefathers and Some of the Traditions on Which They Are Founded," by C. M. Gayley, New York, 1907, 349 p. The University of California, *Library Bulletin, No.* 8, published in 1887 a 68-page pamphlet of titles on mysteries of the different countries in the different centuries. See too C. H. Gerould's "Saints' Legends," with its excellent bibilography, Boston, 1916. 398 p.

Church calendar, there grew with the diffusion of printing a demand for a consecutive story of his life and the events antecedent to and subsequent upon it that could be read in quiet. This demand was largely met for centuries by "The Golden Legend." The craving for the miraculous was intense and widespread, and down almost to our own times the favourite literary setting for his life was transcendental and celestial events, personages, councils, etc. The rankest supernaturalism abounded, even in Protestantism. The heavenly muse that inspired the creative imagination in this field was given the utmost poetic license, and there was for a long time hardly a trace of the critical spirit. All the best things that could be fancied must be true. Angels, demons, and even God and Satan not only appeared, but had much to say and do. Scenes were freely laid in heaven and hell, while pictorial art greatly reinforced this kind of creativeness, to compose and to read which aright the mind must pass into a kind of second, rapt, or ecstatic state. Indeed, the supernaturalism of the Gospels was increased rather than abated by many of these productions. In even non-Catholic countries this tendency is often highly developed, especially in devotional literature.

"The Golden Legend"[1] was compiled from many sources about 1275 by the Bishop of Genoa, who used for his purposes Saint Jerome's "Lives of the Saints," and Eusebius' "History," and when approaching his own age evidently compiled legends from many sources, oral and written. It seems to have fascinated Christendom; and the editor of the above edition tells us that "no other book was more frequently reprinted between the years 1470 and 1520" than was one particular compilation of this legend, of which there were several. The first volume is mainly devoted to events of Jesus' life, and the other six to the lives of saints. It impressed the religious minds of the Middle Ages hardly less than the *Gesta Romanorum* did those in its field and age. Very likely the latter suggested it as it did the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bolandists. It was a kind of *vade mecum* of the Church, in which, however, everything takes its departure from some festal or sacred day.

It was a long step from "The Golden Legend" and its spirit to Klopstock's epic[2] which begins just as Jesus retires from the multitude and ascends Mount Olivet. From here he sends Gabriel to offer his petitions to God, and the angel makes his way through all the suns

[1] Or "Lives of the Saints. As Englished by William Caxton." London, 1900, 7 Vol.
[2] "The Messiah." 3d edition. London, 1778, 2 Vol.

to the Most High and brings back a reassuring message. The argument through all the ten books involves many characters, quite as many of them angelic as human, and much of the action occurs outside this earth. The tenth book closes when the angel of death flies down, bespeaks the Messiah and discovers to him the divine order. Only then does Jesus expire. It is a book of profound devotion and spirituality, and in it the imagination takes very lofty flights. Many Germans regard it as an equal and perhaps a rival to Milton's "Paradise Lost." The author revived many obsolete incidents and the mechanisms of classical epics, although it is more superterrestrial than any of them.

Helle's "Jesus Messias," is a modern epic something like Klopstock's, to which the writer devoted forty years. It was composed from a Catholic viewpoint. The customs, literature, scenery of Palestine, are very vividly reproduced. His volumes give us an exhaustive picture of Jesus from birth to death, stressing the celestial and infernal feature, however, less than does Klopstock.

"The Golden Legend" not only presentifies Jesus, but connects the items of the Gospels with Church days, establishing thus a closer unity between Jesus' life on the one hand and both hagiology and ecclesiasticism on the other. Klopstock sets forth the supermundane processes connected with the last two or three days of Jesus' life, ending with his death. All that is common between these is the rank supernaturalism in which the creative wish and imagination were given unlimited freedom. In this respect both are more closely related to the miracle cycles than to modern literary productions, to which they are also a link. It shows us here a precious domain of the soul long kept inviolate, in which the criterion of truth is impressiveness, and the things the heart craves are the truest of all.

Karl Weiser[1] has written a dramatic poem. This was read at Weimar by the author before a collection of German *literati* who spoke in highest terms of it. He assumed that Protestants should have something corresponding to the "Passion Play" of Ober-Ammergau, and hence brought all his characters upon the stage. The fourth part ends just after the crucifixion and burial, with a conversation in character between Judas, Peter, the Magdalene, John, and Thomas. In many words which the author puts into the mouth of Jesus he takes great liberty with the text, which he elsewhere carefully follows. His

[1] "Jesus: a drama in four parts. 1. Herod, 2. The Baptist, 3. The Saviour, 4. The Passion." Leipzig, 1905.

theory is that the more emotional and dramatic an expression is, the more it can pass from prose into poetry. He admits that he has been inspired by Wagner. His great desire is to see his play staged in a large way, and he gives minute directions, even of the kind of persons to be chosen to play the leading parts. The dramatic quality of the play is high. It is reverent throughout, and nearly all the persons mentioned in the New Testament appear.

W. Nithack-Stahn[1] has presented a five-act play following rather closely the Gospel narrative, and ending with the jubilant cry of the Magdalene, "He lives!" The play appears to be designed for actual production on the stage; but the *circa* fifty characters, the sacraments, and other sacred scenes will probably long prevent its actual presentation.

A Catholic writer[2] makes Ahasuerus appear as the representative of the ancient Jewish faith, which expected the rule of the Messiah but rejected Jesus because he did not fulfil its ideals of him. The poem begins with the events of the last day of the kingdom of Antichrist and concludes with the return of Jesus as judge of the world. Some incidents, like the baptism of the hero, are very impressive. The vitality of Catholicism shows itself in many poems which indicate the profound impression which Jesus' life still makes upon believers. F. Bland, in an epic poem, celebrates Jesus as belonging to no time or race, but to the world, and is full of the inspiration caused by the contemplation of his character. His use of material is vigorous and plastic, and many of his episodes are striking. H. Krep-lith's epic represents Jesus as not conscious of his power at first. It conceives him as impelled by a mystic but blind force from within. This suggests Spemann's "The Renaissance of Jesus," which is also in sharpest opposition to liberal studies. S. Lagerlöf's "Christ Legends" owe their charm to the skill with which the traditional material is animated and modernized by the author's vivid imagination. The same may be said in a very different way of Hugo Salus's "Christa," who was a beauty, the feminine counterpart of Jesus, who died on the other side of the world at the same time that Jesus died on the cross. But at the end of the great day those on the other hemisphere will migrate to this, and in the union of Christa and Christ the kingdom of beauty and love will be established forever. R. H. Benson's little

---

1 "Das Christusdrama." Berlin, 1912, 152 p.
2 "The Eternal Jew."

mystery play is very simple, and typical of many others. It was written in honour of the Nativity, and has been produced at convents with the design of reviving under modern conditions something of the effectiveness that attached to these plays centuries ago.

The anonymous author (probably J. Jacobs) of "As Others Saw Him" (Boston, 1895, 217 p.), invents one long letter that fills his book that purports to have been written by Ben Zadok, a Jewish scribe at Alexandria, scholar in Greek and Hebrew, and later a member of the Sanhedrin. His letter, addressed to a friend at Corinth, affects throughout the tone of an impartial observer. It opens on the court of the Gentiles just after Jesus had expelled the money-changers. He is described as a short, sturdy man in rustic garb, with broken finger-nails, who immediately after the expulsion talks tenderly to a little child while the crowd taunt him as "manzier" or bastard, which charge plays an important rôle. Jesus appears as a wheelwright, and homilist, surrounded by a strange train of people and *heterae*, and one who had no name save "dog of dogs." This scene so impressed Ben Zadok that he instituted an inquiry about his death, having himself seen the crosses at a distance. He criticizes his countrymen for allowing Jesus to be slain, because he was "probably one of the best of our sages," nor can he understand why the Greeks condemned Socrates, who was just as much their idol, to the hemlock. Indeed, they were worse; for they condemned Socrates only after he had spoken his whole mind, whereas the Jews condemned a greater one who had been arrogantly silent. "Oh, Jesus, why didst thou not show thyself to thy people in thy true character?"

W. Schuyler[1] gives an ingenious and interesting story in the form of letters written by prominent Romans who were in personal contact with Christ. The hero is Claudius, pro-consul in Judea, a rich, wild, dissipated Roman nobleman and soldier who had been a lover of the Magdalene. In the first chapter he finds her changed, devoted to Jesus, cool to him. He at first deems her insane, and pursues her, but vainly. He is devoted to circuses, feasts, and dancing girls, but is constantly hearing of Jesus, to whom his favourite servant allies himself. He hears the Baptist preach, and is tempted by Herod's bewitching daughter, Salome, with whom he falls in love, to kill John for her; but she finds another way, and there is a ghastly scene when the head is brought in. Vast multitudes follow Jesus, and the air is full of rumours

[1] "Under Pontius Pilate." New York, 1906, 353 p.

of his wonders. Claudius and his friend Lucius summon the Stoic philosophers to resist the influence of the Nazarene. The former conducts a military expedition against the robber band of Barabbas, and on his return finds himself a leper, and thus an outcast. He is piously nursed by the Magdalene, meets Paul when he is a persecutor, is finally healed by Jesus just after he had raised Lazarus, and his proud spirit is subdued. The last scenes in the life of Jesus are dramatically described. In an epilogue Mary tells Claudius in ecstasy that the Master has risen, and in the end he resigns his office and is about to follow Mary and the rest to Galilee to meet the risen one.

Perley P. Sheehan: "The Seer." New York, 1912, 324 p. A wandering evangelist, "professor" (of flute playing), Gath, commonly called "the prophet," a man of little education, with a sad love-story behind him which is also woven into the narrative, preached a kind of Christian Science gospel that there was no sin or pain and that God was all love. Wonderful success attended his work. He had great magnetic power and won wide fame as a healer of many diseases. After preaching in small places he goes to a large city, buys and fills a circus tent, charms money out of gamblers and saloonkeepers, develops antagonisms on the part of orthodoxy, becomes a rather active socialist, and at length believes himself to be in a peculiar sense a reincarnation of Christ, and is finally shot in a great strike. Some of his traits and incidents in his career are strongly suggestive of Slatter and especially Dowie.[1]

(b) Another class of more or less free literary renderings of the Gospel story arose from the demand for a consecutive narrative of the chief events and perhaps teachings of Jesus' life, which unlike the Gospel harmony should (1) avoid all repetitions; (2) fill out gaps left by the synoptists and connect what was there often abruptly broken off and disconnected; (3) establish some kind of relation with events and persons, real or imaginary, who were contemporary with Jesus, many of these writers adding only such material as is necessary to close up the joints in the paraphrasing of the Scripture. This class of literature might be arranged on various gradients such as: (*a*) the

[1] Henry Van Dyke: "The Lost Boy." New York, Harper, 69 p. This is a rather trivial tale as if hastily whacked together for Sunday-school purposes. The atmosphere of the book is not antique in any scholarly sense and it is hard to see the *raison d'être* of such a book. John Masefield: "Good Friday." New York, Macmillan, 1916. A dramatic poem of 64 pages. It has little action, but consists mainly of dialogues with Pilate and discussions concerning the character of Jesus; Rev. J. H. Ingraham: "The Prince of the House of David." Any good edition; S. C. Bradley: "Jesus of Nazareth." Boston, Sherman, French, 1908; Marie Corelli: "Barabbas." Any good edition; Mabel C. Birchenough: "Jesus the Carpenter of Nazareth"; Olive Schreiner: "Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland." New York, Little, 1912; William Ware: "Julian; or Scenes in Judea." New York, Warne, 1912; Bruce Barton: "A Young Man's Jesus." Boston, 1914, 233 p.; H. Begbie: "The Happy Christ." 1906, 104 p.

degree in frequency with which Jesus appears, for he is sometimes the central figure about which everything revolves, and in other cases does not appear at all, but he is talked of, perhaps his voice is heard, or others on the stage see him, etc.; (*b*) how far his teachings are given in Gospel language, or merely paraphrased or sedulously excluded save by implication, as they are by some; (*c*) how many extraneous events and persons are introduced, for here we find differences ranging all the way from nil to an adventitious story which comes in the end to attract chief interest; (*d*) how much history of that age, archaeology, ancient geography, customs, etc., are represented, and how truly; (*e*) how complete is the story from the beginning to the end of Jesus' career, or how much focalization upon special incidents; (*f*) how much of the narrative is meant to be fact, and how much of it is fanciful, doctrinal, devotional, psychological; (*g*) how much is the pure work of creative imagination, and how much real critical scholarship is brought to bear, so that the author's own contribution can be considered a legitimate scientific hypothesis. The many recent works in this field vary widely in all these directions, and it is sometimes, as we shall see, hard to conceive in what proportion the author mixes critical scholarship with purely literary imagination and assumption. The following illustrate these tendencies.

J. Sharts[1] starts in splendid style with rich Oriental setting. Prince Hyrcanus, the central figure, is a pretender to the crown; a marvel of physical vigour; reckless, wild, debauched, seizing women, slaying men. He is attended by a Herculean supporter, Barabbas, and by the clever dwarfed camel-driver, Nadab. With the latter he visits in disguise Salome, to whom he reveals the secret of his hate against the Romans and his intended revolt, and she promises assistance. Incidentally there is reference to the multitude that follow the Nazarene dreamer who proclaims the Kingdom of God for poor captives. A beauty whom he had met and pursued recklessly, dropping down upon her in the midst of her companions from the roof, he is told is a common woman of the town. Shealtiel, his rich and powerful host, and his dissolute son, Phaleon, strive to induce him to marry their daughter and sister, Bernice, who will none of him, and when forced to dance in his presence distorts her face so that when she unmasks all are horrified. Meanwhile Salome had transferred her affections to Aristobulus, who she

[1] "The King Who Came." 1913, 298 p.

thought had a better chance of winning, and had torn out Nadab's tongue and one of his eyes. Hyrcanus in desperation penetrates Salome's camp by night, slays her eunuch guardian, and takes her to Nadab to torture her as he pleases in revenge; but he finally decides to set her free, and Hyrcanus, who is entering on regeneration, consents. His chief supporter, Barabbas, is captured. Hyrcanus witnesses many of the events of the last days of Our Lord, such as his entrance to Jerusalem, and plans a release of Barabbas, which is otherwise effected. Finally, in the garden of Gethsemane, he meets again the little maid of Siloam whom he had pursued, who proves to be Bernice. They witness the trial of Jesus, listen to the parable of the householder who planted a vineyard and travelled far, and after Jesus' death they are converted and betrothed, and he learns that Jesus, his rival for the Kingdom, deliberately rejected the weapons of force and fear.

J. Breckenridge Ellis[1] describes two Jewish families, neighbours, the one Sadducee and the other Pharisee, who have nothing to do with each other. But the former has a nephew, Adnah, and the latter a daughter, Miriam, who meet by the accident of a hole in the wall. Adnah's uncle, Iddo, leaves him in a cave with a leper, hoping he will die, but he escapes, aided by a messenger from Miriam. He finds his cruel uncle, Iddo, bound, and as he is about to slay him finds that the crimes he has been told his father committed were really committed by Iddo, whom he resolves to starve to death. One day, however, he hears Jesus preach, blessing the poor in spirit, mourners, etc. His anger melts and he releases Iddo, asking his pardon, blessing his name, and repeating the Lord's Prayer over him. Iddo, too, is melted, and they are reconciled. Later, however, his old evil spirit returns to Iddo and, accusing Adnah of stealing, he sells him to a slave shepherd for three hard years, until he is finally sold as a gladiator in Capernaum. In the arena he fights his father, whom he has thought dead, and who pretends to be overcome by his son; and when the crowd turn down their thumbs and demand Adnah to kill him, Iddo intervenes and is slain himself. While Pilate reads Iddo's confession, the gladiator is freed and weds Miriam. Iddo had conquered himself through the influence of Jesus.

M. G. Shine[2] describes two Jewish children, Phineas and his

---

[1] "Adnah, a Tale of the Time of Christ." London, 1907.
[2] "Jacob, a Lad of Nazareth." Chicago, 1915, 342 p.

sister Ednah, and gives in popular wise a picture of their lives as children, associating with Jesus, who was of their own age, their instruction under Rabbi Nathan, and the incipiency of a love relation between Jacob and his cousin Julia. There is much talk about Jesus and his appearance in the temple, and later his stilling the tempests. He often appears, but ineffectively, doing and saying little. Jacob, however, is slowly won over to Jesus, and in his allegiance is followed by Julia, and both are greatly impressed by the sermon on the mount. Jacob falls down unconscious when he hears of Jesus' condemnation to be crucified, but revives on the third morning after the crucifixion, about the time Jesus does, and is taken to the disciples, who restore his sight. Full now of faith rather than despair, he goes to Galilee, and finally sees Jesus ascend.

Mrs. L. D. Avery-Stuttle[1] has written a life of Jesus based exactly upon the Gospels, but with many incidents and characters of her own imagination to give a setting to the story. Jesus nowhere appears, but his deeds and sayings are the theme of most of the conversations of the book. Even other personages in the New Testament are rarely seen or heard, but the story is placed in the mouths of inconspicuous or invented persons. Many of the conversations seem rather trivial, as do some of the letters, e. g., from Martha to Adah of Nain. The author deserves some credit for not magnifying the rôle of Magdalene beyond bounds. The description of some of the miracles, like walking on the sea and raising Lazarus, are given by those who see them with the utmost naïveté and an almost convincing verisimilitude. The same is true of the Resurrection and the Ascension.

W. W. Cooley[2] gives little more than a paraphrase of Scripture, using the apostle Thomas and his life as a thread on which to string the various incidents. His honest doubt is made the focus of all the development there is in the story. Cooley makes a virtue of putting into the mouth of the Saviour no word not recorded in the Scripture, but he does show new effects of these words upon the acts and lives of the people of whom he tells us. So thin is the thread of fiction running through the book that it can hardly be called a novel. The author's reverence for his subject prevents him from giving the story any romantic attractiveness. There is nothing that can be called a plot, and everything is subordinated to the central figure, Christ.

[1] "Shiloh; the Man of Sorrows." 1914, 377 p.
[2] "Emmanuel; the Story of the Messiah." 1889.

Max Ehrmann's drama[1] sought to present a desupernaturalized Christianity. As the play opens, during the Passover a crowd is discussing the Messiah. Some think him possessed of a devil. He enters the city on an ass and goes to the temple, where his friends fight with and drive out the tradesmen. The priests seek to confound and discredit him before the crowd with their puzzles of the greatest commandment and taxes to Caesar. The great scene is when the adulteress is dragged before him. Jesus orders a pile of stones brought, declares under the protest of many that she must be stoned, but finally cries, "Halt, only the sinless must cast the stones." No one appears, and the people make great sport that even the high priest does not throw a stone. The third act is in Gethsemane, where the disciples gossip of the Kingdom and Jesus retires to pray. John sees a white figure, and hears a voice conversing with Jesus. Judas hopes his betrayal will force Jesus to reveal himself. Pilate refuses to condemn Jesus because he is not proven to be a murderer, and takes him home privately for cross-examination. He tells the people he is only a dreamer, and if a king, only a king of fools; that many young men feel called of God. The putting on the crown of thorns and the purple robe are made very cruel, for all file past Jesus and strike him, demanding a sign. In the last act the body is removed lest it be stolen. Joseph reviews Jesus' life, and Mary and her lover, Terreno, enter, she refusing his costly presents, wanting no earthly love, tense, fancying that she hears voices, that she sees something in the tomb. She is given a handkerchief which she thinks has Jesus' blood on it, and will not be calmed by Terreno, but finally cries out that she sees Jesus, falls on her knees, and declares herself unworthy. Terreno says she is mad, and that there is nothing in sight, while she cries out, "Joanna, Peter, John, I have seen him; he has come out of the tomb."

Mary Austin[2] has written a fantastic but original little sketch which begins with midnight on the morning of the Resurrection when the soul of Jesus begins to swing up from "point to point of consciousness on successive waves of pain." Now he is carried well on toward recovery, and anon dragged back by the clutch of the pit. But by degrees his state becomes more like that of waking. Memory begins to ply, and first he recalls the pang of losing all human support, the

[1] "Jesus; a Passion Play." New York, 1915.
[2] "The Green Bough; a Tale of the Resurrection." New York, 1913, 43 p.

sleep of his disciples; and so, pain by pain, he picks out other memories, the nails, cross, etc., though often his wounds cause him to drop back. At length he realizes the old trek toward God, and that he is not dead and was not forsaken. He sits up, touches the stones of the tomb, lays off the grave-clothes. He finds that the stone slides along its grooves under his pressure; he finds figs and water; he washes, dons the gardener's cloak, and lays hold of God as never before. He sees the women peering, hears the voice of Magdalene weeping, who finally knows him, and through her he appoints a rendezvous with his disciples in Galilee. They break bread together and at last are led to believe him real. In the hills is an anchorite's hut which few know and which Jesus now makes his home, for rest and recovery, rarely seeing any and never but few, seeking to get close to nature and to rest. On the last interview, walking a little way with his friends, he passes "up a hill trail toward his chosen place and the mountain mists receive him." Expecting him long in vain, his friends said, after the manner of that country, that he had ascended, and finally it came to be reported that they had seen him do so. They looked for him every day and thought they saw him in every stranger.

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and her husband, H. D. Ward[1], make Lazarus and Zahara, daughter of the high priest, hero and heroine of a melodramatic love story. The former is the head workman whom the priest employs to make changes about the temple, and in this function he sees Zahara, and both love on the instant. Her seclusion and character make her ready for any adventure, and they often meet in secret. Zahara's "shallop" is wrecked, and she is brought unconscious to land over leagues, by Jesus, who carries her, and walks on the water. He leaves her in the care of Lazarus, who has barely saved himself. On recovering she persists, against his protest, in regarding Lazarus as her saviour, and tells her father so, who in gratitude offers him the hospitality of his house, which the clandestine and guilty lovers abuse to the limit, excusing themselves for not marrying by a social disparity. In the last scene the priest causes the underground passages of the temple which the lovers must pass to be flooded. While they flounder the priest appears and saves her, but will not save Lazarus, whom she drags to land. He revives, but relapses later and dies, commending Zahara to his sisters, thus betraying their relation. After

[1] "Come Forth." New York, 1891, 318 p.

four days we have a very scriptural account of his resurrection, and he and Zahara are united. He will not tell the secrets of the grave. They had disagreed about Jesus, and she had promised to believe only if she saw the dead raised as she saw Lazarus. In this tawdry story Jesus is made to save the heroine from death by a miracle twice, almost as if the miracle was to bring the lovers together. There is no vestige of any scriptural Lazarus save the name.

Paul Heyse[1] wrote a powerful drama showing the effect of Jesus' character upon different persons, although he does not appear. Judas came to Jesus as a patriot, hoping he would free the Jews from Rome. He, like Flavius, nephew of Pilate, is a lover of the wealthy dissolute beauty, Mary, whose life is notoriously given to luxury and pleasure. She comes to Flavius' house to hear the Nazarene preach in an adjacent garden, and venturing too near the crowd, is recognized and stoned, but is saved by Jesus' saying, "Who is without sin," etc. This converts Mary. She renounces her lover Judas, who is enraged against his former master, Jesus, because he does not establish an earthly kingdom, and his betrayal is to force him to do so. Flavius, also now spurned by Mary, promises to have him freed if she will again accept him. She longs to save Jesus without this terrible sacrifice, and puts him off. Either she must sin again, or her new master must die. Judas, too, enters, tells of his betrayal, wishes her to flee with him or die at his hand. She decides to save Jesus at all costs. Flavius comes first for his answer and she starts to go with him, but sees over the door an image of Christ's face and hears his reproving voice. She falls fainting, but saved. In the last act we see the effects of Jesus' death. Judas is crazed. Haran calls the crucifixion butchery. Flavius chides the high priest because, when he heard his words of pardon, he knew Jesus was a God. "He was victor in this battle, and not you or your dark deity of wrath." Mary proclaims that she and Flavius caused the death of Christ, and is ordered home. Flavius protects her, declaring that they did not destroy Christ, but that it was his will to die and none could save him. Mary was rescued by Jesus from despair to hope, and the power of Jesus' personality is everywhere magnetic. The idea is not that Jesus died because Mary would not betray herself, but that her thought that she could rescue him was fantastic.

[1] "Mary of Magdala." Trans., New York, 1903.

Maeterlinck[1] develops a similar psychological situation. Mary comes to the villa of Silanus complaining that her jewels were stolen by vagrant Nazarenes, whose leader is a plunderer, but Silanus insists that he is a good man of peace. A man with rolling eyes passes who has just been cured of blindness, and hosts of sick and crippled throng about a house near Mary's to be healed. When Mary's group approach too near they are identified by the Roman toga, mobbed, and saved by Jesus' magic voice. In the second act, Mary's lover, Verus, a friend of Pilate, notices that she has a new soul. Mary declares Jesus has taken possession of her life, and has to allay Verus' jealousy. A messenger tells of Jesus' resurrection of a dead man, and they infer that to do this he must be "stronger than our gods." Lazarus, just raised, goes by toward Jesus, and Mary seeks to follow him, but is held back. Verus doubts her protests that she still loves him. In the third act many testify of cures, Jesus passes bound and scourged, the sounds of the blows are heard. Mary enters dishevelled, having been rebuffed by Roman officials with whom she had pleaded for Jesus' life. She denounces the crowd as cowardly because they will not rescue him, nor will she believe that he wishes to die. She adjures Verus to lead the work of rescue, with the crowd, which he loathes. He can save the Nazarene, but if he does so he will lose Mary, who will neither sacrifice him nor her own new life. She refuses to give to Verus all that Jesus has given to her. The noise of Jesus falling is heard outside. Verus for the last time calls Mary to flee, and she refuses, while the multitude outside cry, "Crucify him!"

E. S. Brooks[2] makes the central character of his story Bar-Asha, a proud prince whose retinue meets Roman soldiers, one of whom in a quarrel he stabs. He is brought to Pilate, and thence to Herod, who invites all to a great festival, seating Bar-Asha at his right. But at a certain point he throws his cup in his face; and then, when his victim retaliates, he is killed. But Jesus raises him from the dead. He then sets forth to find the Messiah, meets many travellers who tell of him, and among them Amina, the lustful but divorced wife of Herod, who seeks to woo him. He also meets Judas, who tells of his impatience at Jesus' delay, and also Adah, daughter of Jairus, who also, like him, had been raised from the dead, and is a foil to the seductive Amina. He also

[1] "Mary Magdalene." Trans., New York, 1910.
[2] "A Son of Issachar." New York, 1890.

meets Vettius, the victorious centurion, whom he tells of Judas's plan of rousing a rebellion against the Romans, so that the Messiah's kingdom will be set up. He is therefore stabbed by Bar-Asha, who in the disguise of Judas goes to Cæsarea, and for his treason is exposed to the lions, overcomes them, and so is freed by his knifemen. In the sequel the pure love of Adah for Bar-Asha triumphs over that of Amina.

Vergilius[1] is a splendid Roman youth, favourite of the Emperor Augustus, in love with Arria, whom the dissolute Antipater, son of Herod, also loves. To his dismay, Vergilius is sent by the Emperor to Jerusalem for two years, to gather all he can concerning the rumours of the new king, and he and Arria part with grief. In Jerusalem he is magnificently received and attends the secret conclave in darkness where the new *régime* is discussed. He is tempted by Salome, daughter of the king, whom he flouts, and who therefore turns to Manius for vengeance. Plots thicken about Vergilius, and even the Emperor at home withdraws his consent to his marriage with Arria, till she and her brother flee to Jerusalem. We have plots, barbaric festivals, and gladiatorial combats between Antipater and Vergilius, in which the latter is wounded by accident, thrust into a lion's den, and kills the lion. A beautiful slave girl chants of the expected new king as she is torn by beasts. The aged Simeon sings of the fulfilment of prophecy, and just as Vergilius and Manius are about to fight a duel, there is a great glow in the sky, and a voice calls, "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" A star appears and grows; the world seems on tiptoe of expectation. As they see in a cave "a beautiful young maiden, a child upon her breast," their hearts grow soft, and instead of fighting the two rivals clasp hands in friendship. All would pluck evil from their hearts. They realize that they have found the expected king, and set out for Rome to proclaim his advent. The story opens with much admirable archaeology, but grows somewhat clumsy and careless as it proceeds.

Stephen Phillips[2] produced a play which had much success in London, and which has only allusions to the work and death of Jesus, the slaughter of the Innocents, etc. The plot describes the intense and fatuous love of Herod for Mariamne, his queen. His jealousy of the young and languid high priest, her brother, Aristobulus, is such that he has him secretly slain. When the wife discovers the agent of

---

[1] "Vergilius, a Tale of the Coming of Christ," by Irving Bacheller. New York, 1904.
[2] "Herod; a Tragedy." New York, 1900.

her brother's death her love turns to hate and aversion, till finally by evil counsellors Herod is persuaded in a moment of resentment to allow her to be slain. In the last act her body is brought upon the stage, he is overwhelmed with grief, and the curtain falls upon him in a cataleptic daze, regarding her mummified corpse.

A. Wilbrandt's drama, "Hiran," centres about a Syrian prophet who appears at Antioch, in 24 B. C. Over against heathenism and its gorgeous ceremonial Diagoras proclaims knowledge of the way of salvation and curses his fallen daughter, Lysilla. Hiran, on the other hand, proclaims love of man, and loves the outcast daughter, who becomes his convert. He himself later becomes a fanatical devotee of heathenism.

In his "John" Sudermann presents the tragic death of the Baptist; and although Jesus does not appear, he is made the cause of a wondrous change in John, who is first a relentless judge of sin and the herald of the Messiah, whom he describes solely in the popular terms of a militant hero. Later, however, he changes his point of view under the influence of Jesus, and preaches a gospel of forgiveness and of love above the law. It is in this mood that John dies triumphantly, while halleluiahs to the Messiah entering Jerusalem are heard, and Herod with great apprehension ventures to look upon the scene of Jesus' triumph.

D. Greimer's dramatic poem, "Jesus," deals charade-wise with many incidents, selecting by preference those with lyric value, Judas having the most prominent place and Jesus being characterized in long recitations.

Sudermann's "Jesus," too, consists of a series of scenes and word pictures in plain prose, which are often preachy. Like Weiser he has Jesus meet a German, and together they draw up a parallel between Balder and Jesus. The chorus of children at the close seems tasteless and tawdry.

So in Baumann's drama, "Christus," the root idea is that according to the previous plan and decree of God the Father and of Wodin, Christ appeared again in this world in the person of Odin. Here, too, should be mentioned Longfellow's "Christus." In works like Kingsley's "Hypatia," Wallace's "Ben Hur," Ware's "Aurelian," and Pater's "Marius," Jesus is only felt as an influence.

For literature even more than for painting the Magdalene rivals the Holy Mother in attractiveness. The sins and repentance of the

former are a hardly less fascinating theme for recent writers than was the virginity of the latter for the apocryphal authors. The one is the typical female convert. The other was born pure and sinless. The one loves Jesus as a woman loves a man, but with a passion that is sublimated and spiritualized, while the other loves him with a pure and fervent maternal affection. Jesus' love for his mother is never ardently filial, as if not only extra-canonical but even canonical writers had a deep instinctive dread of any intimation of an Oedipus complex, which, especially in view of the disparity in the ages of his parents, he might be suspected of. To the devotion of the Magdalene he is usually represented as cold and even oblivious, while if he shows a trace of any natural inclination it is only to the third Mary of the household of Lazarus, but this is represented as purely Platonic.[1]

1Dr. H. C. Grumbine, who has read this chapter, kindly allows me to print the following from his own exhaustive study of the subject of Jesus in literature, which is to appear later.

Browning's "Pippa Passes" tells of a poor silk weaving girl who tries to make the most of her one holiday in the year, and as she passes, singing, changes the inner life of four others, first of Ottima and her paramour, who just after their guilty hour hear her chanting "God's in his heaven—All's right with the world!" She then passes the house of the sculptor Jules whose one passion is to create a soul which he thought he had found in his model Phene, but after his marriage found she had none. He hears Pippa sing of the idealizing power of love and so is prompted to make a soul in Phene. To Luigi, whose heroic plan of a regicide to free Italy is drooping, she sings of a great and just king of long ago, and this reinforces his high resolve. Fourth, at night her pure song of flowers saves another offender. Of all the good she has done and all the evil she has barely escaped, she is naïvely ignorant. To-morrow she will work in the silkmill. The similarity between Pippa and the "Third Floor Back" is obvious. In H. S. Harrison's "V. V.'s Eyes" we have a physician with a self-sacrificing love of humanity, and with a hypnotic power in his eyes. Other poems of Browning have the same thing, viz., "The Death in the Desert," which portrays John at the moment of death in a cave after years of persecution. On account of his great age and his nearness, through the thinness of the physical veil, to divinity, where the future is as to-day, he anticipates and meets certain modern denials of Christ's existence and miraculous power. "The Epistle of Karshish" sets forth a half skeptical, half credulous mood in which an Arab physician journeys through Palestine soon after the resurrection of Lazarus, in the form of a letter to his former preceptor. Lazarus' resurrection is the central theme and is treated skeptically and yet in the end the author confesses to a mysterious feeling that the miracle-worker may after all be divine. "Mr. Sludge, the Medium," while severe on spiritism, also criticises the mental sleight of hand Christians use to create faith. His "Christmas-Eve" describes a shabby, dissenting meeting-house and half-cretinous congregation, and it shows the poet's disgust and flight in aesthetic panic into the wet night. Shelley's novel, "Frankenstein," is a picture of the superman before that word came into vogue. The Cambridge Library of English Literature, volume XII, page 277, cites the dreary succession of religious novels which were a result of the Oxford Movement, compiled by W. H. Hutton, B. D. Others were Newman's "Loss and Gain" and "Callista"; Wiseman's "Fabiola"; C. M. Yonge's "The Heir of Redcliffe"; and "The Little Duke." W. B. Yeats's "The Hour-Glass" dramatizes the thesis that in an age of doubting savants the saving faith in immortality remains only with fools and that at the hour of death only is vision into immortality clarified. H. A. Jones's "Michael and His Lost Angel" has a motif not unlike Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter," viz., that of the troubles of a clergyman. Here he develops a passion for a married woman, resigns his splendid living, immerses himself in Roman monasticism in Italy, but to no avail, for when she follows him and dies there in his arms, he vows himself hers, body and soul, forever. Perhaps the play is meant to oppose the claims of religion to the claims of naturalism. J. M. Synge's "The Well of the Saints" is full of Irish humour, tells of a blind couple restored to sight by the saints but who lapsed to blindness again and would not be cured a second time, preferring their pleasant dreams about reality to their crushing disappointment in the reality itself. It is a happy complement of Maeterlinck's "The Blind." The theme of both is faith. "Give me visions of blind faith rather than the sordid reality." W. V. Moody's "The Faith-Healer" is a drama not unlike that of Björnson's "Beyond Human Power," in that the hero is a miracle-worker. Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" dramatized the proposition that a God of hate and vengeance must eventually be vanquished by a God of love. Mrs. Ward's "Robert Elsmere" and "The Case of Richard Meynell" suggest Frenssen's "Holyland" in that both would effect a compromise between the old and the new. In Ibsen's "Brand," the hero's church is among the far north fisher-folk, steeped in convention and worldliness. To them religion is apart from life, while Brand desires to carry the spirit of Sunday into the rest of the week, and sets about it with indomitable will. To him law is supreme and will must obey it. Christ is the embodiment of duty, the personation of the law. As his supreme act was sacrifice, so Brand will strip himself of everything and make the world imitate him. His motto is "Nothing or all" or fulfilment to the letter. In this spirit he will rebuild the church and refashion the world. Perfection is the goal and sacrifice is the path. But he has often to encounter the spirit of compromise and is held up in the mist of snowy mountains. He struggles with a peasant over treacherous snows and crevices on an errand of mercy and at last, at the most dangerous point, the peasant demurs and can go no farther. He turns back. The girl may die but for him but Brand pushes on, glad to lose his life if need be. So it is when Brand encounters the devotees of beauty and pleasure, but here he wins a convert, Agnes, who follows him on a frail boat across a dangerous sea to succor one in need. There follows a series of similar situations, especially when Brand's mother, who had acquired a fortune, comes to him for his blessing and he requires her to put away her wealth, and so she dies without his ministration. Agnes follows him to the sunless corner of his mountain parish. Here their son dies and Brand takes this sorrow as a means of grace to bring him nearer the heart of God. Agnes, however, clings to her earthly affection, and when a gypsy-beggar is driven to their house on Christmas, Agnes cannot give her the garments her child wore save by Brand's repeated commands. But when she at last gives the last memento, her heart affirms that her own son is in heaven and that she will soon go there. Brand pushes on his new church with its motto "All or nothing." The multitude comes to dedicate it, and the people wish a less rigorous law, but his eloquence persuades them. He calls them to follow

(c) In a group of works somewhat distinct we have depictions of doubt and belief in the various aspects of their struggle, one with another, in which now the one and now the other triumphs. Not Jesus himself, but his cause and doctrine, are made the centre of interest. The leading character sometimes tries to live out, and in some cases to write out, the life of Jesus as he personally has come to conceive it in modern conditions, or else he reaches a negative attitude. Of both processes we are often given an account of the stages and motivations. These works are of very high significance because they show how earnest, able, cultivated, free minds to-day really regard Christianity, and what they conceive its effects to be upon the community. They are not merely literary artists, but also seekers, and feel themselves called as leaders in the field of literature to take and define for others a position upon the supremest of culture questions. They repeatedly say that every serious soul should develop his own interpretation of Jesus. Certainly no more profitable or stimulating reading could be suggested for young men whose minds are circumnutating to find support for a religious ethical view of the world, and who feel the necessity of taking an attitude toward Jesus. Among the best and most representative of these works are the following:

Tolstoi in his "Confessions" says that at the very height of his fame he was suddenly smitten with the question what life really means. Seeking an answer in science and then in the common faith of orthodoxy in vain, he decided on suicide, but found by chance a peasant who revealed to him the true method of giving life meaning and acceptability. From him he learned that it was not evil thoughts but an evil life that withheld men from knowledge of truth and God. This truth he found set forth in the Gospels, especially in the sermon on the mount, and so applied himself to their study and the realization of the life they taught. Tolstoi gives no plastic description of Jesus' personality, because this is less important than his precepts. The root of all is, "Resist not evil"; and in drawing the extreme consequences of this injunction he finds the basis for judging all of life, civil, political, cultural. In other works[1] he describes his long quest

---

him to the peaks where one after another falters, and some call him a fool. He presses on till an avalanche buries him and the crowd denounce him as a fool but a voice from heaven cries "He is the god of love." Other more common references are Milton's "Paradise Lost" and "Regained"; Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress"; Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying"; Browning's "The Ring and the Book"; Tennyson's "In Memoriam," "The Idylls of the King"; Mark Twain's "The Mysterious Stranger"; Lowell's "The Vision of Sir Launfal"; William Morris's "The Earthly Paradise"; Churchill's "The Inside of the Cup"; Harold Monro's "A Song at Dawn"; Lascelle Abercrombie's "The New God."

[1] "The Resurrection," New York, 1911, and "My Religion," New York, 1899, 202 p.

for the right way, which cannot be found in the Church, but in living from within and filling the here and now with the maximum of life. Five precepts he now finds basal: "Be not angry; avoid adultery; take no oaths; do not resist violence, and make no war; and do not judge, and thus do not serve on juries." The Son of Man is reason and the inner life rather than a transcendental person. This is man's essence, and it was this that arose from the dead. All in the world that teaches this is a fragment of the true Gospel. Brahmins and prophets, Confucius, Epictetus, and other sages realized it, but less completely than Jesus. All good things in socialism and communism, charity, liberty, are broken lights of the eternal gospel of service, which is the only way by which one can feel unity with the world and with mankind. The quintessence of the sermon on the mount in Mat. v, 38-39, is directly in the teeth of Nietzsche's morality; indeed, most of the institutions of modern life are upon a principle directly opposed to that of Jesus. He wished peace and love of enemies. He would have all work and existing financial and social distinctions abolished. The existing order does not give true inner liberty, for nothing could be more unnatural than for men to believe they are bad through the sin of another, viz., Adam, and that they are made good through the merit of another, viz., Christ.

K. Gutzkow[1] describes a skeptical, cultivated young woman, reared in Christianity, but who has come to doubt it and be very intent upon the problem of what life means, so that not only she but all about her are troubled by her importunity. She falls in love with a complacent optimist who strives to teach her the wisdom of giving way to one's desires. In her perplexity, at one stage she falls back on and takes great comfort in Christianity, but in the end comes to feel that there is no peace till the will to live has been completely denied, as Schopenhauer taught. At her death she leaves a confessional "Pilgrim's Progress" of this peregrination of her soul.

Paul Heyse[2] sets forth a very vivid contrast between the simple Christian faith of an old artist, mentally and physically short-sighted or lacking in perspective, called from his work the "*Zaunkönig*," and two typical children of the world—his daughter Leah, by a Jewish mother, and a somewhat Hegelian student, Edwin. The latter re-

[1] "Wally die Zweiflerin." Jena, 1903.
[2] "The Children of the World." 1894.

volts at Christian superstition, which he regards as cultivated Greeks did the tales of Homer and Hesiod, and condemns theology as a foul stream in which the world's dirty linen has been washed for centuries. It is a dam built of crumbling ruins of an old civilization athwart the trend of modern life, which men are always having to patch and which needs to be supplanted by a new religion in the sense of Lessing's "Nathan the Wise." When Leah's father finds what Edwin is teaching his daughter and how her faith is crumbling, he discharges him, but is greatly impressed by discovering her diary in which she reveals all her doubts and how she has confessed for her father's sake to many things which her deeper nature denies. The tutor and his pupil still meet and talk, the chief theme of their dialogue being the unreality of the Christian life and the excessive stress it lays upon the future, which kills the life of the present, and thus, by anticipating and never realizing the here and now, saps the joy of life. When Edwin's brother, a real saint, though an unbeliever, dies and the pastor declares that he was not in the fold, his brother eloquently eulogizes him; and in the last scene the lovers pass a church and ask whether after all the simple and childlike faith which is being celebrated in it may not be happiness for some. They still, however, declare that for themselves all life, truth, service, are in the present, and refuse to accept Christianity because it deals only in futures.

Peter Rosegger[1] gives us one of the most powerful of modern stories showing how the religion of a community is its life. For ages the people in this German forest town have been fire-worshippers with their chief celebration in midsummer. A Christian priest, sent to convert them from paganism, is arrogant, coercive, and so hated that forty citizens meet in a weird place and choose by lot one Wahnfred, a somewhat dreamy idealist, to kill him. The priest becomes ill, and so Wahnfred will not kill him at first, but aids in his recovery and then chooses as the moment for doing so the service of St. Barbara's day, when, having blessed the bread, the priest is praying for those in the house of death. In a very dramatic scene, Wahnfred strikes when all are present, and effects his escape. The government sends soldiers, and makes all the citizens march around the priest's body and draw lots and the eleven chosen must on pain of death produce the murderer. An awful curse is pronounced, from a picturesque rock, on the com-

[1] "The God-Seeker." New York, 1901.

munity and all its activities. Thus it becomes godless, criminal, and lazy. Everything Christian is annulled, and the community is isolated from the world. Wahnfred flees to a forest hut in which he finds a manuscript wherein another murderer confesses that he has lived long in this place to expiate his crime, till he decides to go back as a leader. Wahnfred thus rules for a time, directing the community by letters pasted on trees. He becomes a true God-seeker, wrestling in his soul to find peace. He is so emaciated that those who first see him think him his own ghost. The people lapse to their midsummer fire-worship, finding the perpetual fire conserved in one house. Everything degenerates. At last a great temple of logs is built by the community, to celebrate the pagan orgies of fire-worship, under the guidance of Wahnfred. When the entire community is in this temple, it is locked and by an automatic lamp set on fire, and everything is burned, Wahnfred included. By this holocaust the sin of the community is expiated. Paganism is thus depicted as full of bale. The book shows what human nature tends to become when left to its elemental forces without religion.

G. Frenssen[1] presents in some sense the obverse of the above picture. His hero, Kay Jans, is a dreamer and marvellous story-teller, who can charm even strikers. As a student in Berlin he passes rapidly through many stages of development, renouncing all established religions, but yearning for purity and service. As a pastor's assistant near his old home he studies social questions, realizing how far from present efficiency and from its ancient moorings Christianity has drifted. He goes back again to study, reasoning about fundamental questions, and passes through a pessimistic stage, doubting whether there is any Holyland on earth. Finally on the advice of a friend, he seeks to write the inner history of Christianity, confiding his manuscript to a girl whom he vainly loves. This manuscript makes a large part of the book, and is a life of Jesus, the essentials of which have been illustrated in the developmental stages of Kay's own soul. Man, he says, is first bestial, then passes through a stage of subjection under superstitious powers of evil. Very slowly he realizes that good, and not might, should rule. Then comes the stage of the great religious founders. Jesus is a shy boy who went to the city, as Kay had done, striving to be pure in heart, repeating the inner struggles of all God-

[1] "Holyland." Trans. Boston, 1905.

seekers. Illumination comes with the resolve to surrender everything to service, even life itself. It was Paul who transformed Jesus into a supernatural being. But what the world needs is that he shall cease to be a cold abstraction, and be resolved back again to pure humanity, fallible, mistaken, but ever seeking, and in the end finding, the one great thing. In thus writing his life of Jesus, Kay is at the same time giving his fatherland, which is a modern Holyland, a gospel. He is making himself the modern representative of Jesus to his little community, for he has indeed been through all the stages of the development of Jesus' life himself.

P. Rosegger[1] tells of a prisoner condemned to die, who is induced by a priest to spend his time in writing a life of Christ from the beginning to the end as it has been lived out in him, the idea being that Jesus does very different things for different people, each having his own Jesus. While the prisoner in a general way follows the Gospels, it is with many amplifications. The star at Bethlehem, e. g., is a constellation, taking the form of the letters "I. N. R. I.," which is his own name, Inri. Jesus and his mother on the way to Egypt are captured by Barabbas, who is made to give with considerable amplification the essential doctrines of Nietzsche; but it is from these that on the cross, where they next meet, he is converted. At ten Jesus is at Pharaoh's court, taught by the wise men of Egypt. The Baptist's head when brought in opens its mouth and says, "The Kingdom is at hand." The disciples argue, with very different interpretations of most that Jesus said. The scene of the sermon on the mount is a glowing one. There are many attempts to prevent Jesus from his severe criticism of the Jews. The Buddhistic doctrine of existence is criticised. One disciple declares that the views of Osiris, Zeus, Mithra, and others are about the same; to which Jesus replies that they are so if they teach service alike. Jesus is saddened to find that his followers have often deserted their callings for the Kingdom and become idle, also that those he permitted to work on the Sabbath have overworked. The cross-bearing by Simon is amplified; he would go on bearing it forever. On the cross the sign "I. N. R. I." is variously interpreted: "In Nirvana Rest I," and "Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaorum." At the close of the story the priest expresses his delight with the manuscript and declares it will help others.

[1] "I. N. R. I. A Prisoner's Story of the Cross." New York, 1905.

Ibsen began his trilogy with "Caesar's Apostasy," which gives the story of Julian before he came to the throne, and when he is in converse with his friend Agathon, who is destined later to slay him. His apostasy is preluded. He is a student of philosophy, of Mithraic and other mysteries, as well as of Christianity. The Emperor is jealous of him, and poisons his wife. In the catacombs he is told that he is to be Emperor, if he so elects, instead of choosing to die in the Christian faith. "Emperor Julian" Ibsen regards as his greatest work. It describes Julian practising the rites of the old religion, sacrificing to Fortuna, Apollo, Dionysus, and the rest. In the second act the Emperor's old friend Gregory goes over to Christianity, and we have a report that the temple of Venus will be destroyed. He meets others he once knew who have become Christians, and by argument and coercion he would bring them back to paganism. As he sacrifices in the temple of Apollo, he is cursed by Christian priests while an earthquake shakes down the fane, although Julian declares it is because of Apollo's wrath that it had been desecrated. When he is sacrificing to Cybele the crowd jest, and he tells of a treatise he is writing. A Christian whom he has tortured meets him, tears the flesh from his wounds, and throws it at the Emperor. The crowd, like a chorus, is intent on who shall conquer, Emperor or Galilean, while Ibsen is intent on bringing out the conception of a third kingdom which shall include the good in both paganism and Christianity, for there is no room for both in their extreme forms on the present earth. When the right man comes, both will be absorbed, as a child is swallowed up in the youth he becomes. Julian, however, is trying to reduce the youth to childhood. He is convinced that he is divine, and goes forth to conquer the world. There are dreams and portents. He is always meeting youthful friends who have turned Galileans. A traitor tells his army of a three days' short cut (instead of thirty) to the Persian capital, so Julian burns his ships, and the expedition comes to grief. Julian would gladly die if the world would only believe that Hermes had come for him. At last he rushes into battle without helmet or armour, in his delusion thinking the Persians are Galileans, and finally dies conquered, as he thinks, by them.

B. Björnson in two plays[1] gives us what might be called the psychology of a miracle. Sang, a country pastor, was rich but has given

[1] "Ueber unsere Kraft." München, 1903, 315 p.

everything away. He lives in a beautiful village by the sea and mountains, but his wife is bedridden. The singer and the legends incite to faith. His wife always fears he will go beyond his power in some direction and so fall short in others. He has cured some of his flock, and there is a rumour that he has raised one from the dead; but his utmost power cannot restore his wife. His children come from afar to reinforce the father's prayer of faith by the mother's bed, but in vain. Sang seems the only Christian in the world. He believes everything literally, and wishes Christianity to assert itself, for nothing is impossible to faith, which is itself a miracle. A church convention arrives in a ship and discusses miracles. The faces of those who have been healed shine, but no one seems to live up to Christ's ideal of faith. The world needs a miracle, but does not believe it can occur. With faith the world would be changed. Meanwhile, Sang goes into his church near by, prays, sings; the people flock about. He dreams, and is entranced. Finally bells ring; there is a mighty storm; the mountain slides as if to wipe out the village, but is turned aside as if by a miracle. The children rush in and say their mother is walking. Amid "Halleluiahs" the pastor comes out and embraces his cured wife, who falls dead in his arms. He murmurs, "But this was not the meaning of it—or"—and falls dead himself. What is the "or" that killed him? He had gone beyond his power. We have here an illustration of the Christian *hubris* or spiritual pride which, as in old Attic tragedy, the gods always punish.

S. Lagerlöf[1] deals with the relations of socialism to Christianity, giving an unusual conception of Antichrist and his works. In the prologue the Emperor Augustus, who is seeking an augury as to whether he shall grant the prayer of the senate to allow his deification, is shown by an old sibyl a vision of the birth of Christ, then occurring, and is told that on the height of the Capitol where they are standing this helpless babe shall be worshipped—"Christ or Antichrist—but no frail mortal." Centuries later on this height is a Christian church, reared to prevent the fulfilment of the sibyl's prophecy, in which the focus of all the worship is an image of the Christ-child, made from a piece of the true cross, clad in wonderful vestments, and adorned with a crown of pure gold and with costly jewels. This wonder-working image is the only comfort of the poor monks, who are beset with temp-

[1] "The Miracles of Antichrist." Trans. 1899.

tations and overcome by fears that Antichrist will press in upon them. On rare occasions the image is shown to the public. It exerts a strange fascination upon an Englishwoman, who makes a false image, with tinsel crown and imitation jewels, which she manages to substitute for the true image. In the crown of this image she scratches the words, "My kingdom is only of this world," satisfying her conscience by the reflection that thus she is not deceiving any one. Then the false image set up in the church no longer comforts the monks or heals the sick, and the true image, who learns of the distress, escapes from the pedestal where the Englishwoman has put it, and by night goes through the sinful and wretched streets of the city, back to the church, where it is received with solemn thanksgiving, and the false image is thrown down the cliff. Thus, believe the monks, has the prophecy of the sibyl been fulfilled, that Antichrist has ruled on the Capitol, but her prophecy has also now been set at nought, and they may rest in peace and joy thereafter. When the Englishwoman misses her wonderful image she goes at once to the church, and on the way finds the false image. Knowing then that the substitution has been discovered, she returns home, but keeps the false image, which reminds her of the true. It induces in her, however, a strange restlessness. All her life she travels, and wherever she carries the image insurrections are likely to break out. At her death it falls to another Englishwoman, who likewise travels incessantly. After other vicissitudes the image is finally installed in an old church in Diamante, a little village in Sicily. Here the central characters are Gaetano, a pious young carver of holy images, and Donna Elisa, the young wife of an old man. The two plan to go to Argentina, but on the day when Donna Elisa is to meet Gaetano the church bell rings all day long, terrifying the people, who cannot explain it, and causing Donna Elisa to repent of her sin. She devotes herself to her husband and her father, and begins to plan changes and improvements for the village, always praying to the image for help, and securing it by some surprising occurrence which she deems miraculous. Thus, she plans a railroad, and secures funds in amazing ways, and also the coöperation of an engineer whom the image cures of the curse of the "evil eye." The lover Gaetano returns, but is imprisoned on a false charge and is not released till much later, after the death of Elisa's husband. Thus the village prospers greatly. In the end it chances that a monk, who knew the story of the two images, discovers the false

Christ in the church, denounces it to the people, and would burn it, but it is rescued. He appeals to the Pope to help him; but the Pope rebukes him for his hate, and says that the Church has always known that Antichrist would come in the guise of Christ and do Christlike works. It is the Church's mission not to destroy Antichrist but to lead him to Christ. Socialism is Antichrist, and "no one can save mankind from their sorrows, but much is forgiven to him who brings new courage to bear them."

Israel Zangwill[1] describes an effort to establish a new religion larger than Christianity. Stephen, the minister, comes to feel that religion should affect cancer, tuberculosis, and eugenics, and that man should cease looking to "some gigantic genie in the clouds to do his dirty work" and should clean up the world himself. Despite his wife, he goes to London to found a new church. The second act shows him there in dire poverty with one convert to his new book. He tells the missionary that as he is bringing a higher religion to Africa so he is trying to do to England. A rich convert to Stephen builds a great cathedral, and ten years later we see it with stained windows in honour of secular heroes, and with processionals, vestments, and other symbols. He would organize his church as Christianity is organized. When his son is murdered by an enemy of the new religion, Stephen's wife insists that he lives on; but Stephen objects that if all who blunder into being do so, insanity is immortalized. Death, he says, should vitalize, not paralyze all. She tells him that if all the world accepted his belief, all the mothers would spurn it. He declares their son is dead, she that he lives, and as he enters his pulpit the choir sings, "The righteous cannot die." Stephen says it is Winfred's music; the wife says, "The resurrection and the life."

J. V. Widmann[2] paraphrases Christ in the wilderness in a work of genius, with a prelude of two students in a forest, one holding with Nietzsche that God is dead; the other a believer. They come upon a hermit, Lux, an able artist, who has been excommunicated, and is living with animals. He is sore at heart because this is a world wherein his dog can kill a parturient mouse. His sister tries to lead him to Spinoza's views. Lux decides to act a play, and we are now transported to the Dead Sea, where lions and jackals rove and, as in the

[1] "The Next Religion; a Play in Three Acts." London, 1912.
[2] "Der Heilige und die Tiere." Frauenfeld, 1912, 187 p.

old animal epos, converse and express their hate of man, their memory of Samson. A lion arrives without his prey because he has experienced a strange awe in the presence of an ascetic. Azaziel, an embodiment of nature without, and untamed instinct within, man, would mislead Christ by arousing his unconscious instincts, for he hates the anaemic crew. He orders Lilith to tempt Jesus, which she has tried in vain to do, for he only pities her. In an intermezzo a herd of goats are alarmed at the arrival of a scapegoat, which, when they identify, they welcome. Jesus has marvellous power to sympathize with and understand animals, and this gift opens to him what at first seems a world of horrors, cruelty, slaughter, rage. He learns their language. They protest at his tortures, which make even Satan pity him. He is strongly impelled to stay and redeem them, and his parting with them to save man is pathetic. Azaziel hopes he may thus be diverted from his intention of saving mankind; but Jesus realizes that animals are creatures of blind instinct and cannot be redeemed, and so decides to do his beneficent work for man. In a final scene a choir of angels glorifies his decision.

In Kierkegaard's "Stadien auf dem Lebenswege" (Leipzig, 1885), and in "Entweder—Oder" (Leipzig, 1886, 500 p.), he describes with great psychological insight the transition from a purely aesthetic to a religious view of life, which he deems vastly higher. This is the diametrical opposite of Oscar Wilde in his "De Profundis," written while he was in prison, and in which, besides attempting a spiritual portraiture of Jesus regarded as a poet and artist, he believes that his life and work should best be conceived from the standpoint of aesthetics (as J. M. Baldwin's philosophy seeks to put beauty in the place of reality), failing thus to realize either the ethical or the religious greatness of Jesus. In other works—"Ein Übung um Christentum," and "Angriff an die Christenwelt"—Kierkegaard points out with great exaltation and insight that the only resource left to man is flight to the grace of God. He attacks contemporary Christianity because it has cut loose from the stern behest to decide for Christ, so that the Church has really ceased to be Christian. To become so again, we must become "contemporaries" with Jesus, and not merely his admirers and followers. Schrempf, whose "Menschenloos" introduced Kierkegaard to Germany, makes Jesus to have been at first a sinful and broken man, but a striking instance of regeneration, like

Paul, Augustine, etc., or one who passed from utter alienation from God over to harmony and peace with him.

In F. Hebbel's drama, "Christus," the religious side of Christianity is shown as only a myth. Christ developed under the influence of the Baptist, and both at first thought only of the earthly kingdom. Only just before his death did Jesus come to conceive the Kingdom as of heaven. For G. F. Meyer the chief trait of primitive Christianity is the very sharp opposition brought out between the Pauline and the Christian or Petrine view of it. J. Schlaff, in his "Jesus and Miriam," represents the latter, and also Mary, as being almost frantically in love with Jesus, and indicates that he, too, on his side, was greatly affected by the beauty of Miriam; but in his "Christ and Sophia," a title borrowed from Novalis, he tries to describe the two guiding influences which have flowed from Jesus' life and doctrine, making the Christ cult, in the sharpest contrast to German skepticism, the best thing in the modern world, repudiating all monistic ethics, and especially such racial characteristics as Chamberlain in his "Foundations of the Nineteenth Century" gives to Jesus. Ellen Key, in "Lebensglaube," is chiefly influenced by the opposition to liberal theology which she thinks has falsified and modernized the true world-renouncing character of Jesus, which places him close beside Buddha. Jesus cannot be the way to God, but only a model to us in the persistence with which he followed that way. Modern Christianity, she thinks, is declining. C. Löffler, in "Jesus Christ," presents him as a man, while Peter persists that he is a god. When in the *dénouement*, Christ proclaims that his kingdom is not of this earth, Peter calls him insane, and the multitude fall away. Löffler is a glorifier of deeds and of men who waste little time in thinking about God or their souls, and he has nothing but condemnation for the Magdalene. The prophets are dreamers, liars, diplomats, because they preach mundane salvation. Each one should be the redeemer of his own sins.

De Regla's[1] Jesus, a very beautiful child, was born out of wedlock, but magnanimously adopted by Joseph. Of eschatology he knew nothing. His miracles were all suggestion and hypnotism. The feeding of the multitude is explained by striking out ciphers in the figures.

In literature, as in art, Jesus is represented with feminine as well

[1] "Jesu von Nazaret." Leipsig, 1894.

as with masculine traits of both body and soul. He is meek, passive, receptive, intuitive, a lover of children, and perhaps a little deficient in some of the attractions of virility according to the standards of every Christian age. Lecky thought he had slowly been given feminine traits by centuries of adoration by women, and that the strong tendency of celibate men to have before them a feminine ideal and to prevent the further emasculation of Jesus was one psychological root in the development of the Madonna ideal, which represented their highest sublimation of the other sex, so that but for her evolution the character of Jesus would have become yet more womanly. Many romancers, as we have seen, represent Jesus as appearing in modern life to bring out contrasts with it, but none that I know has ever represented a similar advent of the Madonna. Diametrical in many respects as is the contrast between the ideals of Jesus and those of the superman, we have no attempt to develop a similar antithesis between the Madonna and the superwoman, whether as a moralist, scholar, society leader, or suffragette, etc. The differences between man and the superman are no less than those between Mary and the diverse types of superwoman. The Church conceptions of Mary are no more inconsistent with those of contemporary womanhood than are the conceptions of Jesus with those of the ideals of modern manhood. To develop the former antithesis should be a tempting theme for poets, dramatists, and novelists. Are Catholic conceptions of womanhood truer than those of Protestants? and do the latter need the softening and refining influences that the cult of Mary has developed in the Mother Church?

(d) The recognition of greatness when disguised has always been a thrilling dramatic motif. Gods, fairies, kings, and wooing princes coming incognito, wander in common and even mean estate, till in the *dénouement* they are known for what they really are. This is a theme of infinite variety and of unfailing charm. In cruder tales of this sort the masquerader may reveal himself suddenly in the crucial moment by a miracle or by a metamorphosis, confounding the enemies leagued against him. In somewhat more developed art he has some specific badge, insignia, bodily mark, or token by which he can make himself known at will. In still more refined stories he is slowly recognized by an ensemble of words, deeds, features, accents. Recognition passes slowly through all its stages, from faintest suggestion,

perhaps of a *déjà-vu* kind, up to complete certainty. The pathos of this motif comes out when the disguise is so effective that the hero cannot make himself known for what he really is, even to his friends, or, saddest of all, is punished as an impostor. In cases of opposite nature, the hero, or perhaps only his face, may appear, or his voice is heard and instantly recognized, and this at once changes the current of events for the better. The common element in all these cases is a kind of sense of presence or *sensus numenis* that may come slowly or suddenly, consciously or unconsciously, suffusing the present act or moment with a flood of new significance and affectivity. The feeling that a superpersonality may lurk within even the most commonplace individual, or appear in splendour at any place, time, or circumstance, enhances the worth of individuality, charges events with a new meaning, and tends to intensify life itself, as capable of being all of it raised to a higher potential. The legends of the Church in the past have utilized almost every possibility here that Jesus' life could suggest, to say nothing of those of many of the saints. Whatever is done to the least is done to him, and all must strive to live his life and thus reincarnate him. Thus many who were not Jesus have been mistaken for him by the momentum of this apparition tendency. In literature Jesus still walks the earth in many a guise. The most salient illustrations of this tendency I can find are the following:

W. T. Stead,[1] with several assistants, made a careful study of Chicago from a moral point of view, listing, with the owners' names, some one hundred and fifty houses of prostitution, mapping out grog-shops, characterizing corruption in city government, and ending each section with a few highly sensational sentences, repeating with variations the query what Christ would do if he appeared in each of these "purlieus of destruction." We are never told in any case what he would do, and the effect is more yellow than dramatic.

Feeling that Stead's book implied that Jesus' plans had failed for the world, the implication he leaves on our minds being that "we are all going to hell," Edward Everett Hale,[2] instead of taking Jesus to slums, dives, and grog-shops, all of which, he tells us, could have been seen in ancient Jerusalem, took him through Boston's charities and corrections. He is represented as a tall, dark Syrian, who is going

[1] "If Christ Came to Chicago." Chicago, 1893, 472 p.

[2] "If Jesus Came to Boston," 1895, 45 p. See also Charles M. Sheldon: "In His Steps." 1889.

to America in quest of a lost brother whom he had never seen, and his children. The stranger, Jesus, did not seem surprised at modern inventions, and was piloted to many institutions and introduced to their heads by their true names, till at length he gave his guide the slip, telegraphing him later that he had gone to Chicago, but praising Boston for what it was doing for him by helping the least of his brethren. Hardly anything obviously well meant could have been conceived in a more commonplace, not to say vulgar and irreverent, way than in this booklet, wherein the mask of Jesus has no trace of impressiveness of any kind.

H. Balzac[1] describes a boat bound to Ostend, the prow of which is filled with noblemen and women, and the stern with common people. Just as it is leaving port, a stranger of great personal nobility, but hatless and dressed like a peasant, appears from nowhere. Although without purse, sword, or belt, he seems like a burgomaster, kindly, worthy, with an air of calmness and authority, so that the poor people give him a place and show him various petty courtesies. As a storm arises and grows severe, he encourages and comforts them. When they cry, "We shall perish," his heavy hair blows about a face that beams with love and courage. The rich and the proud think him stupid, not realizing the danger, when he calmly says, "The Virgin is in heaven; have faith and you will be saved." As the boat nears its destination it is swamped and sinks, and the stranger calls all who have faith to follow him, and many with him "walk with a firm step upon the sea to safety." Others he helps, while the rich and profligate are drowned. The monks long preserved as a precious relic the footprints which their Saviour left upon the shore. It was meant as an allegory of Jesus' work for man during the voyage of life.

J. K. Jerome[2] gives a brief tale which has been dramatized, describing the advent of an English stranger at a London boarding-house. His presence has a unique effect upon the door-girl and the hard-hearted housekeeper. He is perfectly satisfied with his room, board, price, and when he says so, she, conscience-smitten, voluntarily reduces her fee. But he will not accept the reduction till she tells him: "If you are bent on paying more you can go elsewhere." One boarding-house young lady declares it makes her feel good to look at

[1] "Jesus Christ in Flanders." In "La Comédie Humaine." Trans. by K. P. Wormeley. Boston.
[2] "The Passing of the Third Floor Back." New York, 1908.

his tall form, fine face, old-fashioned clothes, slight hump. All talk of and some try to laugh at him, but he is too naïve to recognize the ridicule. To a lady who confesses to thirty-nine years, he says it is a most beautiful age, whereupon she finds there are two of her, one as she seems to others, and the other as she knows herself to be. An old lady, proud and tedious, is told she cannot bore him, and when he speaks of her gentle face, voice, and breeding, she comes to feel that she is a vulgar snob and declares, "in your presence I cannot avoid insulting myself." A third lady is praised for her skill in music, and he sees in her face frankness and courage, while she expresses to him surprise that he cannot see her greed, vanity, sordidness, and hypocrisy; she confesses to him that her father and mother quarrel disgracefully, and thereafter she strives to be what he thinks she is. A father, glancing into the stranger's eyes, draws back without a word, feeling that he is a cad, and grows beautifully polite to his wife, whom he has treated coarsely. The latter he fascinates by reminding her of some sweet memory that she is unable to fix, and her love for her husband is warmed again. Another man, after meeting him, is unable to close a dishonest deal. Table manners improve; scandal ceases. The stranger sees all as born ladies and gentlemen, and prompts all to live up to his impressions of them, having an inveterate belief in the innate goodness of all, till they tend to confess and forsake their worse selves. One is about to marry a rich brute for sordid motives, but desists. Finally he vanishes through the door into a fog, with no leave-taking except to the door-girl to whom he has given an impulse to a higher life.

S. E. Jerrold[1] describes a wanderer, Offero, of great beauty and strength, whose motive in life is to give rather than to get joy. He wishes to serve something with all his time and strength, till nothing in him shall be unspent. First he offers himself to a king, who becomes suspicious that he may be an emissary of Satan. This shows Offero that the latter is greater than the king, and so he goes to Satan, offering his service for no reward, but is told that he cannot live out his life by serving another. When as comrades they come to a crossroad, Satan refuses to go farther for fear of Christ. This shows the hero that there is one greater than Satan, whom he leaves to find him. When a hermit tells him the story of Christ, he realizes that he is the

[1] "A Play of Saint Christopher."

one he longs to serve. Wishing an arduous task, he is told to ferry travellers across a river. In a raging storm at night a child asks to cross, and will not be denied; so Offero takes him and with the greatest effort, having never before carried such a burden, succeeds in landing on the other side. Then the child tells him that he is Christ, changes his name to Christopher, and charges him always to imagine in his task that he is carrying Christ. They then kiss in love. There is a procession of saints and a chant, much as in the old miracle plays.

Max Kretzer[1] makes the face of Christ appear to people when they least expect it, and especially in crises. A poor workman, Andorf, with a sick family and out of a job, curses bells and church, but his children cry out, "Lord Jesus," seeing his face, and he almost fancies that he hears a voice, "Believe and I will come." Finally he is able to see Jesus with his children. He meets a fallen woman, Johanna, who buys food for him, and as the two talk with a Salvation Army lass, again comes the apparition of Christ, just as a poor woman enters, leading hungry children. Reaching home, Andorf finds his child dead of hunger. He reads the New Testament, sees angels carrying away his child, prays; and then Jesus appears so vividly that as he departs Andorf rushes to the window, expecting to see him hurrying down the street, and comes back, kissing the spot where he seemed to stand. As he passes, his visions being known, others mistake him for Christ. He discusses charity, and reads Strauss, but finding no aid, again sees Christ. In another scene a score of men discuss the communion, which Andorf cannot believe in, but he again sees Christ and is thought crazed. When he declares his vision in church he is laughed to scorn. In a great storm Christ appears, passing the multitude and the clergyman, but blessing Andorf. He appears to Andorf's daughter when she is tempted to lead the life of Johanna, and again when she is insulted and attacked by her employer and is about to kill him. The image seems to say, "Thou shalt not kill." The employer hears and is converted, although the shock of it kills him. When tempted to take money the daughter hears the voice saying, "Thou shalt not steal." Kretzer in a previous work, "Bergpredigt," emphasized the contrast between the religion of Jesus and the Church. A very similar idea has been worked out by Helen Mombart in her romance entitled, "The Stranger."

[1] "Das Gesicht Christi." Leipzig, 320 p.

Mrs. R. G. Alden[1] seeks to show how to-day would receive Christ, with many intentional anachronisms. She attempts to lift the figure of Jesus from the historic past, and make him meet modern people. In the home of the Holmans two daughters, Margaret and Frances, suggest Mary and Martha, the former tense and nervous, the latter poised. Their brother, David, has long been bedridden from dissipation, and the father is bitterly opposed to the Nazarene, of whose cures there is incessant talk. The son David is marvellously restored to complete health by Jesus and becomes his ardent partisan, slowly bringing over his sisters, while the father is unconvinced despite the cure of his son. The antagonism between the latter, which is long drawn out, culminates in the father's declaration that if David openly espouses the cause of Jesus he shall never enter his house again. The extreme opposition is represented in the character of Masters, in love with Margaret, distressed as he thinks her becoming infatuated with Jesus, in the trial and condemnation of whom he is the leader. Nelson, the lover of Frances, has gone over to complete discipleship. David is interested in Miriam Brownley, a beauty, who tells him he must give up either her or Jesus; but when he does the former, makes many vain advances to bring him back. Jesus rarely appears in the book, and only indirectly, but his effect is magical and he is incessantly talked about. A son of the Brownleys, John, actually dies and is raised, and a son of another family who dies and is buried is recalled to life in a manner very similar to that of Lazarus. A blind man is restored to sight. The town council disapproves of Jesus. The stranger, Christ, is entertained at a meal that is very symbolic, and his history is carried to the open grave, Masters declaring that the body was stolen and that the masses are duped. While David is leading in prayer, the guest slips away, writing a farewell letter later to Miriam. This story introduces various fictitious personages as well as those designed to be modernizations of Bible characters. Everything is motivated by the attitude toward Jesus. The reliance upon the magnetism of his name and personality is the author's only resource against the glaring injection of facts from ancient into modern life.

In C. R. Kennedy's "The Servant in the House,"[2] the chief character, Manson, who appears at the very outset,and who has just ar-

[1] "Yesterday Framed in To-day." Boston, 1898, 356 p.
[2] London, 1908. 151 p.

rived from India, is the butler in the family of a rector. His religion is, "I love God and all my brethren." Every one in England is agog with the great work of the Bishop of Benares in the East, whom, Manson tells the vicar's daughter, he knows well. The common people in India almost worship him. The vicar comes to realize that, though a scholar and a gentleman, he has been a liar and a villain, and reproaches his wife w th adoring him too much. A dreadful brother arrives, Robert, whom he has wronged, who hates all the vicar loves and loves all he hates. A business bishop of great dignity and financial skill also makes his début. In the second act Robert and Manson meet the Bishop, who is induced by Manson's good manners even to eat with Robert. A fraudulent scheme to renovate the Bishop's church is developed. In the third act Robert appears as a master of drainage as well as of slang, and finds that the drain from the vicarage leads to a cesspool under the church, which is full of not only nameless filth but corpses. The supreme wish of Mary, the adopted child of the vicar, is to find her father, and that of Robert is to find his child, who later is shown to be Mary. The vicar realizes his unfitness for his position, and does penance by inviting his brother to live with him. Manson by force of character openly takes possession of the vicar's household and turns out the Bishop, as it were, cleansing the temple. In the last act all are on tiptoe of expectation, awaiting the arrival of the great Bishop of Benares, whose good works and fame have filled the East. Robert describes in graphic details the horrors of the drain he has explored, and which yet needs to be cleansed. Mary realizes his noble qualities, disguised as they are. The vicar rolls up his sleeves and declares that he will help clean the drain, despite the mortal danger of fever, and in the last moment Manson declares himself as the lost brother and the real Bishop of Benares.

W. B. Maxwell's charming novel[1] created great discussion, especially in England. It represents John Morton preaching a Christian doctrine of absolute equality in the London streets after he has been turned out of the various churches. He saves the life of a popular society lady, who has been thrown between two trains, and her father is distressed when she becomes interested in his plans of helping the poor. He is popular, and advocates equal distribution of wealth. He brings a fallen woman to the society lady, Sarah, to take in a

[1] "The Ragged Messenger." Indianapolis, 1915.

sisterly way. Just then a messenger announces that Morton has been made the heir of millions, and the fallen woman consents to marry him. He has a hard time, even with a corps of assistants, in disposing of his wealth aright, and he is constantly interrupted, even in his sermons, by demands and accusations that he is hoarding his money. His two chief enterprises are a hospital for crippled children and a home for fallen women, in which he is helped by a popular physician, Doctor Colbeck, in love with Lady Sarah. The doctor admires Morton, but does not believe his doctrine of immortality, while Lady Sarah almost thinks him a divine incarnation, holding that there have been many Christs or messengers of God to man, some of whom pass unnoticed. Morton's wife fails to aid him, and lapses into a frivolous, self-indulgent life, till Morton has to limit his gifts to the poor to satisfy her. He magnanimously shields her from exposure of a liaison with his secretary, and demonstrates her innocence to the public, but privately denounces her as an instrument of the devil, who would wreck his life, and she then confesses that she has lied and been a harlot, and married him only for the luxury his wealth could give. When she leaves him he is depressed, and appears as an epileptic who has long tested himself as to whether he is a divine messenger, which the doctor thinks a special sign of masked epilepsy. Just as she is dying his wife comes back to him, and he pleads with her to believe that she is going to heaven. She says she cannot do so unless he pleads for her. To this he replies, "Then I will go with you; I will be there to plead. We are going hand in hand. Do you believe now?" She answers, "Yes." A pistol shot rings out, and "hand in hand the chaplain and his wife were dust now or had gone on their journey." Socialism looms large in this book, and the critic may well ask why it was necessary in order to preach the idealism of Christianity that its messenger should be a defective.

In all this class of representations there is usually a more or less mysterious vanishing and an afterglow of growing regard, and even awe, when the Christlike man has gone. He appears at appropriate moments with soteriological functions, as did the classic heroes and deities, and as a very present helper in time of need. The obvious moral is that the mere thought of him in any emergency will help. Heyse makes a vision of Jesus' face restrain the converted Magdalene from returning to her lover. In Frenssen's tale the hero Kay slowly

emerges from commonplaceness into the rôle of the redeemer. On the eschatological view, as we shall see later, Jesus throughout his career was striving, although vainly, for recognition. The risen Jesus had to identify himself, etc. Novelists and dramatists here face a great opportunity which they have hardly yet shown themselves able to meet. They are still prone to appeal either to a physical miracle, to a kind of hypnotic charm, or some specific word or incident borrowed from the Gospels, while the disguise is often overdone—rags, horny-handedness, ignorance, naïveté, perhaps almost foolishness. If the Gospels themselves were conceived as merely products of literary creativeness, the art of the synoptists, judged solely by aesthetic canons, is far above that of these imitators. If the Jesus cult is to have full literary development along such lines, every modern vocation and interest of man, each station in life, especially the moral life, each typical emergency, must have its divinifying idealization. This requires a literary ability far above that needed to produce a good novel or drama of love, crime, adventure, or a problem play, social, economic, or industrial. Virtue is vastly harder to detect or depict than vice or crime. Again, love as represented in story and on the stage is a conventionalized, hackneyed thing compared with its sublimated form in religious fervour, and the same is true of ambition and the struggle for material success as compared with the supreme passion of each to make the most and best possible of his individual life. How Jesus, if only as the totemic or ideal man, would act, feel, think, and speak, in every walk and exigency of life to-day and by what infallible tokens he would be known under whatever name or guise, is a vast complex of problems which the world waits for the creative imagination to solve progressively. It will not be completed until there is again the same degree of consecration of every human talent to the work as occurred in the formative periods of the Church. What has already been begun in this field, however, does give us great hope that the vast possibilities here will be fully realized. Thus the higher psychology and pedagogy of Christianity should make an earnest and unprecedented appeal to playwrights and romancers to study this field and advance this great work. Does not the true cult of the superman, which so many of them now affect, really lie here, instead of in the examples in which modern literature abounds of titanic, hypertrophied egoism and remorseless selfishness?

(e) Another view with many variants is of psychoanalytic interest. The hypothesis of the secret academy, a reservoir of mystic, masonic, or perhaps Oriental wisdom, astute enough to plan and powerful enough to carry out such a program, must be regarded in its psychological significance as in a sense between divine Providence on the one hand and the vaster folk-soul on the other, or a kind of pedagogic transition from the one to the other. In its form and functions it might be described as a compromise phenomenon between the extremes of orthodoxy and the modern views of historicity. Jesus is here little but a puppet in his obedience to the higher authority on which he is rather abjectly dependent, and to which he holds in some degree the relation he has been thought to sustain to the Father. Fictitious as it all is, it is ingenious in its conception and in the working out of details. It stimulates creative imagination, gives a sense of emancipation from critical details, and might perhaps be classed with the modern novels and dramas with Christological themes. Historically there seems to be no scintilla of evidence in favour of this view, and its weakest point is that it is not plain just what great purpose all this collective wisdom was seeking to accomplish. The unity it gives is factitious, and it is strange to find Schweitzer a century later commending it because it first taught Jesus' passivity to a higher power, so that it is only necessary later to substitute a divine eschatological plan for the wisdom of the conclave in order to have the right key to unlock all.

C. F. Bahrdt[1] was a scholar, but in his biography of Jesus, instead of merely reproducing the Gospel narrative he felt the need of an inner connection not found in the canon, and somewhat crudely invented by him in the form of a theory of a secret society of which Jesus was the tool. Bahrdt introduces fictitious characters—Harlam, Avel, etc.—and has long dialogues paraphrasing the Scripture. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea are the chief agents of the powerful secret order of the Essenes, which extends to Babylon and Egypt. Its purpose is to give a spiritual interpretation of the gross ideas of Messianity which prevail among the Jews. Seeking a candidate for this office whom they can use, they discover Jesus as a child, expose him to the errors of the priests, fill him with horror of the blood and temple sacrifices, tell him of the death of Socrates, at which he weeps, and

[1] "Briefe über die Bibel in Volkston," 1789. Also, "Ausführung des Plans und Zwecks Jesus." Berlin, 1784, 2 Vol.

whom he resolves to emulate. A Persian gives him two cure-alls, one for eye and another for nervous troubles. Carefully taught by his father and an Essene under the guise of a shepherd, at twelve he is taken to the temple, where he disproves miracles to the scribes, and later he and his cousin John plan their program. Luke coaches him in the art of healing. Jesus assumes the rôle of a Messiah somewhat against his own will but at the behest of the order, and to conform to current superstition and attract attention. On being admitted to the lowest grade of the order he finds that he must face death, if necessary, but is told that he will be saved from it at the last moment by the brotherhood. Apostles are members only of the second degree of this order, but never dream what those of the higher third degree are doing. It is the latter that lead the former to write the Gospels as they do, in perfect good faith, not knowing the secrets of how the miracles are really done, for in fact there is nothing supernatural about them. The rulers, for example, have stores of wine, bread, etc., on which they can draw mysteriously. They provide a raft on which Jesus floating in twilight or fog seems to ride on the water. Luke gives him a specific that causes suspended animation that seems like death but from which one can be awakened. This explains the resurrection of Lazarus, although Jesus' conscience compels him to say that his patient is not really dead. He has two styles of teaching, one popular and the other esoteric, which must always be carefully distinguished. When Jesus goes apart to pray he really hies him to some of the many quarters or meeting places of the Essene order. To spiritualize the ideas of Messianity, its personator must seem to die and rise, and so Luke treats Jesus with a narcotic which makes him insensible to wounds on the cross, and indeed makes him appear to die. He is once nearly assassinated, and had this happened all the plans of the order would have failed. This danger makes his guides hasten their plans for the drama of his death. So he is made to provoke the authorities, and when convicted, the influence of the order causes the execution to take place at once, and also the body to be speedily removed from the cross. Jesus, however, is healthy, and Luke so restores him that he can walk on the third day, when, with the aid of the brethren, the Resurrection is very skilfully put in scene. From his subsequent place of concealment Jesus several times appears, but finally bids his friends farewell and walks up a mountain side till he becomes invisible in a fog or cloud.

In fact, he is cloistered in an Essene retreat, and watches, unknown to others and at a distance, with great interest the work and fortune of his followers. He does, however, once appear to Paul on the way to Damascus, and dies at a good old age.

Venturini[1] follows in much of the above, but assumes that it was impossible for Jesus to reach the hard-hearted Jews without miracles, and therefore a beneficent type of them, viz., healing, was adopted. His disciples have a portable medicine chest and by its content work cures that seem to others supernatural. He can restore people from a deathlike coma. The Cana miracle is a wedding jest; for Jesus secretly smuggles in jars of wine, substituting them for empty ones when the guests are too merry to notice. The Essenes accompany Joseph to Egypt, watching over Jesus there and introducing him and his cousin John to its ancient wisdom. By the age of thirty Jesus has really outgrown the order. At his baptism a sudden thunderstorm frightens a pigeon which flutters about him, and this he takes as an omen that his hour has come. The temptation is due to machinations of the Pharisee, Zadoch, who feigns discipleship, but is really the spy of the Sanhedrin. Jesus cannot eradicate the old earthly ideas of Messianity, and despite all his precautions becomes more and more hated. A conclave of the mystic brotherhood decides that Jesus must go to Jerusalem and proclaim himself. At first he is joyfully received, but his personation of his rôle is so different from the ideas the people have of it that at last their clamour against him causes his execution. When Joseph, after great importunity, gets possession of the body, he takes it to an Essene retreat where it is watched for twenty-four hours, but with no sign of resuscitation. When the earthquake comes a member of the order is passing, and this frightens the watch, who flee. The next morning Jesus revives and is taken to a lodge, two brothers who are thought to be angels being left behind at the tomb. Several times during forty days Jesus appears from his retreat, but is greatly exhausted and soon withdraws into seclusion, "certain circumstances connected with his farewell suggesting the Ascension." On this view, of course, Jesus is not a free agent; but on the other hand his life is given a certain unity. These two works were the first of a long series of more or less fictitious lives of Jesus based on a similar plan, and indeed accounts of him on this scheme are still represented as emerging

[1] "Natürliche Geschichte des grossen Propheten von Nazareth." 1800-02.

from some ancient archives, e. g., "The Crucifixion," by an Eye-Witness (Chicago, 1913, 200 p.).

Edwin Arnold in his "Light of Asia" attempts to portray the story of Buddha in such a way as to commend the great religious hero of some four hundred and seventy millions of our race to the Christian world, and therefore stresses those incidents in both the life and teachings of Gautama and his great renunciation which most clearly relate to the story of Jesus, from the time when his conception was heralded and all nature was in sympathetic awe to the time of his final resumption into the one and all, "as the dew drops into the shining sea." The analogies between Buddhism and Christianity have often been pointed out, especially by theosophists. Robertson, although almost baselessly, asserts that the Christ myth is a later recension of the Buddha myth. Renan and Havet long since pointed out the striking parallels between the two, and Max Müller was greatly impressed by them, but could find no trace of any historic connection. R. Seydel[1] was so convinced that this relation was a close one that he even developed the hypothesis of a "poetic-apocalyptic Gospel of very early date which fitted Christian material into Buddhistic patterns."

Nicholas Notovitch[2] assumes this in a crass and naïvely told story of an adventuresome trip he made to Thibet and its monasteries, from which he gathered many fragments here put together for the first time of the life of Issa (Jesus), who, it is the thesis of this book, spent the unknown sixteen or seventeen years before his public ministry in learning and preaching in Buddhistic lands. These records, though scattered and incoherent, we are told, were written almost immediately after Jesus' death. The great Brahma chose this incarnation for himself. The pathetic sufferings of the Israelites brought God to earth in order to set them back again on the path of righteousness. The Holy Spirit did not procreate Jesus, but was incarnated in him after he was born. All our Scripture knows is that Jesus grew in spirit till the day of his showing to Israel (Luke i, 80). From fear of Herod Jesus was confined and guarded much of the time, and spent this time in studying Scripture. At the dawn of puberty youth in the East tend to leave the family and join the congregation. So many eligible maidens and mothers sought the honour of betrothal that, to escape

[1] "Das Evangelium von Jesus in seiner Verhältnissen zu Buddha-Saga und Buddha-Lehre." Leipzig, 1882, 361 p.
[2] "The Unknown Life of Jesus Christ from Buddhistic Records." Trans. New York, 1904, 238 p.

them, this gifted youth stealthily joined a caravan going to India. Here he frequented the temple of the Djainites, a link between Buddhists and Brahminists. He studied profoundly and was very sympathetic with Krishna (B. C. 1580), the editor of the Vedas. In six years he had mastered Sanskrit and its literature. He saw the limitations of all the faiths of India and sympathized profoundly with the lowest, or Sudra caste, holding that all are equal, and disputed the Vedic account of the divine origin of castes. The Vedic trinity is Brahma, creator and substance; Vishnu, preserver, space, and wisdom; and Siva, destructive wrath, justice, annihilation. These are symbolized by space, water, fire; also by past, present, and future. Jesus denied all this, so monotheistic was he, and so the Brahmins resolved to kill him. Nor did he agree with the Buddhistic doctrine of the divine which represents it as sunk in eternal calm. Having discovered monism, Jesus travelled west, preaching, at the age of twenty-nine. Not the Pharisees, but Pilate, sought Jesus' life and bribed witnesses against him, including Judas, till Jesus unmasked him in a culminating tragic scene. He was really hung by Pilate lest he should tell. His following was so large and dangerous that his body had to be removed lest it be a rallying point. The doctrine of the Resurrection was a polemic masterpiece of far greater value to Christ's party than was the loss of his body. Only Christianity can elevate "that feeble dwarf called man" to a state of sublime enthusiasm.

George Moore[1] represents Jesus as only swooning on the cross, removed alive, and slowly regaining not only consciousness but sanity, which he had lost. His recovery to normality consisted in realizing that he was not the Messiah. The true crucifixion was finding himself mistaken and an outcast. This crisis in Jesus' life paralleled that of Paul, although the direction of the change it caused was directly opposite. Being a sublime character, however, Jesus survived even this, and recuperated. During his ministry John had vacillated as to whether he was the Messiah or not, and now this sounder core of doubt came to dominate his later career. By nature Jesus was gentle, and his true soul is expressed in the sermon on the mount. But under the influence of John he became violent, preaching renunciation and the end of the world. After the crucifixion, however, which converted him, the harsh traits were lost, and the morals and the esoteric Essen-

[1] "The Brook Kerith." London. Macmillan, 1916, 486 p.

ism with which he began were continued. In entering upon his public career Jesus was acting at the behest of his brotherhood but broke away from them for a time. The Christ of the story appears when, twenty years after the crucifixion, Jesus and Paul meet at the brook, which the author explored. Jesus recants much of his own teaching, says he was mistaken in thinking himself divine, did no miracles and of course did not arise from the dead, indignantly denounces the doctrines which Paul has preached in his name; for the one represents instituted Christianity, and the other true inner religion. Jesus has lived during these post-crucifixion years with Essene shepherds, cut off from all knowledge of the fate of his Gospel, and is inexpressibly shocked to find what Paul has done and to hear him address his own brethren on one of his trips. Paul deems Jesus a madman and Jesus tells Paul he once held views not unlike his, but has outgrown them. The author admires Paul as a great organizer, tells his story, and would show us the true Paul apart from his spurious epistles. Jesus fails to stop the work of Paul, and tells him, "I understand thee, but thou dost not understand me." At last Jesus wanders to India and becomes a Buddhist. Thus Eastern and Western Christianity are contrasted.

The striking novelty in Moore's book is that instead of making Jesus a tool or minion of the secret order he makes him revolt from it by entering upon his public ministry and then to be again reconciled to it after he is supposed to have died. His ministry he came to regard as a period of insane delusions and when restored to sanity repudiated his former theomania, belief in his Messianity, sonship, Kingdom, and his eschatological teaching. His narrow escape from death restored him to sanity. The weakness both of Moore's romance and of his Jesus is that instead of merely trying to undeceive Paul, he did not go back to Jerusalem and actively seek to cure the mischief Paul had wrought and to obliterate the effect of his own crazy fanaticism. Anatole France in his "Procurator of Judea" made Pilate seem to have quite forgotten about the young Jewish agitator who thought himself the son of God. For Moore Jesus at the age of fifty-five regards the synoptic Johannin and especially the Pauline conceptions of himself as a source of dangerous psychic infection. Why, then, did he make no effort to supply an antidote to the poison instead of feebly trying in a way that he saw was utterly vain to set

Paul right? Instead of this he merely turned from the world, selfishly seeking only peace for his own soul, almost as if dazed by the evil of which he had been the occasion. To a bolder and more creative mind than Moore's this task of extinguishing the conflagration he had caused would have been a most challenging and inspiring theme. Moore's Jesus is a weakling, paralyzed into quietism by the realization of the appalling catastrophe he had brought upon the world. Another larger finish to this story is possible, viz., Jesus might have proceeded to found a real "third kingdom." In failing to do either of these things, Moore's book has missed its greatest opportunity, even from the standpoint of the mere novelist, which is all he claims to be.

There have been attempts to construe the religion of Jesus as esoteric Judaism, of which De Jonge[1] is typical. He makes Jesus a pupil of Hillel, a man of holy anger and calm melancholy; a master of dialectic; imperious; of great practical ability; inexorably consistent and logical. He has property inherited from his father, otherwise he could not have fled to Egypt so suddenly. He is forty or fifty years old, but looks younger because of his beauty. At the beginning of his ministry he is a widower with a little son. He is an aristocratic Jew, although in a workman's blouse.

Pierre Nahor[2] makes Jesus appear at the Dead Sea with the distinguished Brahmin with whom he has made a journey to Egypt as well as to India, and throughout he is much assisted by his fellow traveller. In Egypt he has gained a practical acquaintance with hypnotism, and it is thus he heals the Magdalene whom he has met before at Alexandria. His food miracles are due to provisions of bread, fish, etc., made by rich and pious ladies. On the cross he puts himself into a cataleptic trance, but revives, appears, and finally retires to the house of his wealthy, mysterious, Indian teacher. After his last visit to his disciples he is exhausted, and falls down and dies near the home of his mentor.

Many fictitious lives of Jesus make him master of Oriental occultism. E. Bosc[3] makes him not a Semite but an Aryan, basing all on the Fourth Gospel.

(f) *The Superman.* The cult of the superman, the chief and

[1] "Jeschuah, der klassische jüdische Mann." Berlin, 1904, 112 p.
[2] "Jesu." Trans. Berlin, 1902.
[3] "La Doctrine Ésotérique à travers les Âges." Paris, 1889-1900, 2 Vol.

most extraordinary literary phenomenon of our time, by no means began with Nietzsche (who has since inspired so many younger writers in all lands, but especially in Germany), but goes far back of him, and had prelusions in Plato's philosophic tyrant, Aristotle's magnanimous man, the Stoic sage, etc. Indeed the impulse to define the ideal, unipersonal, consummate, complete man has always been in the world and has produced all gods and heroes and inspired all apotheoses, to say nothing of the many messiahs of primitive people. Along with the evolution of the objectivities of religion there has always gone the opposite mystic trend to make a man his own prophet, priest, king, saviour, god. The subjectivity of idealism which makes the man the creator, projector, bearer of the world, thrusts him back upon himself, and incalculably enhances his belief in the oracles within his own soul. It is not man as he is, however, who at his best is a rather wretched creature, but man as he is to be when fully evolved, who is the supreme object of love and service, to produce whom is the goal not merely of eugenics but of all human endeavour. The masses are pariahs between whom and the truly great there is an interval "greater than that between man and animals." The middle class is hardly any better, whether its leaders come from Bohemia or Philistia. The effect of educating either of these classes is represented in Shakespeare's "Tempest" where Prospero finds Caliban a brute, lodges him in his own cell, and teaches him his own language, only to have Caliban attempt to violate his daughter Miranda, so that in the end he has to be reduced to subjection, according to the allegorical interpretation Renan was fond of putting upon this play. All the sympathy and pity of the devotees of the cult of the superman are directed upward, not downward, that is, toward the few great, superior, unique souls who have evolved their own ego to the uttermost or are striving to do so against difficulties that make them fit objects of pathos. They are the aristocrats of earth, who have let themselves go with abandon, perhaps have lived above morals, have been a law to themselves, have enforced their ideas, wills, and sentiments upon others, and have been opposed and hated by those they have coerced. They are altruistic only to those superior souls who wish to create something beyond and above themselves, to set new goals and establish new values; who are jealous of all gods; who break old tables of laws, and would take the kingdom of the future by storm; who are liberators and redeemers of individuali-

ties. Nearly all writers of this school idealize above all in history Napoleon, although Frederick the Great, Luther, Goethe, Cromwell, Caesar Borgia, etc., and in fiction Faust and Zarathustra represent two ethnically evolved types. In literature the egoists are represented by writers as different as Ibsen, Hauptmann, Sudermann, D'Annunzio, Shaw, Baudelaire, Huysmann, Flaubert, and very many others who have either striven to be or else to portray supermen or both. Dostoyefsky sought to create a superman in his hero Raskolnikow, who from boyhood feels above all others, whose motto is "Love and serve thyself first," who murders coolly and deliberately as Bulwer's Eugene Aram did, and whose supreme end in life is to distend his own individuality. To the superman "all is allowed." In one of Ibsen's first plays, Skule, the Norse prince, is inordinately proud and must be the first in the land. In his Borkman the superman is a capitalist. In "Bishop Narseon" he is an immoralist and almost a diabolist. In Strindberg's "Borg" he is a scientist who ends himself by a sublime suicide, sailing out over the seas toward the constellation of Hercules, the deliverer of Prometheus, the fire-bringer. In Wilbrandt's "Easter Island" he is Doctor Adler, who climbs to supermanhood by trying to found an ideal Weimar in savage islands with a number of other characters who are designed to bring out in a most striking way the contrast between good, ordinary personages and the superman. In Heyse's "Über allen Gipfeln," the superman, Friesen, is a society lion and a Machiavellian prime minister, who thinks himself the finest mind in Germany. In Hoffmann's "Der eiserne Rittmeister," he is a physician who achieves the superman's diploma. In Widmann's play, "Jenseits von Gut und Böse," Pfeil dreams himself into becoming really an ideal hero whom he has long admired, and doing his great deeds. In Conradi's "Phrase-Monger," Spalding, an ordinary man, evolves himself to supermanhood in three stages, as if to illustrate the "way." In Langbehn's "Rembrandt als Erzieher," we are told how the striver may become an artistically creative over-soul. This book did much to make individualism the goal of art. Several have attempted to delineate superwomanhood either by creating characters *de novo* or allegorizing historical personages. Some think Stendhal with his countless amours, his voluminous writings, bombast, and affectation, a typical superman. Max Stirner (H. Schmidt), who fairly apotheosized egoism and selfishness, scorned altruism. "The universe, it is I."

It is exciting almost to the point of mild delirium to read this literature continuously and intensively. The crowd of supermen represent the most variegated ideals, and perhaps may be said to agree only in being intensely occupied with themselves, tingling with self-consciousness, with a phobia of every kind of mediocrity, in revolt against custom, belief, law, and perhaps all restraints whatever. The apostles of supermanhood could no more get together and organize any kind of "third kingdom" or dispensation, such as many of them have dreamed of, than the characters they have portrayed could do so. They know no friendship or love save of the sensuous type. To them the chief of human relations in the world is that of master and slave. Might is right, and to exercise it to the uttermost is the supreme duty. Their principles are a blend of those of Mephistopheles and Zarathustra, and none of their characters attains the sublimity of Milton's Satan. Their kingdom is of this earth and they know no other. They are essentially pagan and anti-Christian, but the best of them have a certain unique appeal. They make us realize that Christianity as currently interpreted lacks virile affirmation of the will to live, that it has given too much attention to the common man of the herd, has been too tender to weaklings, and has failed to sympathize with the sufferings and striving of leaders who know, but have not attained power, and are still struggling amid pain and obloquy upward toward the heights to create new values. These are they most worthy in all the world of sympathy, love, and service. The maxim of life is "the greatest good for the greatest men," and not for the greatest numbers. One of the former outweighs countless of the latter. We have forgotten that the natural instincts of man, while they can be indefinitely refined and sublimated, can never be eliminated or radically changed in their substance. We have not realized that many discarded gods and cults ought to be reëstablished. We have thought far too meanly of heathendom.

The superman thus has become not only a new culture hero, but is well on the way to become a new god. Leo Berg[1] says his cult is "destined to succeed Christianity" as the religion of humanity, of which Darwin and Schopenhauer, German philosophy, and especially the Greek sophists, who made man the measure of all, are prophetic.

---

[1] "The Superman." London, 1906. 244 p. See also J. Huneker, "Egoists; a Book of Supermen." New York, 1909. 372 p. Also his "Iconoclasts," 1905, and his "Visionaries." Also his "Ivory, Apes and Peacocks."

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN

Modern triumphs in war, applied science, our sudden emancipation from past restraints upon both conduct and thought, have made everything which the individual in his most secret dreams and reveries has longed for seem to be realizable here and now. These ideals appeal to young men who are by nature, as Plato said, prone to psychic inebriation, everywhere, and perhaps most of all in cultivated Germany, which believes itself the super-race or nation. For a long time the soul of later adolescence has lacked the inspiration and enthusiasm and ideality which it needs and yearns for. In the superman cult this need is supplied so abundantly that the more susceptible are often exalted to states akin to ecstasy and megalomania as they con the *gesta* or the golden legends of the heroes, apostles, saints, and martyrs of the new faith in which they would be initiates. Never again, we are told, will the ephebic soul be fascinated by a gospel of renunciation, self-effacement, non-resistance, or asceticism. Any religion that over-stresses these and strives to develop an over-patheticism toward the weak and outcast or those who should and will perish under the law of selection, never can make a supreme appeal to young men. Lives modelled too exclusively upon this pattern are too tame and lacking in gamy flavour to do the world's work greatly. They do not appeal to the deeper instincts of women, who grow restless just in proportion as men lack vitality. Nor do they really inspire or dominate the masses, who also demand a great leader to coerce their souls and grow turbulent in democracies if there are no compellers of the mob-soul, creative and dominative of public opinion and sentiment, which makes tyrants for itself often out of very mediocre material, amercing itself without stint to exalt its ideal. The superman must have war as an inner psychological necessity, and languishes or dies in an atmosphere of passivism. If there is no physical, he declares spiritual, war.

Thus, to regain its lost supremacy in the intellectual world, Christianity must be so reconstructed as to make a more arousing appeal to the souls of men. It must realize that if it cannot do so it must henceforth resign itself to work only with the vulgar masses or those whom nature is progressively disinheriting. As they are now conceived, Jesus and the superman are almost diametrically opposite. It is one of the chief purposes of this book to show that as Christ's life, character, and teachings are now being reinterpreted, and especially as they can and should be yet further constructed, he meets this need;

that the cult that irradiates from him was calculated to give the greatest possible development of the individual and was not so one-sidedly social as the recent socialization of Christianity has proclaimed; that he developed himself by his own human efforts to a degree of completeness that no son of man ever yet achieved; that he did it alone in a solitariness that was nothing less than tragic, forging his way by psychic labour but with no pathological stigmata to the very goal of human development; that he deliberately chose a certain and a most painful and disgraceful form of death with a heroism that knows no parallel. Then, having fought and conquered death, hell, and the devil, he returned in glory in the last act, conferring the boon of immortality, than which nothing ever so exalted the dignity and worth of the individual. His epos has been so deeply graven upon the human soul, and has so cadenced the activities of its most unconscious depths, that it has become the modulus in accordance with which these conceptions of the superman so far outside the pale of the faith which he founded became possible. In fine, the modern conceptions of the superman, when psychoanalyzed from their patent to their latent meaning and motive, represent only partial impulsions, the origin of which is undreamed of by those who attempt his portrayal. The new egoism is only an attempt to re-represent one element in the now complex Christ motif. It is significant only if regarded as the wind-birth of a new messianism, born of the selfsame impulses which evolved the messiahs of savage races but which found their transcendent exemplification in Christianity, and which this type of literature is now trying to reproduce in modern guise. The cult of superhumanity is therefore really an amateurish first step by those who know little of the deeper psychology of religion, but who feel as their deepest, most social need the desire to find again the Christ which the Church has lost or so distorted that modern culture can no longer recognize him.

Can the new eschatological, psychological Jesus, as delineated in the following chapters, satisfy all the culture needs now only partially fed in the many constructions of superhumanity? Can he be shown as the real goal which all of them are blindly groping toward? That he can be, is the main thesis of this work. The author believes that we here face the supreme culture question of our day, and that the future ascendence or decadence of Christianity depends upon it. The appeal here thus is not to the current orthodoxy, which has failed to solve the

problem and must be transcended in form, while its content is practically preserved. It is not to liberal or critical scholarship, which has resolved Jesus to the dimensions of a good and perhaps great, but entirely comprehensible, reformer, and which needs essential psychological supplementation. The appeal here taken is to ingenuous, cultivated, serious, young men seeking to make the most and best of their lives, and to orient themselves to the supreme problem of human nature, needs, and ends, for of such is the hope of the world. History will be as they make it, and the real future of religion is in their hands.

A. Wilbrandt[1] has given us in the above-mentioned powerful romance which owes an added zest to the fact that its chief character, Adler, is Nietzsche himself, supposed to be drawn true to life in features and traits. To transcend the present ape-man and work our way to a higher humanity he plans a eugenic settlement for a few carefully chosen associates on the Easter Island, where the natives will be dispossessed and a new humanity slowly evolved. No one ever reaches Easter Island, for Adler grows fanatical and insane about it. A disciple, Schweitzer, a giant doctor, marries his daughter, Malwine, however, and it is realized that only in their own souls is the Easter Island where a new humanity will evolve, to be found. The overman is the best of ourselves. Karl is a mercurial musician, some think a parody of Wagner. Adler is prompted to his ideals by the death of his wife and the resolution to be worthy of her. There will be no scruples about expelling or exterminating the beautiful Malay race on the island, and the old ant-hill of Europe will be left to die. Everything suggests a higher evolution, and we have even a superdog, Trias. Adler grows supersensitive, is told that a relative's son was made a scapegrace by his works, but nevertheless adopts and tries vainly to save him. He has a bridge over the bay where he spends much time, musing on the bridge to the higher humanity. Westenberger is the author's idea of a typical Christian, having suffered everything and living alone, making sacred images. In the discussions between him and Adler the opposite ideals which they represent are strongly brought out. In the end Adler becomes violent, and finally impossible, and dies, the implication being that his ideals cannot be realized.

[1] "A New Humanity, or The Easter Island." Trans. Phila., 1905, 360 p.

J. V. Widmann[1] gives another literary presentation of Nietzscheanism. Doctor Lössen, a collector, living with Professor Pfeil, charges a servant with having stolen some arsenic he wants for specimens. His sister, Joanna, Pfeil's wife, enters and reveals her unhappiness because her husband has drifted away from her to his scientific work, in which he has found another woman, Victorine, who is more sympathetic. Thus the wife is revealed as having taken the arsenic with suicidal intent. A masked ball is planned where Pfeil hopes to meet Victorine; but as he is dressed in costume and is about to leave, he is narcotized by Lössen with a cigarette. In his long dream under the influence of the drug, instead of the play he was to act in he lives out another life which is truly beyond good and evil, and is so distressing that, in the last act, when he is roused from his stupor, he is completely cured of his superhumanity by his frightful dream. He finds himself holding a dagger which belonged to his part, but with which he thinks he has slain his wife. Their affection is replighted just as day breaks.

Many German novelists, dramatists, and poets born not far from 1870 have been profoundly influenced by Nietzsche, and their passion is to introduce actual modern life and destroy the old "pretty-pretty" methods. Some of these have been prosecuted for their blasphemies and immoralities. Zola and Baudelaire inspired some, Hauptmann's "Vorn Sonnenaufgang" others. Perhaps the worst of all these writers is Wedekind, who began as a kind of music-hall performer and writer, and later developed things more medical and gross than were ever written before, for to him nothing is unprintable. His chief creation is the character of Lulu, with two sequels, "Das Erdgeist," and "Die Büchse der Pandora." For him she is the eternal woman in whom the world, the flesh, and the devil are supreme. She is as full of contradictions as Menken; her soul can soar or grovel in the mire of passion. She has the instincts of an animal, and everything is cultivated to the *n*th degree, that she may enjoy all the body's possibilities. In "Das Erdgeist," as a flower-girl she glories in conquests of the other sex, deceives one man, ruins another, murders a third, in the war of sex against sex; and in the last part she sinks from the heights of her vocation to the depths, till at last, as a London street-walker, she is murdered by a Jack the Ripper in one of the most appalling scenes ever

[1] "Jenseits von Gut und Böse." 1893. 4 acts.

written. Wedekind says life is a toboggan slide, and morality is the most profitable business on earth.

Doctor Thoma's "Moral" (1909) is a three-act comedy illustrating this principle, but lower down even than Shaw's "Mrs. Warren's Profession." The president of the Society for the Prevention of Vice is himself a whited sepulchre, and his talk with his friends is of the grossest. All estimable people are implicated. "It is the same with morals as with religion; one must always give the impression that there is such a thing." No one can hush up the woman, d'Hauteville, who dominates the whole situation because she knows the vicious side of everybody in the community. Such representations of superwomanhood must implant the deepest feelings of distrust.

Upton Sinclair[1] makes the superman a musician, shipwrecked and living alone for twenty years on an island, who when discovered by his brother can only with difficulty indicate to him the "tempests of emotion, the knocking on unseen doors" when all barriers suddenly break and a sense of life rushes in, and one comes to know personages of a transfigured earth who are the true overmen. The hero is strangely inarticulate, and his crude ideas of the superman smack of Swedenborg. The hero will not be rescued, and so is left to his fancies and to his fate.

Bernard Shaw, in "Man and Superman," has grappled with this problem in his brilliant but hyperaffected way. The very artificial plot of this play suggests that it may have been intended as a joke or a puzzle, challenging spectator or reader to find who is the superman. The joke is probably that it proves to be a woman. In his 127 page preface to "Androcles and the Lion," he says things so trite and cheap not to say maundering, that I have found it on the whole perhaps harder to read to the end than anything else noted in this chapter because more commonplace.

R. B. McCarthy[2] harks back toward a mediaeval conception of the superman, and attempts to give in hexameters the story of the Antichrist, following rather closely the Scriptural conception. He is intellectual and crafty, was king of Babylon, then Caesar; poses as the protector of the Jews; his hosts were expelled from heaven; he defies Jehovah, destroys Jerusalem, and is at the acme of his power when

[1] "The Overman." New York, 1907. 90 p.
[2] "The Antichrist." New York, 1896.

Christ dies. Later he is bound and the earth renovated. Now, apparently, he is loosed again for a season.

Professor Baumgarte, theologian at the University of Kiel says: "Christ's train of thought cannot be accepted as being applicable to Germans. His realm of peace and love is impossible as an historic development and has nothing whatever to do with political or public matters."

In German literature, and under its influence, we have many presentations of Christ or his mask which are degenerate or defective. The hero of "Beyond His Power," as we saw, is only a sublime fanatic, verging on lunacy. John Morton, in "The Ragged Messenger," is an epileptic and commits suicide. Wilbrandt's Westenberger is a solitary, has withdrawn from life, and ceased to influence people. Wagner's Parsifal is described as a pure fool because he was unconscious and naïve, despite the fact that his soul was excessively charged with all good potentials. Perhaps the entrance of the fool in modern literature goes back to the idealizations of Caspar Hauser, and later to Peer Gynt, while we have a recent illustration of the same tendency in Dostoyefsky's "Idiot." Hauptmann's Emanuel Quint[1] is the story of an innocent, simple, feeble-minded wanderer with "something of the constraining power of the Saviour." Quint appears at the very start in the market-place crying "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand!" He seems to be at least half a fool of a new sort. He wanders barefoot and hatless, Bible in pocket, never accepting money from any one, suspected by clergy. He is arrested, stoned, subjected to every indignity, but never resentful or resisting, proud that he is worthy to suffer. One of his few disciples is meant to resemble Peter, and many events are parallels of Gospel incidents. Quint does help certain types of sick people, and the folk-soul makes him a great healer and able even to raise the dead. One evangelist, the modern analogue of John, baptizes Quint. As the story goes on, the fool becomes completely convinced that he is Jesus come to earth, that he bears the same relation to God that Jesus did. A lady improves his manner and dress. His followers grow orgiastic and like Herrnhutters. He comes to hate churches and clergy, condemns his own followers; then goes to Breslau, as Jesus did to Jerusalem, where stirring events occur. He is even suspected of a murder, but is

[1] "The Fool in Christ." New York, 1911, 474 p.

cleared. He flatly declares, "I am Christ." He associates with the lowest, finally he loses his way in an Alpine storm, and six months later his body is found, his hand grasping a slip of paper on which is written: "The mystery of the kingdom." Did he die convinced or doubting? The author describes a case of progressive religious mania, but flies in the face of psychiatry by making Quint a master of inner psychic analysis and an exalted mystic. These traits do not go with progressive dementia. This parody of Jesus is rather contemptible. He is idle, vagrant, utterly tactless, screaming his prayers and shouts of joy amidst the woods and hills, his feelings ranging from ecstasy to despair. There is a sacramental meal to which a devoted woman enters. Is the author trying to make Jesus ridiculous as he conceives he would be if taken out of his antique setting and put in the modern world? Quint has the saving qualities of purity and self-abnegation, and a sometimes sublime insight into the union of divine and human.

No insightful student of this literature can fail to see in the antithesis between Jesus and the superman the same contrast which the Middle Ages knew as that between Christ and Antichrist.[1] Jesus is a paragon of altruism and self-abnegation, while the superman is a monster of egoism and selfishness. The one subordinates the individual to the interests of the race and the world; the other maximizes and hypertrophies individuality. The ideal of the one is to serve, that of the other to rule. The one would develop the self as an instrument of service, while for the other it is an end in itself. The kingdom of the one is spiritual and eternal, and that of the other is all of this life and earth. The superman of to-day is the Satan of centuries ago, modernized, refined, and given every credential that literary art can supply. He is an apotheosis of pagan ideals. It can hardly be urged in defense of those who make the Christlike character a high-grade moron or deviate, that they are trying to show that one may be a Christian despite various stigmata of degeneration, or that they strive to set forth that the generic, typical, or totemic nature of man, although arrested or perverted, is naturally or can become Christian, because the core of humanity is by nature sound. On the contrary, the moral is that to be a Christian to-day is to revert or degenerate to a standpoint that is transcended and effete.

[1] H. Preuss: "Die Vorstellungen von Antichrist." Leipzig, 1906. 295 p. M. D. Conway: "Demonology and Devil Lore." New York, 1879. 2 vol. p. 428 and 472. Paul Carus: "History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil." Chicago, 1900. 496 p. W. Fischer: "Satanwesen in Mittelalter." n. d. 112 p.

Two recent trends of literary events shed a new and very significant light upon this problem. The first is certain expressions of the religious sentiment in Germany since the beginning of the war, and the other is the remarkable movement in the field of French letters just before. Man lives on an evolutionary ladder and war plunges him back into his basal nature and immerses him in primitive emotions.[1] But retrogression may be either degenerative or regenerative. On the one hand it shows that ages of culture and religion have not much weakened man's instinct to kill, loot, and revive the old savage life of adventure, hardship, and danger. But it is a psychological necessity occasionally to escape from monotony and routine, the narrowness of specialization, and the tension of progress and civilization, all of which are hard because they do not comport with or satisfy the original nature of man. Along with this retrogression, and an essential part of it, is a revival of primitive religious instinct, as the field of consciousness is narrowed and intensified and man is thrust into the heart of the struggle between life and death. E. Bergmann[2] says that the war has greatly deepened religious feeling among the Germans. Pragmatism is tabooed, and there is a great movement from *logos* to *bios*. The beast in mankind broke out like that of the Apocalypse, as if two thousand years of Christianity had been in vain. Idealism is immensely reinforced, and student soldiers who began with Nietzsche find their interest passing to Fichte and thence to the New Testament. Both Testaments are read so that the Bible trade has developed enormously. In war men desert philosophy and become like children seeking the hand of their father in the dark. Nothing has been more remarkable than this spontaneous reversion to naïve faith, the images and words of which, in the face of death, come back as of greatest value. F. Koehler ("Das sittliche religiöse Leben,") in the same volume as the above says no one can be ready to lay down his life for his brother without being touched by the great love. *Kriegesdienst* and *Gottesdienst* were never so closely associated. Students, lay preachers, and officers hold religious services. Germany faces three fronts on the field and the fourth to heaven. The people reconsecrate themselves to the God of their youth, their father, and their homes, and thousands pray who never did so before. "Before all else, it is the person of

[1] See Pfister: "Zur Psychologie des Krieges und des Friedens." Dec., 1914. And especially Freud: "Zeitgemässes über Krieg und Tod. 1. Die Enttaüschung des Krieges." *Imago*, Vol. 4. No. 1, 1915.

[2] "Philosophie und Krieg." In a volume entitled "Der Kampf des deutschen Geistes im Weltkrieg." 1915. 215 p.

Christ that is the indescribable ideal of the fighter." At Christmas and Easter the lessons of death and resurrection are giving religion the central place it held of old. Ketzer, in "Zur Psychologie des Krieges," in *Die Christliche Welt*, Marburg, Jan. 7, 1915, says what we see in the nations now embattled against one another is only the magnified picture of what is going on in the soul of each individual, in rising to a higher and more devout consciousness. G. LeBon ("Enseignements psychologiques de la guerre européenne," Paris, 1915, 364 p.,) lays much stress upon the mysticism and high moral idealism which the war has developed. M. Hirschfield ("Kriegspsychologisches," 1916, 32 p.) describes war as demonic, magnetic, an apparition of fate, dividing all history and every contemporary life into two parts, one before and one after. He especially stresses the fraternization due to marching and sleeping together, wearing the same uniform, sharing the same hopes and dangers, intoxicated alike with victory and depressed by defeat. This intensifies every social motive of religion. Men in war are superstitious, as witness the "Angels of Mons," the many visions of saints and heroes in shining armour, the processions led by angelic children, and sometimes hallucinations of even the ancient gods of war. E. W. Dix ("Psychologische Beobachtungen über die Eindrücke des Krieges auf Einzelne wie auf die Masse," 1915, 30 p., with literature) points out the great moral exaltation, childish naïveté, credulity, and illusions of religious personages. In England, Admiral Beattie thinks the chief need is a recrudescence of religious faith, as in the days of Cromwell and the Puritans. Religion has been defined as having something that we are ready to die for.

French thought to-day shows a strong Christian trend, as it did a hundred years ago in the reaction against the skepticism of the eighteenth century. The way in which the innermost and best things in the soul of the Mother Catholic Church are now finding expression in literature is so remarkable that it might almost be called revivalistic. It is not a cry back to Rome, but a sudden spontaneous movement of the intellectuals, a class till lately generally indifferent, if not hostile, to Christianity. At the last Salon before the war, in 1913, the two pictures that attracted most attention were "The Annunciation" by Denis, and "The Good Thief on the Cross" by Desvallières, while Rodin's book on cathedrals, by far the most characteristic expression this great artist has attempted, is a psalm of piety. Bergson's philoso-

phy is in general anti-mechanistic and anti-material, and he has lately declared that his system requires a free creative god at its centre. The aged entomologist Fabre was honoured just before his death, in 1915, by France in various ways because of his ardent theism. Pecher finds that the chief French epic, the "Chanson de Roland" and other ancient legends are really songs of pilgrimages and allegories of the true faith. Whether this view be right or wrong, the singular thing is that it is so widely accepted. New and often monumental editions of religious writers, De Maistre, Lamennais, Montalembert, Calvin's "Institutes," Schuré's great "Lexicon of Litanies," and De Sales' "Introduction to the Devout Life," have been recently thus presented. Honataux in his "Jeanne d'Arc" who, he said, deserved to be called divine, illustrates the same tendency, and so do no fewer than four recent lives of Francis d'Assisi. Bertrand's "St. Augustine" was the chief book of three seasons ago, in which the great saint of sixteen centuries since is made to appeal even more profoundly to the religious instincts of the French than Pascal, who wrote only three hundred years ago. This work closes with the expression of a spirit of love and veneration to the great heart and great intellect of this unique servant of God. The final sentence in the book, from Augustine's first biographer, which the author devoutly adopts, is, "I beg most earnestly from the charity of those who read this book to unite with me in blessing and thanksgiving toward the Lord who inspired me to write down this life for those present and those absent, and who has given me the strength to complete it. Pray for me and with me that I may endeavour to follow in the steps of that most incomparable man in whose company God has allowed me to live for so long a time."

Among the many special books illustrating this tendency, nearly all of which appeared within two or three years of the outbreak of the war, as if anticipating it, and which are most eagerly read and have made a profound impression since the war broke out, I may enumerate the following[1]: Pierre Loti, who in his story of his pilgrimage to the marvellous temple ruins of Buddha, his devotion to whom has made him almost an apostle of despair, ends his "Pélerin d'Angkor" (1911), translated under the title of "Siam," by saying: "There must be a Supreme Pity to which we can appeal, however we name it, for other-

[1]In this my reading has been guided by my former pupil, Professor Albert Schinz, of Smith College. See his article in *American Journal of Psychology*, July, 1916.

wise creation would be cruel, odious, and cowardly." Juliette Adam, one of the veteran leaders in the field of letters for many years, thirty years ago wrote a somewhat defiant novel entitled "La Païenne," but in 1912 published another called "La Chrétienne" which gives an account of the conversion of the heroine from paganism to militant Christianity. The significant fact is that the heroine of both tales is the authoress, and they are extremely confessional, the latter novel apparently having been written in the spirit of an apostle, as an act of duty. Barrès in youth was radical and destructive, but in his "La Colline Inspirée" (1912), he betrays a strong religious trend. The Church is to prevent men from going astray, as they are sure to do if they attempt to walk alone. His tale is of a religious movement of some thirty years ago. The hero has the sacred heart of religion in him but so grossly veiled as to be painful reading. The same story might a generation ago have been used against Christianity, but now the moral is all in its favour. The religion in it is made pure and vital enough to overcome the ugly cloak in which it is wrapped. The author is now an earnest advocate of the restoration of the Church and its sacraments, which he also regards as a key to the history of France. Thus we have in recent years not a few formerly antagonistic who have turned advocates of religion. The brothers Tharauld have lately sounded a strange religious note in their "La Tragédie de Ravaillac," a religious lunatic, the assassin of Henry IV, a book written much in the spirit though quite independently of the above work of Barrès. Madman as their hero is, and submerged as his soul is in fanaticism and lunacy, he is nevertheless inspired with a pure Christian purpose which is sacred in itself, perverse and criminal though its expression is. That such a man could have a core of religion in his nature is indeed a strange thing. Binet Valmer, a physician, had written various secular things before his "La Créature" in 1913. This tells of a famous psychiatrist to whom is brought a girl who has been so neglected that only her baser animal nature in all its rank instincts has been developed. By great and prolonged labour he gives her intelligence while her beauty gains her admission to society. But when he has done his best, he realizes that his work has been a failure because he has not given her what would have made her really human, viz., the two ideas of duty and of God. A lyric poet, Jammes, whose "Georgiques Chrétiennes" won the Grand Prix of the French Academy, prefaces his

work by declaring that he is a Roman Catholic and humbly accepts all the decisions of his Pope, who speaks in the name of the true God; that he has nothing to do with any schism or modernism, and that on no pretext will he deviate from orthodox dogma which is truth itself from the mouth of Our Lord through the Church. Although some have accused him of mannerism and affectation, his sincerity is probably beyond question.

P. Claudel's "L'Annonce faite à Marie" is a mystery drama, which is saturated with the spirit of mediaeval saint worship. The test of the best qualities of mankind is how they bear suffering. The true child of God rejoices in the severest trials, because only in them can he manifest divine loftiness. Violaine exposes herself to leprosy in the service of her fellow-men. There can be no greater contrast than between her spirit, which fairly longs for service and self-sacrifice, and that of the Christian women who are clamouring for rights and forgetting their duties. The scene is in France at the close of the Hundred Years' War just before the appearance of Jeanne d'Arc. The heroine's father has been marvellously spared. He ought to be happy, but he is not because he feels God has not tried him. He fears he is not worthy, but longs for a chance to show his fortitude by doing acts of courage and resignation, so he leaves all behind for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which is beset with manifold suffering.

C. Péguy, who died leading a charge on the Marne, tells us that the greatness of France was the inspiration of the mediaeval faith, of which we have stupidly hitherto seen only the defects. The criterion of moral superiority is suffering for a good cause in the service of mankind and especially those nearest us, our own countrymen. This is justice. Instead of the pursuit of pleasure, which makes beasts and brings social anarchy, the soul of man craves justice, or paying for his imperfections, and the saints and the great cathedrals are the best things in God's fairest garden, France. The best saints are three, the Holy Virgin, St. Geneviève, the patroness of Paris who saved her from the Huns and Attila, and Jeanne d'Arc—all women because they impersonate charity, love, devotion, to which man so instinctively turns especially in times of trouble. Jeanne d'Arc is revered especially because the work is pervaded with the sense of impending war.

A grandson of Pasteur, R. Vallery-Radot's "L'Homme de Désir" is doubtless autobiographic. The author was trained a Christian; as

a student, swung over to skepticism and indifference, but later strives to find again the divine life in the solitude of nature. Here he is sorely tempted by carnal love twice, but in the end finds celestial peace. The modulus of the whole work is the temptation of Saint Anthony in the desert. E. Psichari, the grandson of Renan, who died at the head of his artillery battery, in his "L'Appel des Armes" tells us of the inertia of his age and the cry of the soul for action, which leads him to become a soldier as a sacred mission. He says war is divine, and the soldier a representative of God's justice on earth. He must fight all who crush the weak; he must be the ideal knight of the Middle Ages in alliance with the Church to establish the kingdom of God. Before going into the war the hero utters a fervent prayer for courage and valour to the God of armies. He wants the faith of a soldier. He wants to kill many enemies and to die in a great victory. His posthumous tale, more effective but less polished than the above, which is autobiographic, is entitled "Voyage du Centurion." The centurion of the New Testament was a Roman having soldiers under him, who had such faith that Jesus could heal at a distance that he implored him to do so. Jesus, we are told, was profoundly impressed by his unprecedented faith, and with no remonstrance healed him, though a gentile, the only case in which he did so, indicating that Jesus himself had exceptional reverence for a believing soldier. The hero leaves civilization in a long expedition to Mauretania, and in the solitude of the desert becomes converted. His errand seems a holy mission now, and he finds a new soul in enforcing the truth, beauty, and goodness of Christianity upon Moslems, the implication being that in the same way his country is finding regeneration in a war against the disciples of Thor. These are in fact only a few samples from many more that illustrate the same tendency.

In the above sections we have several score attempts by modern writers of very different calibres and degrees of learning, the majority of them since 1900, to subject the themes of the Christian story to literary treatment. In the handling of these incidents there is vastly more freedom and diversity than in the mediaeval miracle plays. Today there is no censorship save occasionally by the civil authorities, impelled by public opinion, while some have the approval of the more liberal representatives of the Church. The uniqueness of the subject matter gives the best of these novels and dramas a peculiar zest which

is greatly added to by the traditional and inbred sense of their sacredness. It is safe to predict a further development on these lines in the near future, which may contribute something to rescue the modern secular stage and romance from their present triviality and degradation. Here we have a culture problem that should engage the best thought of religious leaders. The sacred canon is so rigid and exclusive that it has lost much of its pristine power by familiarity; so it was inevitable that the modern romancer should not only use but also should transcend even the apocrypha. Hence we find that other legends and traditions within and even without the pale of Christendom have been freely drawn upon, and that the artistic and creative imagination has attempted many new combinations, some of the best of such power as to suggest possibilities of yet greater effectiveness and wider range. Already we hear suggestions that the theatre with its amazing modern resources, which in every land is appealing to the popular mind as never before, may and ought again to be utilized by faith, which in our day profoundly needs nothing less than a regeneration by the creative imagination. Many of these works should be in every church and theological library for they make a very strong and wholesome appeal to ingenuous youth circumnutating to find true orientation in this field. The recent movement in France shows the remarkable phenomenon unpredecented in recent centuries of the intellectuals of this great nation spontaneously and concurrently reacting from skepticism toward the standpoint of Jesus in their view of the world. There has been in recent ages no other such demonstration that Christianity and even the Church have not lost their power over cultivated men. Again, the rivalry between the superman, on the one hand, bent on his own aggrandizement, and on the other the Christian type of soul that would subordinate self to service, which is so strongly brought out in this literature, is psychologically identical with the long ancient struggle between Christ and Antichrist, altruism and diabolism, different as are the settings, incidents, character, and form in which this great antithesis is cast. Some acquaintance with the best of this literature cannot fail to impel toward a choice between these two ideals and rules of life, and give preachers, teachers, and readers, particularly of the literatures of France and Germany, an opportunity to add the immense reinforcement of moral and religious interest to their work.

(4). *The Scientific Lives of Jesus.* In approaching the following brief epitomes of a dozen standard lives of Jesus by leading experts of the past century, I by no means ignore the distinction between works of the imagination and those of critical scholarship, although the latter show almost as much diversity as the former, and most of them reduce rather than add to the story of Jesus. The account of primitive man is also told in two ways. Stanley Waterloo,[1] Conan Doyle,[2] Katherine Dopp, Lull, Rutot with his twelve plaster casts, Gabriel Max, H. F. Osborn[3] have all attempted to bring before us our forbears of the Paleolithic Age. Here fact and fiction enter in very different proportions, neither being entirely excluded from any treatment and each helping the other as myth often supplements history. To science the moon is a planetary corpse suspended in the sky, as a prophecy of the ultimate fate of the earth, while in moon-lore and poetry Selene still charms lovers, provokes longing reveries, and is often an object of worship. To the genetic psychologist and pedagogue both have their place; and so, too, they venture to bring the Christological and the mythopeic Jesus into juxtaposition, fully realizing the vast differences of method and the reliability of the results of the two procedures, but also realizing that bald historicity can never at this distance do full justice to the God-man without the aid of the religious imagination. True spiritual edification needs both.

Paulus (d. 1851),[4] reacting from his father's crude spiritism, came to represent a unique if jejune naturalism and rationalism. Living in the age and atmosphere of Goethe and Hegel, he was not only an orientalist and a professor of theology, but wrote on a great variety of topics. His pet aversion, greater even than that he cherished toward Schelling, was toward miracles. The Evangelists meant to narrate miracles, but nature cannot be divorced from God. Jesus' personal magnetism did have power to strengthen the nervous system, and he had secret cures, e. g., of blindness. Fasting, diet, and after-treatment were sometimes suggested. As to the nature-miracles, the calm that followed when Jesus came upon the ship was because just at that moment it doubled a headland which protected it from the wind. The same coincidence explains another incident, which was interpreted as

[1] "The Story of Ab." Chicago, 1899. See also his "A Son of the Ages," 1914.
[2] "The Lost World." New York, 1912. 319 p.
[3] "Men of the Old Stone Age." 1915. 515 p.
[4] "Das Leben Jesu." 1826. 2 vol.

his speaking peace to the waves when he was awakened. The feeding of the five thousand was the result of asking the rich who were present to share their supplies with those without, Jesus himself setting the example by doing so first. The transfiguration was due to the fact that Jesus was seen from below on a hill with two impressive strangers just as the sun was rising, which illuminated their garments. As to raising the dead, many sick people swoon, and since in Judea it was the custom to bury in three hours, Jesus really rescued such cases from premature burial, a most commendable work, although we do not know that he entered any form of protest against the custom. Jesus had an instant presentiment that detected trance or catalepsy. He insisted that Lazarus' grave be opened, whereupon there indeed he stood, self-resurrected, and Jesus called out to him, "Come forth!" The Jews loved miracles and were averse to recognizing secondary causes. This weakness Jesus played upon, and failed to disillusion them. Crucifixion is the slowest of all deaths. Jesus' loud cry just before he fainted showed that he still had much vitality. His trance, however, was a deep one. The lance thrust was only a surface wound, and may have helped like bleeding. Joseph was able to rescue him in this condition. In the grave the coolness and perfumes revived him. The storm and earthquake aroused him, and also rolled away the stone. He then put on a gardener's dress in place of the shroud, and stepped forth unseen until Mary met him, not recognizing him at first in this disguise. He was feeble and anaemic from all that he had undergone, but had strength enough to meet his friends occasionally for forty days. Finally he gathered them together on a hill, bade them farewell, and moved away with hands uplifted until a cloud hid him. His retirement from publicity was so complete that we do not know the date of his death. Judas betrayed him in order to force him to stand forth in his might, and was astonished and full of remorse at the failure of his plan. "The one thing needful" in the scene with Mary and Martha meant that he only wanted one staple course at the meal which was being prepared, etc.

Paulus does not appeal to myth, but assumes that there was some real happening at the root of every miracle. But on this theory what about the sincerity of Jesus in allowing natural events to be interpreted supernaturally, or in condoning or conniving at their being thus regarded? The sincerity of Paulus is as sublime as naïve, and caused him endless trouble. Hardly a writer since, orthodox or liberal, has

not felt called upon to repudiate him; but if any one now felt the burden laid upon his soul to explain every wonder as it is narrated as a natural occurrence, it is hard to see how modern guesswork or baseless conjecture could do much better. The task he sets before himself is impossible and so the solution of it has to be flimsy. His miracle phobia goes to the limit. Nothing more was possible in that direction so that it was easy for Strauss to give this method its *coup de grâce.* Yet after all he remains an exquisite illustration of the first callow pinfeather pubescent stage of revolt against a still cruder and genetically earlier stage of blind credulity. He inaugurated a new struggle between a revived Ebionitism and Docetism which has given us sometimes what might be called a parallel system of lives of Jesus, one in its human and one in its divine aspect.

Strauss (1874)[1] had been an enthusiastic student of Hegel, and wrote many excellent things besides his "Life of Jesus," which was meant as an introduction to his perhaps really greater "Christian Theology in Its Historical Development." Into the former he put the ardour of his best years, and from a scientific or literary point of view it has well been called an almost perfect work. Because of his opinions, and chiefly because of this book, he was tabooed from any academic position and to a great extent by society, his social isolation aggravated by his separation from his wife. Despite the pathos in his history, he was philosopher enough to enjoy a simple life on his meagre inheritance and vigorous enough to write voluminously on many, including political, subjects.

He declares that Christendom is no longer Christian, and that the world has no religion save the unique feeling of dependence bred of pantheism. Myth, which no one before so well understood, had long been recognized as a very important ingredient of the Old Testament. The new light from this source was first applied to Jesus' entrance into and exit from the world, with no light shed upon what lay between. Two at least of the Evangelists used to be thought eye-witnesses, so there was little room for myth, but in the new view that the Gospels were composed a generation later and not by disciples, there was plenty of time for mythic infiltration. Strauss believes that his "Life of Jesus" better than all others exemplifies the philosophy of the true relations between reality and idea. He rejects immortality

[1] "Leben Jesu." 1835.

save as designating the present inner sense of universality or infinitude in being able to rise to the idea. Truth does not depend on its external representation, and no true idea can completely realize itself historically. Truth is rather history sublimated into idea. The idea of divine humanity is present in Christianity, and that is the main thing. The perfection of its embodiment in a sequence of outer events is less significant. Jesus evoked this idea that supplemented fact. There is first "a thesis (the supernatural), then the antithesis (the rational)" and these must bring a synthesis. The dynamic resultant in this case is a creative composition of dialectic forces and not mainly descriptive like Schleiermacher's whiprow of Ebionitic or Docetic. Strauss treats each item according to these Hegelian ideas first supernaturally, then rationally, in such a way that each is refuted by the other (see Schweitzer, p. 180). In this way all views of every subject can be conveniently brought under ordered review. Paulus's explanation of miracles is so banal that an orthodox reaction to supernaturalism seems impending. But Strauss's argument that miracles are myth is far more formidable than the attempt to resolve them into trickery and illusion. Strauss is so intent on distinguishing at every point between myth and history that he contributes far less than he should have done to the exaltation of the dignity of myth. He never realizes that at its best it is an expression of the folk-soul, which might have a culture value distinctly superior to fact itself as a pictorial expression of the very Hegelian idea he so reveres, or as a popular version of something as fundamental as the gnostic *logos*. To current orthodoxy myth is simply superstition, and only later does it come to its true evaluation. Legends intersect and are superposed in many strata. Jesus' nature-miracles Strauss calls "sea and fish stories." A common motive with many of the New Testament marvels is to improve on some corresponding miracle in the Old Testament. Everything before the baptism and after the burial is myth, and what lay between is infiltrated with it so that the historic Jesus can only be reached by a process of elimination. Strauss in his later and more popular "Life of Jesus," in which he sought, although vainly, to appeal to the German world as powerfully as Renan had done to the French in "La Vie de Jésus," gives us practically two lives, one the mythic and the other the human Jesus plucked of most of his glories. This figure has very little charm; for, as Schweitzer says, "The personality that emerged from the mist

of myth was a Jewish claimant of Messianity whose world of thought is purely eschatological"; so that Strauss's work, although it sought to put an end to supernaturalism, was not purely negative. Strauss says, "In the New Testament it almost looks as if no one among the Jews had ever thought of a suffering or dying Messiah." He should have added, but does not, that this idea is of gentile origin. While it is possible that Jesus foresaw his death, all he is said to have foretold about it and the reaction he hoped it would cause is *vaticinia ex eventu*. He probably grew into the conviction that he was the Messiah, and expected the Kingdom would be ushered in supernaturally, and that he was to come back in glory as its head. The parables are preserved for us for the most part only in secondary forms. In general, Strauss's criticisms do not allow the reader to infer much as to what was behind the mythical curtain. We know nothing of the chronological order of events. All the discourses, including the Sermon, were gradually formed composites of sayings at different times and under different circumstances. Strauss denies the priority of Mark, but makes him a satellite of Matthew. He does not admit a primitive Mark or John or logia. The four Gospels to him are far more doctrinal than historic. He overstresses the importance of the myths of the Old Testament as compared with those of the gentile world, as is natural enough because the latter field was little opened up when he wrote. Not a few narratives, so diverse that they have been thought to describe different events, are in fact only different renderings of the same incidents.

No theological work ever raised such a storm, and probably no life in modern times was so dismalized as was that of Strauss by the *odium theologicum* he aroused. Indeed, so able were some of the attacks upon his views, particularly those by Tholuck and Neander, that Strauss himself vacillated and retracted some of his conclusions. But it is the young Strauss of the first edition of the first "Life" that has stood even against his own attacks later, and it is hardly too much to say that no one who has read and digested his first "Life" has ever after come forth as an apologist for crude or literal miraclism. Those who have given themselves the discipline of understanding it, *anima candida*, and insist that they still believe in it, at best express only the will to believe (a psychic illusion of the *als ob* or pragmatic kind), and never the belief itself, for that was made forever after im-

possible. Strauss's "Life" marks the chief epoch in the history of Christological studies since the Reformation. Such a wholesome ferment is it that post-Straussian literature, whether radical or conservative, has all been richer in matter and broader in scope than what preceded.

Renan, born and bred a Catholic, wrote his "Vie de Jésus" in 1863 as the first part of his larger history and doctrine of the primitive Church. His "Les Apôtres" and "Saint Paul," at least, were more valuable for scholars than the "Life," which appealed to the whole Latin world as nothing in its field had ever done. It was designed and partly written in Palestine, and is full of the subtle charm of atmosphere. His imagination makes Jesus live before us with the rich landscape and clear skies of Galilee as his background. It is a work of art quite as much as of scholarship, and in some places reeks with sentiment. It has throughout a magic charm of enthusiasm. There is hardly a trace of controversy in it. The author simply sets Jesus before us, as if there had never been a dispute or difference of interpretation in the records. The Fourth Gospel inspires him far more than the synoptics. Although it is the last, it is in a sense the most authentic, and the religious feeling and aesthetic intuition so strongly marked in John are Renan's guides when he is in doubt. Yet he tells us that he has a fifth or nobler Gospel in mind throughout. Everything is narrative and pictorial, and the author brings each event and saying in at whatever time and place it seems most natural in the pastoral play that he so effectively stages. He does not deny miracles, but merely says that none was ever yet satisfactorily proven. Jesus is described as an amiable and beautiful prophet who rode about on a "long-eyelashed, gentle mule." Four women attended and ministered to him, and his theology was the mild and gentle one of love. When he reached Jerusalem, however, he found for the first time people whom he could not charm. Hence he soon returned to Galilee, but de-Judaized and with grave revolutionary purposes. He saw that the Kingdom he had in mind could not be established by natural means. Instead of practising innocent arts, he now became a worker of miracles in earnest. He found that he had to allow people to believe some of his works supernatural, although this was against his will. But he must choose thaumaturgy or defeat. At Bethany something happened, we know not just what, which was regarded as the raising of

Lazarus from the dead. At this stage Jesus' teaching takes on a new quality of hardness. He offends some and mystifies others, e. g., by talking about eating his flesh and drinking his blood. His spiritual thoughts take on a material form, especially in some of the parables, and his Kingdom becomes apocalyptic. He had fortunately the sagacity to lay the foundations of the Church by appointing the twelve and by establishing a fellowship meal. For him earth slowly came to pass away, and he lived for martyrdom. He had assumed a rôle which could not possibly last save for a short time. Whether he faltered as the tragedy drew to its close is somewhat uncertain. When he is once dead, Renan apostrophizes and eulogizes him by the tomb. There has never been a greater, and he will never have a rival. All is over. But no; the devoted Mary was the first who thought she saw him, and told others who came to think that they, too, had seen him. Thus a devoted woman gave the world its risen Lord.

Renan's book passed through eight editions in three months. Schweitzer says that whoever could wield a pen charged against him, "the bishops leading." One bitter enemy advocated imprisonment for the author, but in fact few noticed the chief defect of the book, which is that it lacks ethical force and content. There is little lofty moral inspiration in it. It is a somewhat loudly coloured idyll. The excitement it caused spread to all Christian lands, and there were countless refutations by Protestants and still more vehement ones by Catholics.

Renan's Jesus, however, seems a vastly more real, as well as loftier, personality than the Jesus of Strauss. If the author lacks sincerity and sometimes conscience, or if he thinks more often of his public than of scientific truth, it is perhaps because, trained as he was, he did not come into contact with the Gospels in the most susceptible years of his youth. This may account for what seem sometimes the artificiality and falsetto sentimentality of his tone. Serious German scholars can least understand the powerful appeal this book made to Gallic sentiment. Nor do Protestants realize the way in which Jesus is enshrined in the hearts of his Catholic followers. Renan's "Life" fascinates somewhat as the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play does by its crude realism, but despite its obvious defects it will remain a standing monument to teach us the impressive and greatly needed lesson that Jesus can remain an object of adoration although stripped of every

supernatural trait. As although the vase be shattered, the scent of the roses remains, so a Jesus completely naturalized to earth and to humanity remains hallowed by old associations. As his faithful followers remained true to him through all his humiliations, sufferings, and even death, so believers to-day should not desert him although stripped of the glories with which superstition has invested him; for these, after all, are only adventitious. Of old it was held to be the crowning virtue of Jesus that he laid aside his heavenly dignity and crown and came down to earth as man. Renan seems to warn us not to repeat the mistake of Jesus' companions in not recognizing him for all he was in his humiliation. Now he is becoming again incarnate and humanized in a new sense, a sense which after all may be only the psychodynamic equivalent of his own act in divesting himself of the glory he once had with the Father.

Keim's "History of Jesus of Nazara," 6 vol., 1876-83, is still, in the present writer's judgment, on the whole the best as well as the most voluminous life of Jesus. The author's style is lucid, his treatment artistic. Many of his expressions have become classic. He holds to the priority of Matthew but does not think this a matter of prime importance. He makes no attempt to harmonize the Fourth Gospel with the synoptics, but by no means disparages it. He distinguishes sharply between the early stage of success and the later one of apparent failure, which he thinks marked by Christ's repeated flights to escape his enemies, the cause of his many wanderings, although only Matthew betrays this. Jesus wanted to preserve himself till his time was ripe. From the first he preached a material Kingdom, although it was somewhat spiritualized in his later thought. To resolve discrepancies Keim stresses the stages of development in Jesus' thought, and represents him as growing into ever-deeper realizations. He expected the end of the existing order of things, and that very soon; and for this reason he did not spiritualize more his views of the Kingdom. Keim's history is marked by no one or more salient features, but is an all-around and well-proportioned work; and it is remarkable, considering its size, to what a degree the author has succeeded in giving it throughout the charm of a romance. Had it been suddenly given to the Teutonic world, without the long line of preceding studies that had led up to it, it would doubtless have proved to fit the German temperament, and would have been as popular there as Renan's

"Life" was in France. He presents and discusses every serious view of Jesus' life down to his own day, and anticipates most of the opinions of liberal writers since. Miracles and the Resurrection, while not material, historic facts, are full of precious meanings. The range of Keim's scholarship is remarkable, and he is much more a psychologist than he dreams. No one before had had the tact or disposition to represent all the most liberal views and yet to give no offence to the conservative camp. It is his life-work, and he has thought and felt himself into both the times and life of Jesus with a sympathetic insight which no one before or since has surpassed or perhaps even equalled. If he takes away all the supernatural elements with which tradition has invested Jesus, he gives us what more than compensates. In Keim's portrait of a character so lofty, striving to remove the obstacles hindering man's upward path with such devotion and resource, Christ illustrates as no one else does the higher possibilities of human life and destiny, organizing victory out of defeat. Contact with his life enlarges and elevates our own, because we realize that his is the noblest and most ideal embodiment of the idea of man. Certainly the other lives of Jesus in Keim's generation by Beyschlag, Haase, Schenkel, H. J. Holtzmann, Weissäcker, B. Weiss, and Wendt's "Teachings of Jesus," while each has specific merits and sets forth many an item in a clearer light, really add little that a careful reader of Keim will find new or important.

As if the day of elaborate lives of Jesus were ending, there came a period of shorter sketches which sufficed to show the general conclusions of writers who felt that the study of sources had been pretty well exhausted, and that the larger problems of perspective and of combination of all the items into a personal portrait were chiefly needed. Bousset ("Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum," 1892, 130 p.) had a strong conviction that the criticism of sources had done its work. All competent students have come to admit a primitive Mark, the *logia*, and the irreconcilability of the Fourth Gospel with the synoptics. What is now wanted is a vivid portrayal by a few bold strokes which will show forth Jesus' true greatness and originality. Bousset holds that too much eschatology has caused us to lose something of the force and originality of Jesus' character. The views of the "last things" held by later Judaism were confused, but more realistic than transcendent or apocalyptic. The transfer of their hopes of the

future to another transcendent realm is dualistic and of Persian origin. Jesus came as a vital man into the dead world of Judaism, and gave it a practical interpretation of a great life. His basal idea was the fatherhood of God, and this idea must arouse stagnant Judaism. Jesus' chief trait was his joy in life, although it was the joy of one who was above this world. This joy was rooted in the new kind of psyche which he illustrated. Near as the Kingdom was, he remained simple and spontaneous, and was not repressed by its immanence. His preaching was to be perfect, and he sought to infect small groups of men with the enthusiasm of this ideal. He was antithetical to his times, but joyful because his purpose was to make the future present. He was the Messiah, and said so openly, and enjoyed the office. The Kingdom comes here and now, and is not all transcendental. The new spiritual relation this involved was symbolized by a fellowship meal which he inaugurated. He developed the deeper meaning of the Old Testament, but directed it against the Judaism of his own time. Thus, for Bousset, Jesus' teaching is not sombre or chiefly world-renouncing. His Jesus is not a futurist, but a man really great in his own time, though animated by hope. Bousset's little book is perhaps the ablest protest against extreme eschatology, to which, however, he makes concessions that seem to him generous. His Jesus is not crippled or paralyzed by feeling that everything is transitory and provisional. The present to him is very real, and must not be overshadowed by the future. He does not disparage this world's goods but enjoys them. The parables teach that the Kingdom has actually come. The transcendental has entered and eudemonized the life of the present. Jesus' joy, then, is a protest against undue renunciation of the world.

The influence of the Bahrdt-Venturini method was seen in several fictive constructions of Jesus' life. Hennell's "Untersuchung," for which, strangely enough, Strauss wrote an introduction (1833) reproduces the ideas of the above writers, and really does little more. Salvador's "Jésus-Christ et Sa Doctrine" (1828) makes Jesus the best representative of the Oriental mysticism that he thinks pervaded Judaism after the days of Solomon, and in Jesus fused with Messianism. Gfrörer ("Kritische Geschichte des Urchristentums," 1831, 2 vol.) says Christianity was born of the hope of a future kingdom and was sustained in the Middle Ages by the fear of the future. Jewish theology culminated in Philo, the Therapeutae, and the Essenes, and before

Jesus there was a series of revolts animated by Messianic hopes. For a generation the story of Jesus was oral tradition. Much legend was absorbed, which Luke, as his preface shows, sought to sift out. The Gospels (A. D. 110-120) were Galilean legends with little Jewish tradition in them. John, when divested of miracles, is the best source of our information of the true inwardness of the Essene order out of which Christianity arose. Jesus expected to die, but not to rise. He was, however, revived by the skill of the order, which was strong enough to bribe the Romans not to kill him and to let him be taken down from the cross soon, the thieves hanging on each side being crucified and left to hang upon the cross to divert attention. Gfrörer, after this outbreak of criticism, became a Catholic and died in 1861. Von der Alm (d. 1876), in "Theologische Briefe" (1863), holds that in Jesus we worship not transformed Judaism but Oriental faiths, especially Mithraism, which also had its virgin birth, star, wise men, cross, and resurrection. Were it not for Mithraism and its human sacrifice, the Lord's Supper would be unintelligible. The ancient world was pervaded by gnosticism, of which Christianity is one form, yet Jesus' own teachings are chiefly rabbinical. The "order" diffused the idea that the Messiah had come, but was in concealment. When Jesus appeared in this rôle he "issued from passivity" to make atonement vicariously, so that God would bring in a better order of things. His vocation was to die so that the heavenly Messiah could come forth. There was great tension as to whether this consummation of the redemption idea would satisfy Yahveh. The Resurrection was a vision born of the desire for a parousia. Gfrörer considers that the brotherhood who guided all that Jesus did sought to rid Judaism of its ritualism, and to save Christianity from the deification of Jesus and the idea of redemption through his blood. Now a new Church should be established with eight Sundays, two days each being devoted to four feasts, viz., of Deity, of the dignity of man, of the divine blessing in nature, and of immortality. This construction suggests Comte's "Politique Positive" with its new saint worship, in which each day of the week was named for some great man of the past, after the analogy of Catholic saints' days. Noack (d. 1885), a poetic and scholarly soul, in "Geschichte Jesu" (1856, 4 books), combines fiction and criticism. Despite Strauss he bases everything on the Fourth Gospel. The discrepancies between the Gospels are due, he thinks, to a series of

redactions representing different tendencies, to which each was subjected. The sources of John are the points of departure for all of them. Had Jesus been a Jewish Messiah, rather than an embodiment of the *logos* doctrine, he would not have had to force the Jews to put him to death, as in fact he had to do. Jesus was an enthusiast living only for his own self-consciousness. The original Fourth Gospel, purged of miracles and of Judaism, took shape about A. D. 60. All Jesus did and said was self-realization. The problem is how his lofty views, faithfully translated by the beloved disciple, came to be accepted. Some ten years later, after the Pauline propaganda, Luke was written chiefly to repudiate the calumny that Jesus was possessed of a devil. This was done by making him cast out devils. Jesus lived and was crucified near the sources of the Jordan. By his fantastic transference to the north it was thought to harmonize John and the synoptists. These Gospels sufficed till Mark was composed, A. D. 130, and Matthew, A. D. 135. In these, Jewish ideas with which Jesus had nothing to do are put into his mouth, and he is made to fulfil the prophecy, and come to Jerusalem, and die there. Still later, John and Luke were given their final form. The Baptist did nothing but strive to make Jesus reveal who he really was. He was born out of wedlock, prone to ecstasy and to revery above the clouds. A vivid imagination lifted this solitary and fatherless man above his many troubles. By fasting, vigil, and prayer he always kept his way open to the Heavenly Father. He thought himself protected, and finally came to believe that he was preëxistent and so developed a unique and original ego. To offer himself up became his ambition and his ruling passion. Death, indeed, was the vocation of the Son of Man, and he became even more familiar in his solitude with this thought than with that of the Father. It was a dramatic moment when the adulteress was brought to him in order to put him to shame by the thought of his own dishonourable birth. For a moment he was confused and stooped to write on the earth, but then came his overwhelming answer. He wished, since he considered himself symbolized by the paschal lamb, to die on the day of the Passover. John helped him to hide and escape his enemies who would have slain him before, till the right moment, and then precipitated the last tragic step in his career by bringing about his arrest. For this act of supreme fidelity and devotion to Jesus' own wish the beloved disciple was branded as a traitor and renamed Judas. Although Noack's work

seems to us fiction, he believed it to be the final discovery of the historic facts in Jesus' career.[1]

C. H. Weisse,[2] a philosopher like Strauss, takes the next important step by bringing the old problem of the differences of the Gospels into the very forefront of discussion. This he does by establishing the priority of Mark, which, if it gives us the best thread of connection and the best standard by which to estimate the amount of myth, was based, Weisse thinks, on notes of spoken discourses by Peter. Mark gives us the best, and John the least, historic picture. Where the First and Third Gospels agree they follow Mark, and where they depart from him, they do agree in language but not in the order of events, and hence they must both have followed some older account of Jesus' sayings (the *logia*). John sought chiefly to portray Jesus' struggle against the Jews, and not to supplement the other Gospels. John seems to have striven very hard to rescue and restore from the mists of his memory everything possible, especially concerning the teachings of Jesus; and where there were gaps, or where we find him mistaken, he was doubtless "restoring" on the basis of vestiges of his recollection. These he left in the form of notes which others of his way of thinking later revised, retouched, and inserted here and there in the story of his life, in order to give them some localization in time and place, and thus a semblance of history. Much later Wendt takes the bold step of trying to reproduce not only the primitive Mark and the *logia* of Matthew, but the original John, and he even reproduces them in Greek as he supposes them to have originated.[3] Weisse better, perhaps, than any other, marks the elimination of John as an historic authority. Weisse also strives to eliminate eschatology, and thus gives to Christological studies a "liberal" turn which they followed for decades, assuming that the originality of Jesus must be vindicated at all costs. It was reserved for J. Weiss (Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 130) to find again the right path. The Socrates of Xenophon and of Plato now seem

[1] See also "The Crucifixion," by an Eye-witness. 1913, 200 p. Also M. Zwemer: "The Moslem Christ." 1912, 188 p.; B. Pick: "Jesus in the Talmud." 1913, 100 p.; R. Garbe: "Indien und das Christenthum." 1914. G. Hollmann: "Welche Religion hatten die Juden als Jesus auftrat?" 1905. 83 p. M. J. Olivier: "La vie cachée de Jesus." 1908. 465 p.

There have been dozens of books and essays upon Buddhism. See, too, Bertholet: "Buddhismus und Christentum," 2d edition (Tübingen, 1909); also E. Windisch: "Buddhas Geburt u. die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung." (Leipzig, 1908). Schröder, "Buddhismus und Christentum" in his "Aufsätze" (Leipzig, 1913), thinks that the gentleness and toleration of Buddhism to other faiths show us a mortifying model, and that we are more liable to self-righteousness and religious pride. Here I am mainly following Schweitzer.

[2] "Die evangelische Geschichte." 1838, 2 vols. Trans.

[3] H. H. Wendt: "Die Lehre Jesu. Erste Teil: Die evangelische Quellen-Berichte über die Lehre Jesu." Göttingen, 1886, 354 p. How he uses these data we see in his later "History of Jesus." Trans. 1901, 2 vol., 408 p. and 427 p. For an admirably succinct statement of the synoptic and sources problem, see F. C. Burkitt: "The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus." 1910, 131 p., with a brief and select bibliography on the subject.

hardly more different than the synoptic and the Johannin Jesus. The expectation of a post-resurrection *parousia*, fashioned after a Jewish apocalypse idea, did not come from Jesus, but was ascribed to him by the disciples after his death. The Resurrection was a purely psychic fact; and it is folly even to raise the question of "the empty tomb." The mythic hypothesis failed to explain or foretell this. Jesus had definitely and voluntarily resolved to die, and death was in no sense forced upon him. This choice was not motivated by any suggestion of pagan dying or rising gods. It was Jesus' own original conception. He died because he believed that the reaction would give his teaching and work a perpetual influence. All this the founder of the Markan hypothesis finds in the Second Gospel.

Bruno Bauer (d. 1882) did not write a life of Jesus, but was another great Hegelian whose chief work was the criticism of the Gospels and of early Christianity, and who suffered for his opinions. Instead, however, of starting from Jewish Messianism and following the course of events downstream, he reverses this method and begins with the Fourth Gospel, in which Jesus had become completely fitted into the *logos* scheme, and works backward. Bauer regards John as Philo's pupil. His work is not history, but art; but we must be not only aesthetic but critical in order to judge this Gospel. He finds much repetition and bad art in John; as, e. g., in the parable of the good shepherd. Everything is largely coloured by the unknown author and his *milieu*. In this work Bauer uses the synoptics as if they were valid in order to discredit John; but when he considers them, he finds them, too, very unreliable, if in somewhat less degree. The originators of the theory of the priority and greater reliability of Mark in the main credit his narrative, and it is reserved for Bauer to urge that the Second Gospel is, like John, literary and not historical. The birth stories must be inventions, because, had they been only different versions of a common tradition, they might vary but would never be so inconsistent with each other. The same is true of both the discourses and the other narrative material. Therefore, the synoptic Gospels do not draw from a common source or tradition, but are all literary productions. All Christologists before had assumed what the synoptists agree in, viz., that there was a Messianic expectation, and thus one who claimed this title would be historically conceivable. But aside from the Gospels themselves there is no evidence of any such expectation among the

Jews in the days of Jesus. Mark and his imitators are the only witnesses to it. If the Jews had had any such idea, it would have been more definite and less hazy. The conception of the Messiah in fact only arose with the Christian community. Orthodox writers of lives of Jesus embodied Old Testament expectations of the Messiah in their portrayals of Jesus, and Strauss says that Messianity was a rôle that Jesus had to assume and with which legend later identified him. The core of the whole matter to Bauer's Hegelian mode of thought is that God and man had to be identified. This required a man in whose soul the great antithesis between human and divine should be overcome in a larger synthesis. Jesus felt called to infect men with his two-in-one consciousness, and so, in course of time, not only his mind but his person became sacred. He felt his vocation so important that he offered up his life in discharging it. When he attained the added glamour of being thought to have risen, he came to stand for the resumption of God by man; and this unity and the insight and the consciousness of it, brought a great peace. The vague prophecies began to be reinterpreted so as to focus in him as their fulfilment. Then only was there a clear idea of the Messiah in the world. Thus Bauer believes that Mark did not invent Jesus, but that he was a very real and great personality who inspired Mark to make him the goal of prophecy.

Only later Bauer begins to ask if Jesus himself was real. In seeking the solution of this question he takes up the chief Gospel incidents. The baptism was necessary, because John and Jesus had to be brought together. The temptations were the allegory of the early Church. The mission of the twelve is extremely improbable. Storms are persecutions. If Jesus wrought all the miracles ascribed to him, it would be a greater miracle yet that the disciples and all others who saw him did not believe on him. How did Mark know that miracles were the special signs and criteria of the Messiah? If Jesus really lived he not only reconciled the antithesis between God and man, an opposition which obsessed and threatened to disintegrate the further development of the soul, but he brought in a new principle which rescued man from his self-alienation. The self-consciousness of humanity is mirrored in the Gospels. Jesus reconciled man to himself, that is, to manhood. Man's self-realization is the death of nature. This Christianity brought. It made the world ready for a higher

religion which will overcome nature by permeating and sublating it. Later in life, after a study of Paul, Bauer reaches and renders his final verdict, viz., there never was an historic Jesus. The self-alienated ego arose in its might and abolished God, Christ, and all its other quondam projects and ejects, and is now on the way to the complete atonement of all heterization, even that of the physical world itself. Spirit (or *Geist* in Hegel's sense) destroyed and will re-create the world. The ego having found its true self counts all else dross, and revels in its new-found God—its own larger, deeper self.

W. Sanday, the Oxford professor, as learned as he is modest, has given us a tentative psychology of Jesus,[1] based largely on the views of the English Psychical Research Society. The *locus* of whatever is divine in man is subliminal. It is usually quiescent, but sends up impulses into consciousness. That which thus comes to expression is the divine, or some indication of its presence. This is the spirit that "helps our infirmities," "maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered," etc. We know the sources, but cannot tell the cause of these abysmal motions. The saint and mystic seem like others outwardly, and we have to infer "the meat they have to eat that we know not of," for their life is "hid with Christ in God." Just as with us, whatever of the Divine Jesus had in him had to manifest itself through the medium of his human consciousness. Thus he was completely man; but submerged in the depths of his soul was something that gave his life continuity with God. This abysmal life was in Jesus far larger relatively to what appeared than it was in others. His human consciousness was "a narrow neck, a Jacob's ladder, by which the divine forces stored up below found an outlet" above the threshold. All of divinity cannot be expressed in human words, acts, or thoughts. Although Jesus was completely human, his continuity with deity was more than that of others, although all are God's offspring, and live, move, and have their being in him. The homoiousia meant that there was more of this transcendent element in him. If there was a self-determination in the Godhead prior to and which issued in the incarnation, this meant repression. Hence, all of God was not, as indeed it could not be, expressed in Christ, because he was human. It was as if his human consciousness was assumed by an act of will which limited or inhibited the *pleroma* of God from flowing out into Jesus.[1] This is

[1] "Christologies, Ancient and Modern." 1910, 244 p. See also his "Inspiration." 1894, 464 p.

why the Father is greater than he. Christ being merely man, there was a large part of the man unexpressed, otiose, or ineffective. His loftiest title was Messiah, which meant that he was God's vicegerent on earth and that God's Kingdom here was his. This meant restoration, redemption for the Jews through him, and for the race through the Jews. The Messiah must also be judge. Thus he forgives sins, lays down a second law, like a greater than Moses, etc. He is also greater than Solomon. All that is done for his disciples is done for him, and what is done for him is done for God. His Messianic consciousness was central, but not adequate, and whenever he used this title he strained it almost to bursting. He thought it contained the prophetic idea of the suffering servant of Yahveh, and also the idea of an unprecedented degree of intimacy with God so close that it had to be called filial. Enriched as the idea of personality was thus, it was still inadequate. Something higher "filtered through," because the threshold is "not impervious." As Wordsworth says, "We feel that we are greater than we know," and this means that the inner processes of cerebration are richer and more productive than consciousness is. We "move about in a world not realized," and with "blank" misgivings. The bottom of this "narrow-necked vessel" opens into infinity and God. God cannot fully come to human consciousness; can do so, in fact, only to a very limited extent in any man, although he did so in far greater degree in Jesus than in any other.

The upper consciousness, says Sanday, may be a "kind of dial-plate with an index needle turning." The deepest processes in the soul cannot move the needle much, and they do so only rarely. Jesus condemned himself to this disability. In Our Lord the manifested life was, as it were, only an index of the total life of which the visible activities were relatively but a small part. His sense of his mission grew gradually, and his development from infancy was like that of any other. The central thought of sonship evolved slowly, and only late did it establish itself as cardinal in his self-consciousness. In the processes of his development, he naturally fell into and followed preëxisting apocalyptic grooves according to which he was to be both king and judge; and there was to be a great outpouring of the spirit, which in fact came with Pentecost and with Paul. Jesus had an unprecedented

---

[1]This view, though different, is not inconsistent with that of P. Carus' suggestive work on "The Pleroma," 1909, 163 p., which he believes is constituted by all the combined expressions of Christianity since Jesus, taken together.

reserve in the way of latent powers. This fed and found satisfying expression in his ideas of Messianity. The thought-forms of the apocalypse were inadequate, but there were no others at hand, and upon them we can, ought to, and must still further improve.

It is refreshing to find a scholar so characteristically English both in his piety and in his refusal to follow, although he has so carefully studied, the German authorities, with their insistence and definite attitudes toward the synoptic, Johannin, mythic, eschatological, and other questions, but who strives to use all sources, not excluding psychology, in order to attain a comprehensive, sympathetic insight into the mind and life of the central figure of the New Testament. Just how historic Jesus was, whether Sanday accepts the priority of Mark, just how much he thinks Jesus was determined by eschatology, we are nowhere told. Thus, no one can label this writer according to current rubrics. In a similar way Darwin transcended the biological specialties, even of his own day, because he would neither confine himself in, nor exclude himself from, any school.

Sanday has, however, to our thinking, the following grave limitations. (a) He should have known more of the light thrown by modern psychoanalysis upon the subliminal soul and the unconscious; for we have in this domain a far better terminology and a far deeper insight into the relations between the conscious and the unconscious and the nature of the latter than the psychic researchers have given us. In his psychology Sanday is too provincial. (b) He is not only open to, but invites, the further inference that the divinity in which Jesus' soul was rooted is simply the soul of the race; that God is generic human nature, immanent in it and found nowhere else, somewhat in the sense of Feuerbach. (c) In place of the self-limitation of Jesus before his descent to earth and his incarnation, there is the more fundamentally genetic conception which only finds transferred expression in this doctrine, viz., that as the child is father of the man because nearer to and a more adequate expression of the race, so the kenosis doctrine is only a figurative expression of the fact that the growth to maturity of both the individual and the social soul involves progressive limitations. The child is father of the man because a more adequate, larger expression of the race before specialization, which is an inevitable concomitant of development, has occurred. The development of the man out of the child, the world out of its background, civilization out of savagery,

is in a sense a self-emptying, so that in the kenosis theory we have a hypostatized symbol of evolution. As the somatization of the immortal and all-conditioning germ plasm is specialization, and thus progress toward death, so Jesus had to die because the *ewiger Männliche* in him was taking on such concrete and specific details that he was unable to continue longer to be the adequate medium of the divine. His humanity had to be sloughed off in the interests of the race-soul as this, which had been embodied in but had to be freed from him, entered the higher form of the spirit.

W. Wrede[1] urges that the bald facts about Jesus' life were that he appeared in Galilee, chose disciples, taught and had favourites among them, attracted still more by his healing, especially of those thought possessed, associated with all classes, was very free in his interpretation of the law, offended the scribes and rulers, who plotted his fall. After he came to Jerusalem they succeeded, and he was put to death with the aid of the Romans. These essential historical data appear for the most part only incidentally as pale vestiges in the primitive Gospel, Mark. But superposed upon this, and having almost swallowed it up, we see in our Mark another higher worth given later to this simple life, which was all that Jesus' disciples knew while they were with him. Jesus' Messianity was a "dark lantern which occasionally leaked rays," and it is this we find referred to as "hidden" or esoteric, and which in fact some of the parables seem to conceal. Mark was written in order to knit together into one the actual man as he had been known and the very different divine being he came to be thought after belief in the Resurrection had been accepted. This made this worthy teacher and healer seem to be transcendent and divine. Mark seeks to graft this later, higher doctrine on the simple facts. His purpose was to make Jesus over into the Messiah. The carefully guarded secret of his Messianity was really first betrayed to all and impressed most upon those who had known him by the Resurrection, and it is by its light that Mark strives to transfuse the somewhat ordinary events of the two or three preceding years of Jesus' life in such a way as to cause the historic man and the risen God to intussuscept. This took time. Memory had to become a little hazy and be transfused with the divine glory that burst forth at the Resurrection. This fusion of two elements was not all the work of the author of Mark, as Bruno Bauer had thought. Although

[1] "Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien." 1901, 286 p.

primarily a theologian, Mark had literary gifts; but he chiefly represents a growing consensus of his circle in which tradition was slowly doing the same work. Although the divine element greatly preponderates, Wrede finds many traces of the simpler story. To maintain his thesis he has to reconstruct, or challenge as interpolations, those passages which indicate that Jesus knew and did proclaim himself to be Messiah, or was thought so by his disciples. The chief obstacle to this theory is Jesus' own eschatology. A god who was trying to masquerade as a man would not speak so publicly or so often of the consummation of all earthly affairs, of the judgment day, etc. On this view the disciples must have been very dull of understanding, and thus Mark represents them. Peter is made to reveal the secret of his nature to Jesus instead of Jesus to Peter. The self-betrayal of the secret, too, at Jerusalem, and on the cross, has to be explained away. In dealing with these matters Wrede is very ingenious; but while he fails to answer the scores of difficulties which Schweitzer challenges him to meet, in maintaining the theory that Jesus was not thought divine until after his death, Wrede's theory does bring out with needed boldness and relief the fact that the after-effects of the belief in the Resurrection must have profoundly transformed and elevated the estimation in which all Jesus' friends held him.

Wernle[1] discards the Fourth Gospel and finds his source material solely in the synoptics. Mark is only a compiler of established tradition, and so the writer of the oldest Gospel "fails us as an historian." Mark, too, was somewhat influenced by Paul, but his Gospel was really an argument to prove that Jesus was Messiah and Son of God, and to this end he used narratives and sayings long current orally, his conflation of which was very loosely made, as we should expect of a first attempt. He wished to apologize for Jesus' death and explain Jewish unbelief; and if we eliminate these dominant and warping motives, we can get nearer to Jesus than the First Gospel in its present form permits. If wrongly put together and out of perspective, Mark's material is nevertheless genuine and priceless. Matthew and Luke knew and chiefly followed Mark, but added new material, especially the discourses of Jesus, which perhaps they themselves put together. Both of them, however, must have drawn from some common older Greek source. This source, to which Matthew is nearest, had probably been current

[1] "Sources of the Knowledge of the Life of Jesus." London, 1907. 163 p.

orally for at least three decades, and during this time had doubtless undergone changes. If these sayings had been collected and even written, the two later synoptists gave them a new turn, e. g., against the scribes and Pharisees. Though Matthew was nearest to this original, Luke seems to have known still other sources. Thus we have plenty of material; but the plan of the building is hopelessly lost, so that we can never expect anything like an authentic biography of Jesus. Prepossessions and the all-dominant needs of propagandism colour and distort all. The one thing, however, that we do know is how Jesus regarded God and what mattered in his sight. Enigmatical as his character certainly was, we know there was something about it that touched the human soul more vitally than anything else had ever done. As we approach Jesus dogmatic theology recedes, and he gives us ideals of loyalty, justice, sympathy, humility, aspiration, and forgiveness. Perhaps he never thought himself the Messiah, or expected to rise from the dead; but belief that he did the latter exalted him and created the Church.

O. Schmiedel[1] bases his work on the following canon: If we find documents which testify to the worship of a hero unknown from other sources, we should lay chief stress on those data that could not be deduced from or coloured by the fact of his worship; for no author intent chiefly on justifying the latter, as the synoptists were, would use passages that had no bearing upon the promulgation of their hero's cult, unless they were fixed data of tradition. Hence, passages used by only one synoptist and omitted by one or both the others, or perhaps repeated without change or sometimes even with change, where the above motive is obvious—such items and sayings would have historic reliability above everything else.

Examining the Gospels on this principle, Schmiedel finds nine chief passages of this order, as follows: (1) Why callest thou me good? (2) Blasphemy against the Son can be forgiven. (3) Jesus' relatives thought him beside himself. (4) Of that day and hour knoweth no man. (5) My God, why hast thou forsaken me? (6) There shall be no sign given to this generation. (7) He was able to do no mighty works save healing a few sick folk in Nazareth. (8) The warning against the leaven of the Pharisees. (9) The answer sent to the Baptist's inquiry whether he was the Messiah or not.

[1] "Encyclopædia Biblica" article on Gospels, ¶ 131. "Der Hauptprobleme der Leben-Jesu-Forschung." 1906.

These passages Schmiedel calls his foundation pillars, for they cannot be conceived to have originated in myth or to have gathered about a non-existent person. Hence we can be certain that we have here a nucleus of a real life of Jesus, a *minimum credibile*. From these data we can infer that Jesus was a real man who went about doing good. He gathered followers, pardoned calumnies, recognized the supreme goodness of his Father, God, was thought insane by his relatives. He sent a message to John that seemed to imply an affirmative answer to the question whether he was the Christ. He warned against the current orthodoxy of the Pharisees. He did not know the time of the coming of the Son of Man, wondered at the unbelief he met in his own land, was deserted of all, even God, and probably put to death. Concerning this there can be nothing legendary, and without these passages the historian would have to "remove the person of Jesus from the field of history." This seems little; but as it asserts Jesus' reality and assures us of a few significant things about him, it becomes possible to infer other things as probable. Further reconstructions must be cautious, but very slow, and can start only on this basis. The above minimum does not differ very much from the older one of Van Manen, who long ago assumed an older written Gospel, sketching the outlines of Jesus' life, beginning with his appearance at Capernaum, and then describing his casting out devils, the proclamation of the Kingdom, the transfiguration, the final trip to Jerusalem, the Passion, death and Resurrection, but saying nothing of his origin, baptism, and temptation, or much about his work in Galilee.

Flinders Petrie[1] would get rid of subjective elements and ignore the order of the synoptists by eliminating from each every item that does not occur in the same order in both the other Gospels. Thus he finds a nucleus or common basis, identical in all and in the same sequence. This we may compare to a primary Gospel, although it may have been composed out of earlier elements. He opines that it was used by the Church at Jerusalem as early as 40-50 A. D. and perhaps may be called apostolic. It seems to have been called "The Way." It begins with the mission of the Baptist, his meeting with Jesus, the withdrawal to the desert, the return to Galilee, the call to repentance, preaching the Kingdom, the call of the first disciples. It then describes the collision with the Pharisees, teaching the crowds on the lake, the parable of the

[1] "The Growth of the Gospels." 1910

sower, the reports carried to Herod, the feeding of the five thousand, the confession of Peter, Jesus' prediction of his death, his doctrine of self-renunciation as a test, the transfiguration, the importance of the child-spirit in matters spiritual, the counsel of perfection, the entry to Jerusalem, the expulsion of the traders, the parable of the husbandman, the traps set for Jesus by his enemies, his prediction of the destruction of the temple, the betrayal by Judas, the scene in the garden, the trial, crucifixion, burial, and Resurrection, the latter only barely mentioned and with no record of any post-mortem appearance. Petrie thinks this may have been written testimony within ten or twenty years after Jesus' death, and that there is nothing mythic about it. Like many others, he believes that this nucleus was not long afterward supplemented by another document ("Q") chiefly devoted to the sayings of Jesus and now represented chiefly by the block of verses in Matthew called the sermon on the mount. The latter has no reference to time or place, and seems to be an *encheiridion*. In all this Petrie thinks there is not an idea or an incident that takes us outside of the Church at Jerusalem, where Galilee was hardly known, when the compilation was made there. Mark and Luke worked on additions to the nucleus when in Jerusalem, 54-56 A. D. Luke had already collected material in Galilee and finished his Gospel elsewhere. Mark then obtained Matthew's Gospel as far as it was then accreted, and finished his, which remained long isolated, in Egypt. The story reduced to primitive form is lifelike, naïve, and characteristic of the East. A magnetic man arouses attention, heals the sick, collides with vested interests, is suspected by the priests, and finally is slain. All is naïvely told. Much turns on the originality, intrinsic value, and arrangement of the *logia* in the sermon.[1]

A. Loisy's greatest work,[2] the most radical, perhaps, which ever appeared within the pale of the Catholic Church, followed as it was by his excommunication under the influence of the anti-modernist movement, attracted great attention despite its size. It presents many unique and original conclusions concerning Jesus and his work, and at the same time makes havoc with certain growing tendencies among liberals and critics toward conformity, if not uniformity, of view. For him the oldest Gospel is Mark, "a work of faith far more than of his-

[1] See, too, comments on this, mainly favourable, in J. T. Thorburn, "Jesus the Christ. History or Miracle." Edinburgh, 1912, especially p. 55, *et. seq.*

[2] "Les Evangels Synoptiques." Paris, 1907-8. 2 vols. 1014 and 818 p.

tory." It was composed about 75 A. D., and Matthew and Luke nearly a quarter of a century later. None of them was written by those whose names they bear, but each is an often forced composite a number of stages removed from the matter they set forth. As the result of his erudite and exhaustive criticism Loisy concludes that Jesus heard almost by accident of the Baptist, a prophet born of those very troubled times, and that under John's influence Jesus decided to follow an earlier impulse of his own and to preach the Kingdom just as John had done. This he began to do about the time of John's imprisonment. His ideas of it were the traditional ones. The chief new feature that he stressed was its immanence. It could be entered only by repentance and would begin by a resurrection. It was not very spiritual, nor would it destroy the present world. He was to be its head, but was not so yet, and hence was reticent about his own relation to it. His ethics were not for permanent social life, but merely those requisite for entering it. His teaching was fresh, simple, original, metaphorical, and parabolic, so that it went home to the hearts of the people. He did not seek to conceal anything, but spoke in general with frankness and abandon. We have now only a few salient fragments of what he really taught, and these remains are distorted, or falsely associated or combined by doctrinnaire editors. He probably cured certain neurotics, especially those thought to be possessed, but did so rather unwillingly. Symbolism, however, has exaggerated and distorted all this. He retired to the north when he learned that the authorities had turned their attention to him; but encouraged by his disciples, and in the growing belief that he was the Messiah, he resolved to go to Jerusalem and announce himself as such, dangerous though he knew this would be. He felt that God would intervene at the last moment and save him by a miracle. He went finally, though not without faltering. No intervention took place, despite his pathetic appeal to heaven at Gethsemane, and so he was arraigned and forced to admit that he wished to establish a kingdom, and hence was condemned and crucified. Of the details of his death we know nothing. He seems to have expired with some loud cry, and was buried by soldiers in a common grave. "Thus ended the Gospel dream. The reality of the Kingdom of God now had to begin." There was of course no Resurrection, and the great miracles are spurious. The Kingdom and Church came because a number of rare men of great power and genius like Paul came

after Jesus. There were probably others (perhaps many of whom little is known) among this new Christian school of prophets, who were able to develop from these meagre and, indeed, unpromising facts the remarkable results which followed. Jesus, and especially his death, made a very strong impression as painted by his successors. The long-desired vision came first to Peter in Galilee in the morning twilight, and something of the kind perhaps happened to others; but of all this we have only garbled and snatchy reports. Very soon, however, a group of simple folk came to believe in a Resurrection, with sufficient intensity to stake everything on this faith. They tried to find the body but in vain; but their very failure to do so reinforced their belief that Christ had risen, and the final editor of Mark assumed this as a fact. Others found it foretold in prophecy. This credence once established, Paul pushed the development rapidly on, and our Gospels are saturated with Paulinism. Mark was especially partisan to Paul and so were the other synoptic versions of different groups of traditions. Jesus never dreamed that his death was to be a ransom for many. It was Paul who first interpreted it thus. It was Paul who introduced the idea of forgiveness, and wrote or inspired all that the Gospels have to say about the eucharist. The only basis of fact for this was a common meal at Bethany at which the disciples were promised a share in the Kingdom. Thus the person of Jesus grew in importance in every direction. He became Son of God, the incarnate Logos, who foreknew and planned his own death, and offered himself up as the price of salvation. Christ foresaw the future exactly. The disciples were obtuse and unworthy, and hence far below Paul, and the rejection of Christ by the Jews is especially reprehensible. This is particularly the purpose of the narratives of Jesus' trial and execution. He never proposed to organize a society, but the Church was already started when the Gospels took form. He never dreamed of successors to the apostles. Later views are constantly put in Jesus' mouth. The transfiguration was a "legend or a post-Resurrection vision." The baptism was not a sufficient consecration for the augmented Jesus, and so the birth legend arose. Most things in the Gospel story are the deliberate invention of picturesque symbols charged with varied meanings which the nascent Church wished to have authorized. Belief in the Resurrection was a psychological necessity, and developed in a few weeks or months. If Peter created faith in it, was he not in a

sense even greater than Jesus? for it was he who brought life out of death, and gave the Church its conviction that Jesus' work would go on under his own superintendence from on high through the Holy Spirit. It was all because the impression made by his personality was so persistent.

But is Loisy's Jesus impressive enough to be the mainspring of such a movement? No modern Christologist who admits Jesus' historicity at all has on the whole left him so insignificant. His life was commonplace; his teaching consisted of little more than *nota benes* or directions as to how to get into the Kingdom; his death was little anticipated, and the result of the misjudged, adventuresome trip to Jerusalem. The end of all was when his body was thrown into a common trench, while the religion that bears his name was created later by others greater than he. Keim, to be sure, makes Jesus' life until the final visit to Jerusalem punctuated by repeated flights or fugues to the north to escape real or fancied dangers from enemies; and Schweitzer describes him as self-convicted of delusions, and in despair. But for both these writers he has on the whole far more significance than for Loisy. Why, then, does the latter so often express boundless admiration for a Jesus so denuded of all traits calculated to evoke reverence or affection? Does unconscious pity for a being so bereft of the dignity he so long enjoyed in Christendom move him to ardent eulogies, as if to compensate for the degradations he has felt himself impelled by his studies to bring upon Jesus? Most of his life is a mesh of symbols, quite as much as W. B. Smith thinks all of it is. But we cannot feel the personal quality of loyalty or love to a symbol. Does Loisy feel worshipful, amidst the ruins of a once-finished temple where worship was so long wont to be paid? or is it a new variety of relic worship? Is it that, although Loisy's intellect has learned better, his heart still remains that of a devotee? No one could say that in his case it is due to an intent to cover up from hostile critics the extent of his apostasy from the faith. His sentiments of devout loyalty are certainly not directed to the Jesus whom the early Church evolved from the historic Nazarene. It is hardly the outcrop of an unconsciously cherished wish that the results of his researches may after all prove mistaken, or the recrudescence of the old infantile faith asserting itself despite the fact that reason and scholarship know better. All these motivations, however, may have contributed, some more, some less. The soul acts

in all these ways, and often largely without our knowledge. But the chief cause of Loisy's attitude is probably somewhat different from any of the above. All critics who stress the incompleteness or the perversion of the records feel that in the much that has been lost there is something very precious and significant, an undiscerned residuum that, were it restored, would account for the fact that Jesus' life was somehow the mainspring of all the great development that followed and that made the Church. Something with unique power had to be the centre of all the new myths and rites; something that impelled some believers to write the Gospels, others to preach and organize, and yet others to think, systematize, and find the right way; something vital enough to make parties without which on this view we should have no Gospels. It is to this unknown something that the expressions of adoration so common among negative critics and so extreme in Loisy are directed. These critics cannot define or even point to it; but they feel that it must be there, elusive though it is. Whatever it is, it was closely connected with Jesus' person, words, or both; a chord now lost must have been struck. Until it is found again even the critic has to regard Jesus somewhat magically. Such expressions of reverence of the residual Jesus by the higher critics are, psychologically interpreted, the betrayal of a deep sense of their own failure to reach the secret core of the matter, and indicate the need of further and deeper research. Their work is unfinished, their goal unattained, and until it is, the old devout attitude will continue to have at least its own partial justification.[1]

Finally, from all data sketched in this chapter the psychologist draws two inevitable conclusions, the one positive and the other negative. The first is that no theme save, perhaps, the perennial theme of love, has ever made so strong an appeal to literary imagination as the story of Jesus. From the first apocryphal fabrication to the last religious novel or drama the incidents of Jesus' life and the precepts of his teaching have suggested and provoked in minds of the highest order, as well as of lower orders, constructions that have brought home to the heart of Christendom the "things of Jesus" as of no other of the

[1] S. G. Ayres: "Jesus Christ Our Lord"; an English Bibliography of Christology of five thousand Titles, annotated and classified. New York, 1906, 502 p. G. Pfannmüller: "Jesus im Urteil der Jahrhunderte," 1908, 578 p. These two books present the most important views in theology, philosophy, literature, and art to the present time. O. Dähnhardt: "Natursagen." 1907, Bd. 1, 376 p. "Sagas of the Old Testament." Bd. 2, 316 p. "Sagas of the New Testament." C. A. Dinsmore: "Atonement in Literature and Life." Boston, 1906, 250 p. F. Andres: "Die Engellehre der Griechischen Apologeten." 1914, 183 p. James Huneker: "Iconoclasts." 1905, 429 p. "Egoists." 1909, 372 p. F. Schenck: "The Oratory and Poetry of the Bible." 1915, 249 p.

sons of man. This is no less true in the history of literary than of plastic art. Had authors adhered to the canon only, and had there been no apocrypha or tradition, the fortunes of Christianity at every stage of the development of the Church would have been very different, and its dominion over the souls of men would have been incalculably less. This source, however, is not only far from exhausted, but its marvellous recent developments indicate that the future is to see immeasurable amplifications of this resource. The best possibilities here have not yet been developed, and the golden age of Jesus on the stage and in *belles lettres* is yet to come. The recent productions show that the tide is now setting against the conceptions of Antichrist or the Superman as the consummation of human ideals, and from disparagements toward ardent affirmations of the essentials of Christianity. These the Church should not suspect, but welcome. Protestant orthodoxy has been more timid and less tolerant in this field than Catholicism, and the latter in the domain of recent French literature is now having its reward, for the remarkable religious and literary revival there harks back to Rome more than to any form of Protestantism with its eliminations and disparagement of things not in the received text, and its too-exclusive regard for the bare results of scholarship and critical reason. The religious instinct will always warm toward realizations of its wishes, and Protestants have sadly underestimated the nature and needs of the aesthetic elements here. Many of these writers, like Tolstoi, Juliette Adam, Bertrand, Péguy, and others, have found their way to Christ alone, and, unaided by the Church, have groped from dissent to assent, so that their works are hardly less than modern variants of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." Such phenomena make us feel that the inmost soul of man is fundamentally Christian when, and only when, it achieves complete development, and when it is not held up in some of the many stages and phases of arrest. Thus we feel in reading these works that every normal and finished soul is at core Christian. It submits to faith and to the law of service, and has passed beyond the ideal of maximizing the selfish ego.

The other inference from it all is that there is a supremely precious psychological residue in Christianity that still transcends all artistic work, and even that of critical scholarship as sampled above. There is a height that none has explored, and a depth that none has sounded, just as in Moses' day there were miracles that the magicians could not

do. This sacred core of meaning is found just where Paul found it, in the mystery of the death and Resurrection of Jesus. Neither experts who deal with texts and historical evidences, nor romancers, save in sporadic exceptions, have even attempted to deal with these things. Even the most realistic sense descriptions or scenic representations of the crucifixion and Resurrection which so thrill us have never revealed to analysis their latent content which lies back of their phenomenal impressiveness. This only a deeper genetic knowledge of the human soul will ever enable us to understand. Here lie the dynamic centre and secret of Christianity. Neither the license of fiction nor the most learned quest of factual occurrence has yet been able to clear up this most holy *adytum* of our faith. What motives would impel an ideal embodiment of humanity in his prime to voluntarily subject himself to every psychic and physical torture and finally to the most disgraceful death? What was the inner process by which this free resolve to die developed and become operative? Here both Christian art and learning fail us. Our literature has not yet done for our Scripture what the Greek drama did for the heroes and events of Hesiod and Homer, and yet in this resolve of Jesus and its execution lies the key to the whole superstructure. Indeed the eschatological view has won such sudden and remarkable approval just because, and in so far as, it has taken us a little nearer to the solution of this cardinal problem. Although as yet unsolved, it is not beyond the range of "the higher psychology" which, as I hope to show later, sheds some additional light upon it. The mystery of the Resurrection itself is less fundamental and baffling, and its explanation is conditioned upon the problem why Jesus determined to die. Paul thought that if he had not arisen our faith is vain. To this the psychologist assents, but adds that if we could fully understand why he resolved on self-immolation, belief in the Resurrection could be rescued from the domain of faith to that of knowledge. We are told that every one must in a pregnant sense die and then rise with Jesus. This, too, is true; but when we know what it means to die his death, all that resurrection was and means will follow. We can take the first psychopedagogic step to understand the wherefore of this great affirmation of Jesus only if we begin by asking ourselves solemnly and alone what there is in all this world we would now voluntarily die for. If nothing would motivate this supreme self-sacrifice the true life is not yet in us. Only when we have found some cause or end that so trans-

cends self that love and loyalty to it would certainly prompt us upon emergency to face the Great Terror in his most hideous form, has the true life of the race begun consciously in us. Only then are we complete men and women. Only then have we attained the true majority of humanity, and are we rightly oriented in a moral universe. Thus alone we can take the first conscious step toward entering the Kingdom. This muse of death is not that of Stoic philosophic resignation to the inevitable, nor is it the blind, instinctive gregarious impulse that might prompt self-sacrifice in a sudden emergency. It is a higher, full-blown consciousness of what life means, of man's place in his world, and his duties to it. Although but a first step, it brings by itself, and at once, great enlargement and exaltation of soul. Here neither romance nor Christology has yet found the lost psychological cue.

From this chapter we may see how from the very beginning there have been two types of literature in this field. In the first are found some of the noblest products of the creative imagination. Even where these creations were trivial, they have been for edification. There was slight regard for objective facts and the justification sought was pragmatic. Lacunae in the Scriptures have been filled in the most diverse and ingenious ways in order to arouse the aesthetic sense and enhance the devotional spirit. Without these artistic creations of individuals and of the folk-soul Christianity would have been a bald, impoverished record.

The other class of literature began with the very motive that prompted the compilation of the Gospels and has continued to the critical, historical movement which began with the Wölfenbeutel fragments, animated the Tübingen School, and has sought to remove mythic and dogmatic accretions and reach the nuclear facts as to just what Jesus was, did, and said. It would emancipate our conceptions of him and his work not only from doctrine but from antique speculative philosophy and thus do a great work of restoration. This work, able, learned, and often brilliant as the best of it is, has hardly contributed to, but rather detracted from, edification in the old sense in which the Church was wont to strive for it. It has tended rather to despoil Jesus of his celestial attributes, reduce him to the dimensions of humanity, and make him at best a great creative genius in the field of religion and at worst a fanatic, or has even denied to him every

vestige of historic reality. As even the inadequate epitomes in Section Four above illustrate, there is the utmost diversity of conception among experts concerning the work and teaching of Our Lord, and his person is confused rather than clarified. Critical studies, however, have done two things. They have emancipated Jesus from theology and mediaeval metaphysics, and they have also shown us that the problems of Christianity are at bottom psychological more than historical. They show us, too, that Christologists of the future must be psychologists not in the sense of speculative philosophy which began with Kant and has contributed so much of value, and not in the sense of laboratory psychology, that studies the senses, memory, attention, association, etc., but in the larger genetic sense that devotes itself to the study of the folk-soul or primitive faiths, development of the child, the youth and the race, and even utilizes the light shed by psychic aberrations.

Neither the New Testament critics nor the philosophers of religion, and still less the theologians, have any adequate conception of the value or the volume of even special psychological fore-studies already made in this field upon such themes (to copy a few card-catalogue headings), as absolution, atonement, confession, conversion, celibacy, Church, creeds, dogma, death, ecstasy, growth, faith (including belief and doubt), holiness, immortality, inspiration, justification, loyalty, miracles, the pathology of religion, prayer, penance, prophecy, rationalism, regeneration, revelation, ritualism, Sabbath, saints, sanctification, sects, vows, worship, and many others. Indeed, every fundamental theme connected with the contents of the New Testament (and, in fact, with that of the Old and all religions from the lowest up) is fundamentally one of psychology. The historic Jesus lived some two thousand years ago, but the psychological Jesus is eternal. The problem of the future is to delineate him more clearly and to establish his person and work in a realm where doubt cannot enter. We must first, however, consider a few of the typical products of modern negation.

CHAPTER THREE

JESUS' CHARACTER; NEGATIVE VIEWS

History of the doctrine of Jesus' person—Views that Jesus was (A) morbid, (1) in general, (2) a paranoiac, (3) an epileptic, (4) an ecstatic, (5) fanatic, (6) generally abnormal, (7) converted from sin; (B) Nietzsche's criticisms; (C) Jesus was not historic but mythic—Views (1) of J. M. Robertson, (2) of W. B. Smith, (3) of Arthur Drews, (4) of Jensen—How important is it that Jesus remain historic and be not resolved into symbol or myth?—The value of these views in spiritualizing Jesus by taking their departure from the death and Resurrection as contrasted with liberal and critical studies that reduce him to the dimensions of a good man and teacher.

HOW can or did the omniscient, omnipotent Creator and Ruler of the world, the transcendent Deity of the prophets or of the gnostic aeons and syzygies, actually become man? This was the stupendous and pressing problem of early Christian thinkers. To the Semitic mind such a thought seemed blasphemy, and to the Hellenic mind, under the spell of gnosticism, sheer nonsense. Nevertheless, despite all the balkings and cavillings, as expressed in the many heresies that were bound to occur, the Church after ages of controversy vindicated by careful phrase and formula that in Jesus the divine and the human were exactly equated and equipollent. Dorner,[1] Hagenbach,[2] and others have told with great learning the story of these dogmatic struggles. The former, my teacher, felt that the nature of Jesus' personality was the very core of Christianity, and his "mediation theology" had been so accepted that there was dismay when Harnack disparaged the importance of Christ's person. The focal problem was not, as in Abelard's day, *why* God became man, but *how* could he possibly do so? Still less was it a question of reducing theology into anthropology or psychology, as with Feuerbach, but of conceiving how the one Supreme Lord of Heaven could possibly embody all of himself,

[1] J. A. Dorner: "History of the Doctrine of the Development of the Person of Christ." Edinboro, 1892. 5 vol.
[2] K. R. Hagenbach: "A History of Christian Doctrines." Edinboro, 1882. 3 vol.

not in humanity in general, but in a single individual. This was still harder when the more impersonal Holy Spirit had to be added as a third and equipollent member of the Trinity. Hence it is not surprising that if the corporeity of Jesus is hard to conceive as a "meat body" (in the language of Sunday-school children, who often fancy him God to the waist and man below, or of cerulean hue, transparent or ghostly), the theological conceptions of his soul, which so eclipses his body, became a rank jungle which modern psychology, characterology, or anthropology (in any but the religious sense which makes the latter deal solely with sin), can make nothing of.

First came the controversies of the first century, with the Ebionites, who thought Jesus a mere man, and the gnostic sects that held him to be an embodiment of the Logos. In the second century came the Docetists, who thought all his acts and sufferings only apparent, and not real, while the Patripassianists thought his nature so intussuscepted with that of God that the latter suffered with him. In the third, fourth, and later centuries there were many other theories. The Sabellians thought God himself was born of Mary, lived and died in Jesus, and then diffused himself into the Holy Ghost, his work being accomplished. The Arians thought Christ a creation of God, distinct from him, human in having flesh, and really intermediate between God and man, although some of them identified his soul with that of the Philonic *Logos*. The Eudoxians thought him created out of nothing, with a will distinct and different from that of God. The Apollinarians denied his proper humanity, gave him only a human sensory soul, but thought his rational spirit divine. The Nestorians gave him two natures and two souls, the union between which was only apparent. The Acacians thought the Son was not like, but similar to, God. The Monothelites gave him one will, partly human and partly divine. Other heresies gave him two, and, in the seventh century, three wills. The Monophysites thought the two natures were united but not mixed, and that without change or confusion. The Eutychians thought that he had two natures the union of which made him divine. The Neonomians gave him both a human and a divine nature. The Praxeans held him to be simultaneously God and man. The Xenians thought he became real man, but of his own free will. The Aphthartodocetae thought his body was incorruptible, and could not, and did not, really die. The Eunomians, a branch of the Arians, thought God did not use

his substance in creating the Son, but only his will. The Adoptionists thought him divine, not by birth but by adoption. The Socinians thought Christ a man, denied personality to the Holy Spirit, and held that God's will was imputed to him. The Pelagians thought Christ only the first and greatest of God's creatures. Other sects discussed whether his preëxistence was coetaneous with that of the Father. There were modalistic and dynamic interpretations of his nature, while some thought him a mere manifestation of God, or that the Holy Spirit was his soul. The kenosis problem of how far God had emptied himself in becoming incarnate and how far there was a real homoousia or consubstantiality between the Father and the Son, whether the heavenly humanity of Christ was present in Adam, and what was the real nature of the Holy Spirit and its relations to the other divine persons of the Godhead—these and other problems of early Christology, some of which had a long history, issued in the theological doctrines which slowly gave shape and character to ecclesiastical orthodoxy.

Jesus was not a theanthropic hybrid in the sense that the pithecanthropus was half man and half ape, and thus a link between them; nor was he a case of dual personality, with now the human and now the divine dominant; for there could be no schizophrenia, but only complete uni-personality. Heteronomy and autonomy must be at-oned, and God must become man exactly as man became God. Son of Man and Son of God must mean the same, and so Jesus must be at the same time complete God and complete man. One of these factors could not be identified with the conscious and the other with the unconscious elements, as Sanday's Christology suggests; for these distinctions were not then elaborated. If we interpret what the Church said into what it meant, the wonderful thing to us is that orthodoxy really was the best expression then possible of the right and true instinct that felt that the transcendent and the immanent were at bottom absolutely identical. Man had projected and objectified himself (that is, his generic human nature) into deity, and now this projection was reabsorbed and subjectified. The hypostasis was ended, and every heresy that stood in the way of this great resumption was *anathema maranatha*, and rightly so. No more glorious affirmation was ever made than that God and man simultaneously became each other. Inadequately as the great Councils understood what was really involved in their decisions and confessions, and quaint and outgrown as these old formulae

seem to modern culture and especially to psychology, they veritably cry out to us for new and higher interpretations. The great systems of German idealistic philosophy from Kant on, and the later psychological studies of the nature of personality, of the ego and the self, normal and morbid; also the new critical studies of Jesus' traits, have given us a vast wealth of new insights, concepts, and terms, with which to grapple with the problems embedded in these old theological formularies. Hence it was inevitable that studies from the standpoint of Dorner should have been superseded by others in the sense of Schweitzer,[1] who, summing up a century of investigation, says it has not only given us no rounded-out and consistent idea of Jesus' personality, but has left the learned world with conceptions of it which seem hopelessly diverse and discordant. Wrede[2] says in substance that his character is one of the great secrets of the world, and Weidel[3] says that "only a few solid rocks of fact crop out through the alluvium of popular thought," but as to what these facts are there is no agreement. J. Ninck[4] thinks that the work of determining the chief traits of Jesus' soul from the Gospel is not unlike that of inferring the habits and life-histories of extinct animals from their few fossil remains; while most severer students of the original texts or codices deem all such restorations too hazardous. Not a few believe we never can know much about Jesus' inner personality, and therefore would focus attention chiefly on his words or teachings. F. Daab[5] even argues that Jesus must not be regarded as the founder of a new religion or a new morality, but rather that he did away with both; and we must consider him chiefly as the first real man. He is no longer a chiefly metaphysical being or one who attempted a new or complete conjugation of the verb "to do." We must identify Christology with the higher anthropology, recognizing that there is very little left of the apostolic views so that they must be entirely transcended and transformed. As an interesting illustration of opposite views we may cite Wünsche, who, in his "Leiden des Messias," presented Jesus as suffering, solitary, misunderstood even by his mother after his temple discussion, and by his closest disciples as well as by his contemporaries generally. Six years later the same

[1] "Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung." 2. Neu bearb. u. verm. Aufl. des Werkes "Von Reimarus zu Wrede." Tübingen, 1913, 659 p.

[2] "Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien." 1901, 291 p.

[3] "Jesu Persönlichkeit; eine psychologische Studie." Halle, 1908, 47 p.

[4] "Jesus als Charakter." Leipzig, 1910, 396 p.

[5] "Jesus von Nazaret." 1907, 224 p.

author, in his "Der lebensfreudige Jesus" (1876), presents him as jubilant, triumphant, his soul surcharged with euphoria, expansive, confident, with an instant insight of truth, and with an authoritativeness that was as sublime as it was impressive.

The Jesus of Paul, who was mainly a divine sacrifice to God for us, legitimating himself by rising from the dead, can hardly be said to have a psychology. He had a mission rather, a predetermined function which he performed with fidelity through pain and death. To John he was a mystic, and consciously one with the Father, as he would have us be one with him, so that only the psychology of rapt seers and of intuitions of union with the divine applies to him. To most patristic writers and to the theology of the Church he was a member of the Trinity, whose right position there is precarious and hard to vindicate against manifold heresies. From their viewpoint all study of the traits of Jesus' human personality would be perilous to dogma, and might dim the glamour of the divinity of his nature. Thus many would regard all attempts to set forth Jesus' psychic traits somewhat as the iconoclasts did the work of artists in this field.

It is thus hardly more than a century since the need of some psychological portraiture of Jesus began to be felt; and now throughout cultured, thinking Christendom it has become a real and crying need. We want to know how to conceive his psychic type, his mental equipment, his pedagogical method, his range of moods, the secret of his influence over men, and his power in the world. How unitary was his soul? What was his emotional, volitional, intellectual nature? Can he be conceived as absolutely sinless and infallible, and yet be truly human? Had he experienced anything like the regeneration and salvation he called others to achieve? Had he distinctively Oriental or Asiatic traits, and so would he be something of an anachronism now? Or would he realize or transcend all our highest ideals of him? Had he, like so many of the earth's greatest men, certain abnormal traits? Was he, too, introverted, ecstatic, fanatical? It should not shock, or even surprise, us to learn that questions have been raised on all these points, and that not only the best but the worst possible has been said of him. Let us begin with the latter, which is so bad that we can almost fancy Jesus thinking, in paraphrase of Plutarch, that he would rather men should say (like Drews) that no such man ever existed than to think so meanly of him as some of his most wanton assailants have done.

Views that he was (A) morbid, in general: In view of the fact that we are told that Jesus' friends thought him beside himself (Mark iii: 21); the Pharisees that he was possessed; considering the voice and the vision of the dove at the baptism; the transfiguration, which might suggest collective hallucination; his indifference to his parents, to women, and to family ties; his conjuring the storm, and cursing the fig-tree; his ideal of emasculation for the Kingdom's sake; his seeing Satan fall from heaven; his contact with the angels; his outburst of temper in the temple; his idea of his own greatness and of coming on the clouds of heaven at the end of the world, etc., it was inevitable that as the age of freer psychological treatment of his life and character dawned, he should be thought insane by some, as so many of the world's greatest men from Socrates[1] to Gerhardt Hauptmann[2] have been adjudged. In a Jubilee pamphlet in 1640, Luther is made *wahnsinnig*. Goethe in his early life was thought to be so, and Ibsen was sometimes called "fit for the madhouse." In the sixties Bismarck was often referred to as *toll*, and a medical journal in 1886 pronounced him so; while in the *Tägliche Rundschau* (February 6, 1908), Roosevelt was pronounced insane by a nerve specialist who said he had *paranoia reformatoria*. Morton Prince[3] has just diagnosed the Kaiser as suffering from hereditary psychoses, especially delusions of greatness. Especially since Lombroso and Nordau, in an already great and growing literature, the stigmata of degeneration-psychoses, or other mental defect have been specifically pointed out in special treatises on Caesar, Mohammed (see Spärnger's "Life"), Dante, Tasso, Jeanne d' Arc, Luther, Bunyan, Cowper, Cromwell, Pascal, Poe, Swift, Lamb, Blake, Swedenborg, Turner, Michael Angelo, the founder of Babism and Bahism, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Napoleon (see Cabne, and also Pelman's study), Tolstoi, Zola (Toulouse), Strindberg, Rousseau, Wagner (see Max Graf), Loyola (see Lomer), Zinzendorf (Pfister), Da Vinci (Freud), La Fontaine (Nayrac), De Maupassant, and many others.[4] Taine's psychology long ago suggested that the best are sane only by happy and perhaps slowly developed rectification and balance of opposing insan-

[1] Lélut: "Le Genie, la Raison et la Folie; le Démon de Socrate." Paris, 1855, 348 p.

[2] See E. Wulffen's analysis of Hauptmann. Leipzig, 1908, 208 p.

[3] "Psychology of the Kaiser." Boston, Badger, 1915.

[4] P. Radestock: "Genic und Wahnsinn." Breslau, 1884, 78 p. L. S. F. Winslow: "Mad Humanity." London, 1898, 451 p. W. Hirsch: "Genius and Degeneration." New York, 1896, 333 p. J. F. Nisbet: "The Insanity of Genius." 6th ed., 1912, 341 p. Max S. Nordau: "Von Kunst und Künstlern." Leipzig, Elischer, n. d. 308 p. Angelo S. Rappoport: "Mad Majesties." New York, Brentano's, 1910, 319 p. Hermann Türck: "Der geniale Mensch." 6th ed. revised, Berlin, 1903, 422 p. Ceasre Lombroso: "L'homme de Génie." Paris, 1889, 499 p. Colonel Biottot: "Les grands Inspirés devant la Science; Jeanne d'Arc." Paris, 1907, 279 p. Henri Joly: "Psychologie des grands Hommes." Paris, 1883, 280 p.

ities, while psychoanalysis has suggested that consciousness itself, if not a disease, is always a remedial or corrective agency. How closely religion is related to insanity has often been pointed out.[1]

(1) De Loosten[2] (pseudonym for G. Lomer) represents Jesus as "probably" handicapped by heredity from birth. His self-consciousness was hypertrophied although his intellect was very keen, and it was this that enabled him to see the defects of the Pharisees and bring forward his novelties. Slowly, however, he developed a fixed form of delusions which were accepted by the intensely religious circle about him. He devoted himself too excessively to certain books of the Old Testament and was in fine a rare illustration of genius developed on a pathological basis. Binet-Sanglé[3] diagnoses paranoia, and in the appearance of Jesus at the age of twelve in the temple he finds the first hebephrenic crisis. He infers because Jesus rode an ass that he was of small stature; and he even thinks that the water and the blood from the spear wound indicated grave pleurisy, "caught probably by night exposure on the Mount of Olives." Seeming to regard apocryphal and Talmudic legends as of equal authority with the Gospels, he concludes that Jesus was the son of an aged carpenter and a devoted young mother, and counts among the thirteen known members of his family seven mystics. All were highly susceptible to suggestion, one from another, especially in the religious field, a quality that he calls "*hierosynchrotisme ieschouite.*" He thinks Jesus' intelligence irregular, uneven, and unreasoning. He says that he was vacillating, irresolute, indifferent to women, lacking energy save in a spurty way; and that "his delirium was dignified, chronic, systematized, polymorphic and suggests if not characterizes mental degeneracy." He was haunted by ideas of anarchism, Oedipism, and mutilation; was probably tuberculous; and was an exquisite illustration of the syndrome of Cotard. He was analgesic; had great ideas of dominion, and hypochondriacal views of the non-existence or destruction of the body and the world. He was prone to melancholy and anxiety. Thus, while De Loosten ascribes high intellectuality to Jesus, Binet-Sanglé does not; and thinks his megalomania was expressed in applying to himself so many phrases from the prophets.

[1] See a compendious thesis with literature by Josiah Moses: "Pathological Aspects of Religion." Clark University Press, 1906, 264 p.

[2] "Jesus Christus vom Standpunkte des Psychiaters." Bamberg, 1905, 104 p.

[3] "La Folie de Jésus." Paris, 1908, XIII, 294 p. This author has also published a diagnosis of the morbidity of the Hebrew prophets.

E. Rasmussen[1] and H. Werner,[2] his chief critic, may be considered together with H. Schaefer.[3] It was long ago said that Jesus was either what he claimed to be, or else was a lunatic. The latter was thought to be entirely out of the question, so that there was much force in this statement. It is only recently that the best Christologists have taken the impeachment of Jesus' normality seriously, and a few German theologians seem to think there may be slight truth in it. G. Frenssen, e.g., sums up his view by saying, "Jesus' soul spun monstrous thoughts and painted pictures of excessive magnificence, and thus went to the very limits of the human and even to the boundaries of exalted *Wahnsinn*." Most progressive thinkers would now, with Werner, welcome all such discussions, because they cannot fail to shed new light on Jesus' character, although, of course, alienists as such are quite incompetent, and actual observation and investigation, which alone could establish conclusions, are forever impossible.

First comes the question whether Jesus bore a hereditary handicap such as is found in 30 to 40 per cent. of all the insane. The Evangelists certainly suggest no trace of psychic abnormality in either Mary or Joseph. Nor need we discuss the old *Tendenz* aspersion of Talmudic legends, long ago ignored, that Jesus was born out of wedlock. Rasmussen thinks he may have been a hybrid of Jewish and Greek blood, and stresses the relationship between Jesus' mother and Elizabeth, the mother of John, some of whose contemporaries thought him more or less insane (Matt. xi: 18, Luke vii: 33). Upon these slenderest of all data, he concludes that "Jesus was probably regarded by a large number of his contemporaries as insane." But here again we must remember that very many who have been thought unbalanced by those nearest them history has shown to be epoch-makers. Men are prone to condemn all that they cannot understand. Perhaps Jesus was highly suggestible in accepting the dominant thoughts of those about him in anticipating his own death, and in allowing himself to be regarded as the Messiah. He certainly spoke with intense personal authority, as if commissioned by God to declare his own *ipse dixet, de haut en bas*. The *milieu* of Jesus certainly was tense with excitement, and proved a strain upon feeble minds. Some believe that in Galilee in particular there was in Jesus' day a large proportion of the population that suf-

[1] "Jesus; eine vergleichende psychologische Studie." Trans. from the Danish. 1905, 167 p.
[2] "Die psychische Gesundheit Jesu." 1908, 64 p.
[3] "Jesus in psychiatrische Beleuchtung." Berlin, 1910, 178 p.

fered from nervous and mental disturbance. The penitential attitude *per se* is somewhat suggestive of depression and delusions of persecution. Perhaps the Baptist's habits show a cultural relapse toward wildness in those "sick days" of Israel. A materialist might easily think that an intense expectation of a new Kingdom of God on earth was morbid, nor could he understand asceticism as a revival of the old prophetic idea; but the mourning of the people for their sins and their resolve to reform is by no means a syndrome of any kind of morbidity, but rather indicates regeneration. When psychiatry held so strongly to partial insanity or manias, it was often thought these might coexist with sanity in general, but now all these symptom groups are known to involve a deep unsettlement of psychic individuality. Can a man with a world-cursing ethics, or who is dominated by eschatological expectations that we deem illusory, asks Schweitzer, be thoroughly sound? If, then, Jesus was psychotic, he must have shown some particular type that alienists recognize; and while De Loosten evades this problem, the inference is that he deems him chiefly a religious paranoiac, although there are symptoms of melancholia, mania, dementia praecox, etc.

(2) Paranoia indicates disturbance of the intellect rather than the feelings, but often involves illusions and sense disturbances. Its victims may deem themselves reformers of the world, prophets related to God as sons, mothers, or favourites. Of this type both asylums and clinical literature have many illustrations. De Loosten thinks it was an insanely and perhaps suddenly exalted idea of self that prompted a boy of twelve to burst into the disputes of the savants; but we are told that he only heard and asked, not that he taught or disputed, although perhaps he may have felt some kind of heavenly calling as weak-minded youth often do. Kraepelin tells us that larvated paranoia erupts most often between twenty-five and forty years of age, and such cases often show weakness of judgment, based on lack of sensitiveness to environment. Such cases may develop a kind of deification for self or for others, but their claims are obviously ridiculous. If Jesus belonged to this type, the chasm between his origin, his humble experience, his powerlessness in the hands of fate, on the one hand, and his exorbitant estimate of himself, on the other, would have shown every one that he was a victim of delusions of greatness. Some have thought the experiences of his baptism marked another step in the same direc-

tion. Of course many visions are really the objectivization of deep previous impressions or tendencies. Rasmussen thinks Jesus was a mistrustful spier upon those near him for allusions to himself, and had developed the notion that there was a conspiracy against him, saying, "Why do you want to kill me?" as if it were a sudden outburst of delusions of persecution. Such things, however, are very sporadic. Yet he did have an air of self-content, loftiness, and infallibility, and was much busied with his own ego, its greatness, worth, and meaning, and these are essential traits of paranoia, which is very egotistic. But it was also a signature of Jesus' life that he could forget and deny, help others, and give up his own will. To De Loosten's reproach that Jesus was a "sexual revolutionary" and that his lack of family feeling was a stigma, we can say, with Werner, that, although he invited his followers to desert all their relatives for him, it was because he saw things *sub specie eternitatis*, and believed moral and spiritual relationships something higher yet. In the lives of many great men the chord of sex has "passed in music out of sight," and Jesus was so absorbed in his own idealistic occupations that he was in a sense above sex. He said that in the Resurrection there would be no marriage, but all would be like the angels, and spoke of eunuchs born and made for the Kingdom of heaven's sake (Matt. xix: 12) and De Loosten discusses whether he belonged to the former class or made himself so with his own hands. Certainly such a type of morality has possibilities of danger for the State. Perhaps his entry into Jerusalem was "a mad act of courage," but surely it was not to astonish the natives. If he had a thought of destroying the temple (or of "making *Trümmer* out of *Träume*"), it was silly. Although he debated very cleverly with the Pharisees, he was really no match for them, for his feet were not on solid ground. He preached violence, hate of the rich; lacked foresight and common sense; was anarchistic; did not love his fellow-men, save children only; brought a sword, not peace. Now it is certain that Jesus cannot be entirely explained on the purely humanistic level of average mankind, so that if he is not a superman we may all readily grant that he was *verrückt*. As Werner well says, a crown prince has the right to act as if he were a king, but it would be insane in a beggar to do so. So here the yes-or-no theology has some place.

(3) Rasmussen conceived Jesus as epileptic, as he thinks were Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Paul, the Messiahs of the seventeenth century,

the Mahdi, and others. Of course a complete attack is a fit with various groups of symptoms; but it is a peculiarity of epilepsy that it has many equivalents, especially psychic ones, in disturbances of apperception, anxiety, dizziness, illusions, loss of memory, twilight stages, absence of mind. But of such we certainly have little trace in the Gospels. It is difficult, if not impossible, to diagnose the epileptic diathesis from purely psychic symptoms. The *petit mal* type is very diverse. There is little in Jesus, at any rate, that conforms to any clinical type. Rasmussen thinks Jesus' struggle in Gethsemane belongs here. He cites his lust for solitude and prayer, and his expulsion of the money-changers. But all this has other sufficient normal motivation. No doubt Jesus' type of consciousness was prophetic, but to call him cruel because he may have swung his scourge violently is surely going too far. His exorbitant estimation of the therapeutic value of his sufferings, too, we are told is morbid. Wanderings or fugues and homelessness may fall under morbid categories and may go with characteristic progressive epileptic narrowing of the mental horizon down to a very one-sided preaching of God's Kingdom; but, as Werner again says, we must remember that "*in der Beschränkung zeigt sich der Meister*," although Jesus was no specialist, but took a broad view of things. So, too, his view of property and his high estimate of the value of faith may point in the same direction. Traits of Jesus' character suggestive of psychic epilepsy, such as irritability, moods, arbitrariness, and domineering disposition, only indicate superior range and breadth of the field of inner experience.

(4) The question whether Jesus was ecstatic is far greater and more serious. O. Holtzmann[1] makes this play an immense rôle, as does Bousset: "Jesus" (1904). Some think that much of his life was spent in a kind of supernormal inner exaltation, and some would identify this state with the Messianic consciousness; while others—B. Weiss, Soden, Kügel—dispute this view. To this we shall return later. In its extremer form ecstasy involves some nervous unsoundness, but not necessarily insanity. The subject of it may be dominated by a very narrow religious circle of ideas, charged with intense affectivity. Impressions from without are weakened. Mantegazza makes excessive focalization of attention on something without or within characteristic. Perhaps there is an intense battle of opposing psychic trends, and there

[1] "War Jesus Ekstatiker?" Tübingen, 1903, 141 p.

may be muteness and cataplexy, with fixed features. In its highest grade the enraptured soul is caught up as it were into the seventh heaven, or ascends through the Alexandrian enneads until, as in the case of Eckhart, the soul seems to fuse with God, or commune with the One and All, with self swallowed up. Christian ecstatics may be completely hypnotized by contemplating divine things, and there may be illusions or hallucinations. Some think there is a *petit* and a *grand* type of epilepsy, and that the soul may be abnormally potentialized or concentrated, or the mind be in a tonic cramp of fixation, possibly with a narrowed field of vision. This was common in schools of the prophets, in the biographies of saints, in the Crusades, in the dancing manias and devil epidemic in Savoy, in the preaching disease in Sweden and Wales. Jeanne d'Arc had it; Archimedes said to the Roman soldier who came to slay him, "Do not destroy my circles"; Newton forgot his meals; Socrates stood in the market in contemplation; Handel, in composing the "Hallelujah Chorus," forgot whether he was in the body or not; Wagner had to be left absolutely alone, replying to friends who knocked, "I am in heat." (See Werner for these and other illustrations.) Saul, when possessed with the prophetic spirit, laid aside his garments and prophesied naked a whole day and night. Many thought prophets like Hosea mad, and perhaps this was an infantile disease in the development of prophetism. Rothe was often in *Verzückung* as a culmination of his higher devotion. Jesus spent hours in a rapt state of prayer, wrestling with God, but we have no indication that he ever lost consciousness or memory. Those who hold this view think that much of Jesus' life, especially the baptism, temptation, transfiguration, penitential teaching, miracles, eschatological or parousia conceptions, can be explained in this way. A complete ecstatic may seem to be possessed by an alien power, as if the spirit gave or drove him to do or say specific things interjected into his mind with some rupture of associative continuity. But surely we cannot say that every new idea, discovery, or invention that bursts into the world is a product of ecstasy. Possession was part of the popular belief of Jesus' day. Perhaps the temptation would be the best paradigm if this be not regarded solely as an allegory, and we assume that Jesus was especially "in the spirit" during this experience. It is hard often to distinguish between the tropes so rich in Oriental thought and the true supernormal states. Job saw fire fall from heaven, as Satan

did in Jesus' thought. Holtzmann thinks Jesus an *aufbrausende, aufloderdende* nature, and says that there are many points in his life where he acts as if in unexplained and confused *Sturm* and *Drang*. We must of course also consider the religious customs of his day. Even though he sweat drops of blood in the garden he still controlled himself, and the cause was sufficient to explain the effect. Ecstasy in some cases does seem to be more or less an inebriation and a habit deliberately cultivated. But it tends to break down the mind, and the night side of the soul tends to eclipse its day.

(5) Following Werner, was Jesus a *Schwärmer* or fanatic, as Strauss was the first to suggest? The evidence of this he found chiefly in his prediction of his return to earth, and others since have held the same view, Lipsius calling his life a "tragedy of fanaticism." A fanatic is one who abandons himself to his own illusion. It is not enough to have it, but he must live in it or make it the focus of his thought, even though he may not know that he does so. His delusion contradicts reality. He often loses the power to discriminate between what is possible and what is impossible. Fanaticism may appear in any domain of life, but perhaps is most common in religion. The inner light or feeling is usually its basis. The Holy Spirit, as he conceives it, comes suddenly and unaccountably. There are signs, dreams, visions, sudden access of power, etc.

If this charge against Jesus has any validity, it seems to be connected with his Messianic consciousness, so far especially as it harks back to Daniel. Perhaps this atmosphere is itself unsettling, and is also complicated with his negative attitude toward the State, marriage, and the Mosaic law, and his intolerance of earthly callings. Some of his demands and predictions and the immediateness of the *parousia* and the new Kingdom; the expansion of the judgment at Jerusalem to cosmic dimensions; and even the fact of his expecting to return to earth, and the notion that his entire life was oriented by eschatology—are these fanatic traits and did they permeate Jesus' soul, turning him away from reality in the sense of Janet or Freud? Or was his inner life absorbed with true ideals, of which the highest criterion is that they are pragmatic?

(6) As to abnormality in general, it is impossible to establish any criterion of normality, but we must not believe it necessarily identical with the point of view of the average man. We must give great range

to idiosyncrasy and personal traits, so that there may be wide divergence from the average without abnormality, as in special gifts or training. Some are precocious; some are born with very special gifts, and abnormality may develop upon the basis of hereditary trends. It may be only quantitative; that is, the illusions may be known to be such, or they may lead us captive, and there is every degree of *Minderwertigkeit.* A great religious founder certainly should not despise reason or renounce the world, but reason is of all sorts, and is both affirmative and negative. Bousset says, "Fearful and hyperpotent forces raged in his inner nature. The devil and his demons strove with the angels of God, despair of death alternated with transcendent confidence of victory, light strove with the night, fog-mists rolled, and yet in their midst shone the bright rays of the rising sun." Of course we know nothing of Jesus' struggles in solitude, nor even the theme that drove him into seclusion. Probably there was more struggle than appeared, and the conception of poise is not correct. Intense struggle, however, does not imply abnormality; it rather implies sanity to survive it, and we must always bear in mind, too, the adequacy of the stimulus. We can hardly say that his joy at the confession of Peter, his pity for the people of Jerusalem, his woe upon the Pharisees, his horror at the desecration of the temple, were extravagant. We must regard Jesus not so much as representing ideal man as he conceived him, as giving a moral and religious ideal for all future time, which should be perfection in its type. Harmonious co-action of all the powers and faculties in due proportion with an equilibrium that will not be upset by a wide range of experience, that is not one-sided, that involves harmony of head and heart, that embraces both Stoic and sentimental energies together with great will and power of resolution and heroism—all this may be simply transfigured common sense and go with perfect poise and repose.

(7) Certainly we can hardly conceive Jesus with Schrempf,[1] who describes him as a Job or Oedipus Redivivus, as a man with a tragedy behind him, a broken reed set up again. He urges that Jesus came to the baptism sinful and guilty, and that the intimation that he was the chosen of God was by no means received with the equanimity with which Socrates heard that the oracle had called him the wisest of men. Why, Schrempf asks, was Jesus thus roused to a high pitch of mental

[1] "Menschenloos." Stuttgart, 1900, 148 p.

perturbation, so that he rushed into the desert to find among angels, demons, and animals his lost self-possession? We must, he says, conceive that Jesus first found a way through sin, that he had himself been in its bonds, and perhaps this was figured by the descent to hell. He had conquered the ghosts of pain and guilt by breaking with his past, and from a full experience he realized that there was none good; no, not one. On this view his greatness was built on the ruins of an earlier dead self, and the Jesus we know during his public years was in this respect unlike the converted Paul, Augustine, Bunyan, etc., only in that we have no record of his earlier life. Thus he was a product of a more or less radical conversion, and the reticence of the Gospels about Jesus before he was touched by the appeal of John had only too good a cause. On this view Jesus was not sinless in the sense once standardized for Protestantism by Ullmann[1] or by Julius Müller,[2] but was, to use the Newman-James phrase, a twice- and not merely a once-born man. He had felt the Pauline divided will. He was not like the animals Walt Whitman points us to because they never worry about their sins. He had had defects and struggled successfully toward a *restitutio ad integram.* His soul was not naïvely and aboriginally "healthy-minded," but had been sick. He had felt the moral dualism of Bunyan, Tolstoi, and all the conspicuous achievers of regeneration, which if no more true is happily far better known and, let us hope, more common than the Jouffroy counter-conversion illustrated in recent decades by certain French Satanistic *littérateurs* of the decadent school. If Jesus had thus experienced conversion, whether of the aggressive, Sadistic type that laboriously achieves regeneration, or of the passive, surrendering, masochistic, mind-cure type that simply ceases to strive, because feeling that all is well as it is, he was certainly brought much nearer to us by this experience. If to be tempted, yet without sin, is a harmatological, psychological impossibility, then Jesus might have used the forgiveness petition in his prayer for himself.

Sin is the chief insanity, and if a touch, but not too much of it, is necessary for the psychological perfection of his humanity, as well as for his complete functioning as a redeeming physician to sin-sick souls (as Plato said a good doctor must have had some personal experience of sickness), it follows that it was no more necessary for Jesus to conform

---

[1] "The Sinlessness of Jesus." 1870.
[2] "Christian Doctrine of Sin." Edinburgh, 1885. 2 vols.

to the narrow norms of sanity that modern psychiatry prescribes than to insist that he should always have been at the very acme of physical health. Without some freedom up and down the scales of both mental and physical hygiene, experience would be a shallow, falsetto thing. Strictly, no one is always well or sane. Just as Jesus suffered hunger, fatigue, and exposure, so it is no derogation, but rather an enhancement of him, to believe that he knew something at first hand of how every sort of psychic aberration felt in a world where these play so vast a rôle. As a sad mood often unfolds a wider mental horizon, so that poor Burton in his "Anatomy" of it praised melancholy, as ecstatic joy often unfolds a still wider purview, as all dreams and illusions may enrich life, as all great ideas are prone to be obsessive, as supernormal efforts summate all our powers, and as some have even loved and regretted to leave their insanities behind, why not frankly admit that Jesus may have experienced a wider range of all sub- and super-normalities, that he could realistically enter by sympathetic *Einfühlung* into pathological states tabooed to most, and thus acquire more therapeutic power than others? Great or supernormally well and sane men who feel their way to this insight may indulge in syndromes that seem to ordinary onlookers epileptic, ecstatic, and the rest; not so much like those who feel themselves so fixed in truth that they can play with gracious lies, as like those who are so vital and well that ordinary hygienic precautions can be transcended with impunity, and thus greater emergencies can be met. Our own standards here may be as irrelevant as those of the modern hygienist investigating whether Jesus' diet, regimen, sleep, dress, etc., conform to their specifications. Diagnostic studies like those above cited of great men should teach us that we know very little of the norms of sanity for superior souls, and that they often seem to need and to use with great advantage experiences that to weaklings, children, and the commonalty would be dangerous, but that in them are signs of life superabounding.

(B) The bitterest enemy that Jesus, and still more the Church, has had in modern times is Nietzsche. By implication in about all his writings, but especially in a posthumous essay,[1] he vituperates everything Christian with characteristic brilliancy and abandon, and advocates a *Weltanschauung* which is almost the direct antipode of the teaching of Jesus. Nietzsche's influence has been incalculable, al-

[1] "Der Antichrist," in "Werke." Bd. 8., S. 215-314.

though it is a much mooted question how far he expresses the secret and perhaps unconscious tendency of many of his cultivated countrymen. Jesus, he says in substance, was in every sense the very reverse of either a hero or a genius, and he vilipends Renan for calling him both. He gathered the weak, sickly, outcasts, and boors, whom it would need a Dostoyefsky to describe, made false promises that never were or could be fulfilled, and called them good tidings. He substituted puling faith for reason and science; taught his followers to hate the state, the rich, the powerful; brought the dregs of society to the top; destroyed all old and well-established tables of values, and substituted new and perverted standards; taught the immanence of a new kingdom that was to make an end of history; tried to do away with death and disease, which are in fact man's greatest teachers. "This gross thaumaturgist fable" was the beginning of the world's greatest decadence. True, Jesus may have been distorted and misrepresented by his followers. But he had an instinctive hatred of reality, and retreated from it to an inner subjective life beside which all else paled or became only symbols; cultivated an exaggerated sense of sin, which is always paralyzing and revolting to really noble souls; was misanthropic, hating all humanity outside his pale; taught a world-cursing ethics, and that earth was fit only for destruction; thrilled men with superstitious terrors of judgment day and hell; proclaimed ideas utterly contradictory one of the other; had no use for either nature or history, save to furnish metaphors for his doctrine. He played upon the chronic solicitude of little people to save their petty souls in another world, and gave them squeamish, panicky, neurotic consciences. His religion is the best possible for slaves, cowards, and the vulgar herd, but is impossible for great or virile men. It is fundamentally enervating. To feel the need of salvation is itself a confession of degeneration, and hence Christianity is chiefly craved by the refuse of mankind. The millennium, like the Church, is a hospital for the sick, a refuge for those to whom everything else in life has become vain. Jesus did indeed choose the foolish things of the world to confound its wisdom and the weak to sap its strength. He brooded darkly on doom and destruction. The spectacle of him on the cross is a fit and eternal symbol of all races that have been Christianized, for they are crucified on the doctrines of the New Testament. Its idea of prayer makes God a domestic servant, a purveyor or postman; or prayer is simple beggary, the importuning

alms, which is always the trick of weaklings too lazy to attain their ends by their own efforts, like men. Even if Christianity can ever be good for a degenerate, servile race as a kitchen religion, it is poison for a vigorous, young, sturdy stock like the Germans. It cannot be refuted because we cannot refute a disease. Some of Nietzsche's implications, as, e. g., in the *Eselfest* of "Zarathustra," are simple blasphemy (if there really is such a thing), and are certainly abhorrent even to good taste, which he says spurns Jesusism. The worst of all crimes is sympathy for the weak. This means that those whom Darwin's selection or modern eugenics would leave to perish for the benefit of the race are just those that Christianity makes survive. Thus it is the most anti-eugenic and euthenic scheme the world has ever known. The kind of people to whom Jesus promised immortality makes it undesirable to men of high honour. The greatest depravity man has ever shown is in embracing, as he has done, a religion which has done him so much harm, for this indicates the deepest of all taints in his nature. Again, pity and sympathy are social diseases, for they multiply and conserve misery. Schopenhauer saw this, and Aristotle would purge them away. The noble man is hard and pitiless. Thus, Christianity is a fungus, a putrefaction, a virus injected into the veins of humanity. It has created distress in order to perpetuate itself. It has always levelled down.

Nietzsche's ideal man is worldly, selfish, cruel. He is like, e. g., Napoleon, who was "beyond good and evil," followed his own sense of worths, gave free vent to the universal ambition for power, and so was a true overman. Indeed, a race is a trick of nature to produce a very few such great men with great tragedies. They let the weak perish and like their own lives to be hard and bitter. They are the true *élite*, nature's aristocrats, leaders, pioneers, exploiting life to the uttermost, creating new values. They are greatly good, or perhaps greatly bad; but whether criminals or saints, they are so in grand style. They never regret, would be insulted by sympathy, live above our petty ideals of morality or law. To exterminate the evil of the world would weaken them, for they need revenge and enemies whom they can hate and be terrible to. They are rightly haughty and proud, and vastly prefer to be feared rather than loved. Moses, Caesar, Frederick the Great, Caesar Borgia, represented this new and better race. Such men can die for what they live for, face the dragon of want, covet

temptation and hardship, seem fools for wisdom's sake, or abject from sheer pride. They can alienate every friend and make a friend of their dearest foe. They want to live the whole of human life in their own person, and construe all into the here and now. They consider it base to translate values into a transcendent hereafter. Such men can sometimes do the most dreadful things, and be justified; for they would prefer to be immoral rather than effeminate. Things noble in magnanimous men would be vile in little ones. They have to fight the cosmic order, can perhaps even rid themselves of hereditary handicaps, and just as earthquakes make new springs, so colossal souls cause new powers to break forth. Such were perhaps the primitive Teutons in their treatment of the far more numerous swarthy Mediterranean races. The diametrical opposite of all these traits is what Christendom has sedulously cultivated.

Jesus was a Jew, and his triumph in the world is the product of the most consummate plot that his clever race ever devised. The Jews had been long subjected in Egypt and Babylon, and they had grown essentially servile and craven. It was a trick from the ghetto of this shrewd race to disown and even execute Jesus, so that he should be taken up by others, and in him their ethnic stock should pervade the world. His conquest is really theirs. They knew nothing of the above gentlemanly, lordly morality, and all that has been done against those who have successfully made might to be right is nothing compared to what the Jews have done. Never was there such a *coup* or master stroke which this vindictive, priestly race so successfully made as by crucifying Jesus, the man of love, a member of their own tribe, who, because rejected and tortured by them, became the idol of the base herd. By their treatment of him they made him seem to be not only their enemy but their destroyer; and hence the rest of the world, which hated them and all their small ways, adopted Jesus from sheer pity, as merciful families adopt infants who have been exposed. This strategy, which made Jesus seem hostile to them, and they to him, was in order that the gentiles might clasp him to their heart of hearts. Thus Christianity became the great revolt of slaves when the world adopted with Jesus the mean spirit and wretched patheticism that had been so characteristic of the Jews. This reversed everything, exalted the mean, and brought damnation to the world's *élite*. Thus Jewish morality came to be Christian, and though in fact fit only for pariahs,

spread over the world, for in it only the weak are good and the true *élite* of nature are subdued. Even the blond beast, Germany, which should have represented the old pagan lordly supermorality, was tamed. Christians were, in fact, only Judaized by swallowing the bait so cleverly prepared for them in the person and suffering of Jesus. As a result of this their great achievement, however, the Jews have grown proud because their tribesman, Jesus, who is good enough for Christians, is not worthy of their fellowship. In rejecting him they exalt themselves above all who accept him. For this consummate master stroke of genius, the greatest thing their race ever did or will do, their supreme supermoral act, they do deserve some admiration.

Christianity, having thus been fastened upon the world, made it lose the rich harvest of culture from the Orient, from Greece, and from Rome, the most perfect political organization the world ever saw. It also made the world lose the science of Islam, and made it miss the humanity of the Renaissance. Just at the moment when Catholicism (which aped the Roman state in the spiritual domain), was approximating the power and spirit of ancient Rome, and was about to adopt an heroic policy, Luther appeared, and under his influence the Teutons checked the splendid career the Church was just about to enter, as the Huns and Vandals plundered ancient Rome. The Reformation in large measure crushed the Renaissance, and since then "Christianity and alcohol have become the world's chief evils." Christianity denationalizes. It brought the Dark Ages. Protestantism is a mongrel, half creed and half reason. Epicurus would have conquered the world but for Paul, the wandering Jew, who used the dogma of immortality to depreciate or destroy this world. Islam was about to do great things, and has a right to despise Christianity, which made us miss the harvest of antiquity and reduced the originally noble Germans to mere vikings and Swiss guards of the Church. The laws of Manu are vastly superior to Christianity, which has made the devil strong in order that people should not be ashamed of being overcome by sin.

Dionysianism embodies the very opposite idea, for it is full of life and procreation, and all the superfluous energy that tragedy demands. Buddhism is far superior to Christianity because it started after philosophy had killed God, and hence it had a clear field. It has, moreover, no categorical imperative, no prayer, and is distinctly for the highest classes. It does not try to make out that all are sick

and decadent. It does not stress belief, or faith which is born of a broken will and prevents us from knowing the truth, which shows blindness and invalidism, which is indecent and a curtain behind which crude instincts play. Creeds bring self-estrangement and imprison the soul. It is better to posit self than to be used up for some end not self. Conviction is conceptual epilepsy. All believers are dependent. Belief has handicapped man with a sense of original sin, made him feel expelled from paradise, and robbed him of pleasures he ought to have enjoyed. It has made him work in order that he might not think, taught him a grovelling kind of self-pity, torn down the great temple of man's achievement called the Temple of Babel, by the dispersion, which also checked man just at the point of a great achievement. The flood came just in time to drown knowledge. Priests have done all this. They may once have been sincere, but now they lie, and know that they lie; for in fact there is no such thing as sin, Saviour, free will, or moral order. These things are false coinage, devised by priests to depreciate natural values. The concept of another world to which they hold the keys, and which is the strength of their power, is an incubus on this, but it is precisely by this means that the Church has kept man servile and made this life mean by promises of post-mortem recompense. In fact, no one ever has been or could be a true Christian, for this is a psychological impossibility. Its God chose the dregs and dross of society as a revenge upon what was really noble; and, indeed, the secret of the spread of Christianity was the long-accumulated revenge of the lowest orders of society upon the best. The early Christians were anarchists inspired by the demons of destruction. They slew philosophy; degraded art and literature. We must not forget, however, that it was Paul and not Jesus who really made Christianity, and without the former the latter would long since have been forgotten. It was Paul who made it a world-empire and corrupted what pristine purity there was in the world. His triumph was largely due to the flattery of man's vanity involved in the doctrine of immortality, by which each individual claims eternal importance and so is equal to the best. The offscourings of the world have always flocked to a creed that consoled them for their sense of failure, and encouraged a pitiful charity that kept alive and respectable the incapables and incurables, who ought to have been left to perish, body and soul, and least of all should have been given an eternal life. Thus again we see why Chris-

tianity is the most noxious of all anti-selective influences, causing man to retrograde for centuries, developing the worst, and suppressing the best. Even Buddhism, so tender to the weak, struggles against suffering, although it gives no promises, unlike Christianity, which gives every promise, but keeps none. The Old Testament treats of grand things in grand style; but to combine the New with the Old to form one book was "the most unpardonable sin the literary world has on its conscience." One does well to put on gloves when handling the New Testament, for it contains nothing that is free, genuine, and upright. There are only bad instincts in it. Everything bad seems good to one who has just read the New Testament. If Jesus submitted to death, it only showed his contempt for concrete reality. Jesus, a preacher to petty folk, had no conception that a colossal crime may be a great virtue; still less that the devil may sometimes be God and do his work, and God take the devil's place. Nor did he ever, like Zarathustra, seek men more ungodly than himself for his teachers.

To the claim that Nietzsche had some respect for Jesus' work in the world, it is sufficient answer to quote the following from the "Antichrist": "I am at the conclusion and pronounce my sentence. I *condemn* Christianity, and I bring against the Christian Church the most terrible of all accusations. . . . It is to me the greatest of all imaginable corruptions. . . . The Christian Church has left nothing untouched with its depravity, it has made a worthlessness of every value, a lie out of every truth, baseness of soul out of every straightforwardness. . . . This eternal accusation of Christianity I shall write on all walls, wherever there are walls,—I have letters for making even the blind see. . . . I call Christianity the one great curse, the one great intrinsic depravity, the one great instinct of revenge for which no expedient is sufficiently poisonous, secret, subterranean, *mean*,—I call it the one immortal blemish of mankind."[1]

What answer has geneticism to this terrific indictment, more thrilling than the curse of Rome or the excommunication formula of the synagogue as it was launched against Spinoza? To seek comfort in the fact that Nietzsche died in the madhouse is as craven as it is unpsychological, for his impeachment, his glorification of a splendid paganism, his apotheosis of the natural man and of chivalric honour as the extreme opposite of the Christian virtues, is his chief trend at

[1]Works. New York. Trans. by Thomas Common. Vol. XI, pp. 349-351, 1896.

the acme of his power. It would be only subtle dishonesty to dismiss his views as merely pathological. Nor in view of his great vogue is it true or fair to regard his as an isolated, exceptional, and therefore negligible influence. To brand him as the arch skeptic, heretic, and apostate (he descended from three generations of clergymen) is mere rhetoric. Neither must his attempt to apply the principles of the struggle for existence and of natural selection in the social, moral, historic field discredit evolution, although we must recognize that genetics and eugenics constitute in some sense a predisposition to the acceptance of some of his opinions. Nor must we go too far in conceiving him as the national philosopher of Germany, as Hegel once was, in the sense that his doctrine of force and that might makes right is that of German militarism, although it is not lacking *rapport* with Bernhardi. He has scorching words for the blond Teuton beast, and even boasted that he was not of its stock; yet despite his feud with Wagner, he was not out of sympathy with his "Das Deutschentum musst das Christentum siegen," or with his offering a Norse substitute for Jesus in the person of Parsifal. One cannot but raise the question of affinity between Nietzsche and the *Machtpolitik*, militarism and strategy which assume that nations are above morality and that the ethics of private life does not apply to them. He said the great need of Europe was a colossal war, and that nations, like men, supremely dread inferiority and chiefly love titanic aggressiveness. H. S. Chamberlain, in "Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," more or less in Nietzsche's spirit urges that most of the great deeds and men of the world are German, and that Teutonism must now seize its inheritance and use every means to take and hold its rightful place in the centre of the world's stage and make past history only prolegomena. Some have even questioned whether Germany herself was in heart and core Christian, and whether the God the Kaiser worships is not a tribal deity like Yahveh or rather Thor, with a mailed fist instead of his hammer. The Teutons were converted only in the thirteenth century, and Luther soon threw off the yoke of Rome, while since Tübingen Jesus has been progressively stripped of his divinity till now his very historic existence is denied. It is also often asked whether modern business and competition are not in fact dominated more than is realized by the Nietzschean supermorals. Does the worship of success imply that good is what able, and bad what weak, men do? Is modern man, in fine, only a link which ought as soon

as possible to be a missing link, between the primitive troglodytes and the superman whom Nietzsche puts in the place of God, whom he declared dead? Are Freud[1] and Pfister[2] right in insisting that the present war has stripped from man all the thin disguises of religion and morality, so that he now stands revealed as what he is, a beast whose chief passion is to kill and take all he can?

Nietzsche's idea of a Jewish plot to make the world worship one whom their race cast out and executed, is as fanciful as his pet theory of eternal recurrence, although more original, for there is no evidence that any Jew ever dreamed of such a scheme. Still the sense that the Christian world glorified one whom they rejected and despised must inevitably have given them some sense of exaltation, even if they were not fully conscious of it. At the same time it was perhaps an abasement of the Christians' pride before the Jews, and this may have intensified the animosity of the former toward the chosen race. We have records of convicts who, in the lands to which they were exiled, became leaders of savage tribes and perhaps were worshipped by them, and it rankled in Nietzsche's mind that a Semite might taunt us of deifying one whom his forefathers had branded as criminal and doomed to the most disgraceful form of death. A sense of this vulnerability reinforced Nietzsche's anti-Semitism as it has that of so many others since Jesusism began. If Nietzsche has any merit here, it lies in bringing this latent factor of the inveterate rancour between Christians and Jews into the foreground. But this situation is only the irony of history apparent later, not a purposed state of affairs, and his error is in assuming that any race could possibly perpetrate such a scheme. The Jews who accepted Christ could not have been in such a plot, nor is there a scintilla of evidence that the hatred of any Semite toward Jesus was feigned. Rather it tended to be concealed wherever it existed.

Every candid and cultivated man must in the depth of his soul admit some degree of truth in about all of Nietzsche's charges. Sense of sin may and often does become morbid; belief in another world may lessen zest for this; the Church has not been over-friendly to culture; morality easily becomes rigid and shallow, taking on forms that need to be transcended, and its ideals are not those of heroic paganism.

---

[1] "Zeitgemässes über Krieg und Tod." *Imago*, 1915. Bd., 4, Heft, 1.
[2] "Zur Psychologie des Krieges und Friedens," 1914.

Jesus did appeal to the lower classes, as has the Church. Hell has often been a nightmare, and heaven an anodyne. Priests have been domineering, mercenary, and sometimes Machiavellian. Sympathy and charity do often cultivate instead of uprooting weeds in the human garden. Many Christians have been sentimentalists and looked within too much; the struggle to save one's own soul in the next world has often been only transcendental selfishness, and as against the world slogan, "One world at a time and this one now," we have often looked much to the past, until we have lost faith in human progress toward the superhumanity which Christians and Darwinists both hope for and strive toward. We have accepted beliefs from without, and we have been hampered by convictions which are more feeling than intellect. We have been restrained by outgrown ideals of right and wrong, good and evil, and have failed rightly to subordinate means to ends. To be told all this in the *de-haut-en-bas*, apodeictic way, as if by a new prophet appearing in the Vanity Fair of conventional religiosity, should be regarded as a wholesome tonic, and should prompt the Church to new, conscientious self-examination, confession, and soul-shriving. Nietzsche prescribes none of the confectionery of laudation, but bitter, unsugared pills in large dosage for a purgation sorely needed. No book of devotion ever gave such a profitable theme for profound pious meditation as that of this *enfant terrible*, who has blurted out what so many unconsciously felt and what it is folly longer to ignore. He has not only pointed out the existence of these toxins in the system, but has, if ever so roughly, described not a few of them, and it is up to us to furnish the specific antitoxins.

Nietzsche always exaggerates, for he is a rhetorician rather than a logician, a Sophist in the best Attic sense rather than a philosopher, not a judge, but a special pleader with a *penchant* for overstatement and superlatives. Clearly as Nietzsche saw the night side, he was blind to the day side of religion. He has only collated and vividly set forth about all the charges ever made against, while ignoring all the good things of, Christianity. His spirit is only negative, and never constructive. To completely refute him would be to refute every enemy the Church ever had; and if all the defects he pointed out were overcome the triumph of Christianity would be complete and final. Thus his rabulations ought to appeal in a most challenging way, especially to all young students of religion. He is also the arch-egoist of modern

times, and of what altruism means he never had a glimmer of comprehension. His very diathesis is hyperindividuation. Of love in any sense he knew little, and of true or higher love nothing; and there is reason to believe that the little was perverted by his personal experience. It is as if the race soul that slumbers in us all in him had met some *débâcle* so that all his energies of life went to the maximization of self. His heroes were those with an inordinate passion for self-aggrandizement.

Zarathustra (Zoroaster) was his boyish *goru*, dream or ideal, and was later made the incarnation of his views of life. Of his "Thus Spake Zarathustra" he said that in it, "I have given mankind the profoundest book it possesses." Elsewhere he says that it is the most perfect in form of anything in the German language. The best and the worst have been said of it as of few other books. It fairly cries out for a psychoanalysis, which unfortunately it has never yet had. What here concerns us is that in this character Nietzsche undertook the astounding task of giving to the world a rival to the figure of Christ, so that Zarathustra is at once Nietzsche himself, the overman, the Antichrist, and a something between the Miltonic and Faustian conceptions of Satan. After ten years as a mountain hermit he comes down at the age of forty with his eagle and serpent, to teach that God is dead, and that the superman that is to be must take God's place. He sermonizes on the creation of new values, tells his hearers that war is better than charity, that we should love and serve not our neighbour but the coming overman, and hate all mediocre people who are not links or bridges to supermanhood. We should spur the average man to the uttermost by pain to work out his higher possibilities or destiny. Every hero must be his own legislator and avenger. Men should marry only if they can produce better offspring than themselves. Nietzsche's disciples are they who can do so, and these, the chosen people, are told to create new and larger tables of virtues, to go on and surpass not only themselves but their teacher, who then retires to his cave to let the seed he has sown in the souls of his hearers germinate. After years, learning that his doctrine has been perverted, he comes again to men to tell them that the greatest saviours are all too human to truly save. Only fools condemn anger, and hope for a salvation by blood, or want reward for virtue here or hereafter, or praise meekness and unselfishness. All who teach these things are liars and poisoners of wells, and

so are they who teach equality or innocence, or place knowledge above the will to power. He exults over life, and longs for all that is possible of it. In the fourth and last part he goes out and finds a fortune-teller, two kings, an ass and his worshippers, a conscientious one, a madman and the last Pope, a cow student, an ape, the shadow of himself, whom he sends one after another to his cave, where he meets them later in a kind of last supper of joy, telling them that they are not the coming race, but only bridges to it and to him, and that he has invited them to celebrate the fact that the super-race is on the way. Then Zarathustra hears his sign, and amidst many birds and beasts, and strong and resolute, in a cloud of love, he leaves his cave for still greater heights.

The burden of this prose poem is that we must choose between supermanhood and retrogression to the baser animals, which are symbols of what man has been declining toward since the Renaissance. Everywhere we see allusions both by similarity and contrast to the New Testament. In place of the Resurrection is the courageous push-up, excelsior motif of Zarathustra at the end. The call is not to repent, but to be ambitious, to be forever surpassing ourselves. The danger is not of falling into hell, but of backsliding to the apehood from which we sprang. Not personal immortality in heaven, but better offspring here, is our goal. Like Sterner's "Der Einzige," men must get and enjoy everything they can, and reck not of others. Pity, almsgiving, altruism to our petty fellow beings, would encourage them to cease to strive upward to the hyperanthropic state, which is at once man's entelechy and Nietzsche's millennium. This remorseless, ruthless, mighty man that is to be, and whom we must now love and serve with all the energy that we directed toward God while he was living, will be entirely a product of eugenic propagation, that is, will be a once-born as distinct from a twice-born being. His hypertrophied ego will be aggressive to an almost Sadistic degree, and his pride might seem megalomania to the commonalty, who are Lilliputians to him.

The only conclusion a psychologist can draw from the data is that the delusions of greatness which marked Nietzsche's insanity, seething in his soul before they took overt form, impelled him to attempt a work which should rival the New Testament, and which he here offers to the cultivated whose allegiance to Christ has begun to wane, as a fit substitute for the latter. He felt it high time that the world gave birth to a new religion, and so undertook to be its midwife by revamping the

central figure of ancient Parseeism, with covert and overt suggestions from the laws of Manu, which he admired beyond anything within his ken in the field of Oriental antiquities. This evangel the world did not accept, and so, with an affectivity still more unstable, in the "Antichrist" he gave free vent to his envy and jealousy of his rival Jesus. In the former work his intellect, in the latter his sentiments, showed more deterioration. There is certainly much in "Zarathustra" that only an alienist could possibly appreciate and interpret. The subtle weird play for phonic effects suggests the decadent French instrumentalist poets, while the meshwork of symbols that pervades it shows a reversion to a prerational stage of psychic activity common in clever paranoiacs. The stilted, often bombastic, style surely indicates an impairment of the power of literary judgment. In the "Antichrist," on the other hand, the deterioration is not at all apparent in the intellectual keenness or literary sense; but the work is marked by a strange absence of judicial power to see the other side. As we said above, there is truth in much, if not most, that he says throughout; but it is all half truth, so that even Tolstoi, whom we might place over against him, is less extreme in his laudation of Christianity. Even skeptics admit that Jesus said and the Church has done many great and noble things, but those who know of both these only through Nietzsche would never suspect this. He envied and strove in "Zarathustra" to emulate Wagner's artistic triumphs, and took his theme over into the aesthetic domain, the better to do so, but as he failed the embitterment only increased. Moreover, the world, even the German world, is somewhat too pervaded with practical democracy to take ever again to a religion for the few only, whether these be the elect by divine decree or by native endowment.

Finally, Nietzsche himself was at best only a link or bridge, or, in his phrase, a rope-dancer, and has already been surpassed, so that his views of the overman seem antiquated and clumsy even in phraseology. He never dreamed of a Burbank in the plant world, or of modern stirpiculturists, or of eugenics, which Galton calls the religion of the future; nor of the laws of heredity or sex hygiene or psychology, which mark such an advance in both theory and practice in the field of generating better men and better species of all the forms of life that have been domesticated. Countless studies have brought a world of insights and technical nomenclature, masses of observation and rules of

practice, that have left Nietzscheanism far behind, and on all this work not only since, but during, his life he had little or no influence. True, Jesus did not teach eugenics, because he thought the end of all things near so he strove to save individuals as he found them; but the Old Testament abounds in eugenics which the Jews for centuries have best understood and illustrated.

(C) The first modern writers to urge that *Jesus himself is a myth* were C. F. Dupuis[1] and C. F. Volney.[2] Dupuis regards Jesus as we do Hercules, Osiris, and Bacchus. His first two volumes develop the principles of mythic interpretation for heathen and especially the mystery religions. The third volume deals with the apocalypse and the relation between the Jewish-Christian eschatology and Oriental thought. Volney uses the form of a vision at the ruins of Palmyra in which the devotees of various religions are gathered and taught successively how they have been betrayed by their priests. All dogma, he teaches, is myth, and only true religion is spiritual. The Christian drama represents the course of the sun through the zodiac, the Virgin playing the chief rôle. Both these works are of great historic significance, although all this ground has been gone over far more thoroughly since. Both hold that not only Christianity, but all religions, are derived ultimately from natural phenomena, and are very largely astral and seasonal. Strauss, as we all know, thought Jesus historic, but the centre of very many accretions of myth and miracle. Bruno Bauer denied Jesus' historicity, and thought him the personification of ideas and ideals, a process which to his Hegelian mode of thought seemed not only natural but necessary for the development of a new religion. Dutch liberals denied the authenticity of the Pauline epistles, thought them products of the second century, placed the Gospels too late, and thus naturally magnified the mythic element without expressly denying a nucleus of historicity to Jesus.

Those who denied his existence had to explain the belief in him, and so naturally fell into two groups. The first were the symbolists, who thought him the product of social and religious forces and tendencies. Ideas must have imagery, and tend intrinsically to be embodied in individuals. Truth itself seeks allegorical form, gnostic-wise, somewhat as Bacon thought the wisdom of the ancients was typified in their

---

[1] d1809. "Origine de tous les cultes, ou religion universelle." Paris, 1795, 7 vols.
[2] d1829. "Les ruines ou méditation sur les révolutions des empires." 1791.

myths. The other view, holding that myths are merely figurative descriptions of natural processes, developed the concept that these, and not ideas, are the primitive source-material, and that myths from both these sources tend to be developed into ever-increasing analogy to actual happenings.[1] There are, of course, many combinations of these views, and not a few departures from them. Loman, e. g., sees in the death and Resurrection of Jesus the story of the destruction of the material and the revival of the spiritual Israel. Kulischer,[2] basing probably upon the epoch-making series of studies of Mannhardt,[3] construes Jesus' life as a story of primitive agriculture. His first visit to Jerusalem means bringing in the first fruits to the temple; his baptism is the irrigation of the soil by rain; he comes to Nazareth because this is the seat of a harvest god; the devil is unfruitfulness; the temptation in the desert is to show that grain cannot grow in arid soil; his burial is storing of the garnered fruit in cellars; the husked and ground wheat and meal are the Resurrection body. (Why is not the burial seed-sowing or planting, and the Resurrection the spring growth?)

As long as only the Old Testament and Greek myths were known, it was impossible to reduce all "the things of Jesus" to myth, but when the vast field of Oriental rites, cults, and lore was unearthed, great common themes and deeper genetic processes appeared beneath all religions and the old historic studies were transcended in both method and scope. New keys to old problems which unlocked new and deeper meanings, and also laws of mutation, on the basis of which comparative investigations could flourish, appeared. Even the old gnostic insights could not explain the redemption mysteries nor the new problems connected with eschatology, Paul, and the sacraments. It was more and more felt that primitive Christianity could only be accounted for by understanding the play of the general forces that underlie all religions, and hence many came to conceive that it really had two origins, one the historic Jesus and the other a personation of the mystic, syncretic trends that partly conserved and partly supplemented (the latter especially by adding the Resurrection) each other. One was at the root of the synoptic writings, and the other was dominant in Paul.

[1] See Schweitzer: "Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung." 1913, 659 p. 2 Aufl. des Werkes "Von Reimarus zu Wrede." See p. 444 *et seq.*

[2] "Das Leben Jesu." Leipzig, 1876, 123 p.

[3] First gathered in his "Der Baumkultus." 1875, 646 p., and his later "Antike Wald- und Feld-kulte." 1877, 259 p.

One gave us the historic facts of the public ministry, the other gave new meanings to the death and Resurrection, which loomed up as of prime importance. The first three Gospels thus became the prologue to the higher Christianity made out of the general principles of religious evolution. Compared to the latter the plain Jesus of the ministry seemed all too prosaically common and human, so that it was a matter of not so very vital moment whether he had ever existed or not, for he had been at least outshone if not superseded. Indeed, Hegel conceived religion as a thoroughly organized plexus of ideas; and an actual Jesus as an independent authority was either suspicious, or, if he did not conform to the ideal schemata, he was distracting. Schleiermacher distinguished accordingly between an absolute and an historic religion, the one being for faith and the other for historic science. One Jesus lived, and the other was made by the folk-soul, slowly giving concrete form to wishes, ideals, feelings; working, perhaps, according to logical principles, but slowly and unconsciously. To orthodoxy this later Jesus seemed strange and lacking in both tangibility and moral authority, and it could not bear to see the person of Christ part company from his teachings. So the higher criticism became suspected, even when it sought to give more generic and more genetic conceptions of him. It did not relish being reminded that even if the passages in Josephus, Tacitus, and Suetonius relating to Jesus are authentic, they only testify to certain contemporary beliefs and have no value as the first-hand testimony of eye-witnesses.

Within the last decade all the great and deepening interest in this field which started with the Tübingen movement[1] has focussed on four lay writers, in New Testament studies. Three of them, an English essayist, J. M. Robertson, an American professor of mathematics and philosophy, W. B. Smith of Tulane, and a professor in the Karlsruhe Technical School, A. Drews, seem to have reached similar conclusions at nearly the same time, but for the most part independently of each other and by lines of approach that, while related, are by no means identical. The fact that these views were so startling to even liberal Christianity, so misunderstood by orthodoxy, and were put forth by laymen, caused them to be at first ignored and then violently denounced. Now they are the storm centre of interest in this field, where

[1]For the most concise summary of which see E. Zeller's "Vorträge und Abhandlungen," Bd. 1, which I epitomized in my "Founders of Modern Psychology," p. 5 *et seq.*

they have evoked a great and growing body of controversy. Over-subtle as some of the arguments are, they present together a body of evidence that has put apologists on their mettle, and the issues involved have already enriched scholarship, deepened thought, aroused new zest in Christianity, and evoked partial concessions even from those who are far from being convinced.

(1) In the following all too brief and rough characterization of the viewpoint of these three writers, we shall begin with Robertson, who was first in the field.[1] He has made extensive studies of mythology, and nearly every page of his writings abounds in references to sources. He holds that all religions develop according to the same law, so that none can be said to be either original or peculiar. Their differences are only those due to environment, the importance of which he does not underestimate. Their chief line of evolution consists in the fact that gods grow and gain in reverence and then give place to others. Even in monotheistic Judea there arose a secondary god-idea, Messianism, showing a trend toward polytheism. The most common relation of the new and the old god and the most pedagogic is that of son, as Apollo, Athene, Dionysus had to be children of Zeus. In Egypt Osiris was made to meet the needs of a nearer god and to fit the age, for old gods are conservative. In the field of Aryan religions Apollo took the place of Zeus, as Zeus had of Kronos. Where new culture-contacts follow rapidly the new god is given a brother. These processes occur despite kings and often priests, who see only ruin in new cults. All heresy is only a toned-down phase of this process which of old evolved new gods. This conservatism enabled the Church to live down the vivid imaginations of gnosticism and nipped its gods in the bud. Gods survive according to their capacity to adapt to needs, otherwise they themselves cannot be saved. The Holy Ghost of orthodoxy is a trend toward a new god which aborted because for practical purposes it was superseded by the worship of the Virgin, and for philosophical purposes it merged in the Logos on the one hand and the Father-God on the other. According to the above rules Krishna succeeded Indra, as Serapis did Osiris, Jesus did Yahveh. Wild tribes often, however, have a highest god which plays no rôle in their cult, but has in a sense retired from history and the world and is no longer disturbed by

[1] J. M. Robertson: "Christianity and Mythology," London, 2d ed., 1910, 472 p., discusses (a) the progress of myth to Christ and Krishna, (b) the Gospel myths. See also "A Short History of Christianity," 1902, 429 p.; also "Pagan Christs," 2d ed., 1911, 456 p., in which he discusses the rationale of religions, their comparisons and agreements, secondary god-making, Mithraism, and the religions of ancient America.

offerings or prayer. Religious interest in general strongly tends to concentrate on these later products.

There was a Jesus-cult in precanonical times, when Abraham, Joseph, and Moses were demigods and had not been reduced to human dimensions. Between Joshua, an Ephraimite sun-god, and Jesus, there is a relation almost as close as identity, as the two names are at root the same. Both were worshipped under the sign of the ram or lamb. Joshua was the son of Miriam or Mary, as Adonis, the slain Syrian lord, was of Myrrah. Joshua drove out the base Canaanites and established the Israelites in the promised land, as Jesus expelled devils and installed a new kingdom. All heresies are incident to making new or secondary gods that better meet the needs of their worshippers than did the old ones. Robertson compares Jesus with other pagan Christs, at greatest length with the Hindu Krishna. He then selects thirty items in the life of Jesus: the Virgin birth, the Marys, Joseph, the annunciation, the Nativity in the stable, its date, the massacre of the Innocents, the boy in the temple, the Nazareth home, the temptation, the water-wine miracle, the scourging of the money-changers, the walking on the water, healing the two blind men, other healings and resurrections, the feeding of the five thousand, the anointing, the riding on an ass and its foal, the myth of the twelve apostles, Peter's traits, the myth of Judas, the Last Supper, the transfiguration and agony, the Crucifixion, the cross-bearing by Simon, the mystic cross, the seamless tunic, the burial and Resurrection, the banquet of seven, and the Ascension. For each of these he points out parallels and analogues in Hebrew, and especially pagan, myth, which convince him that all are unhistoric. He also finds twelve myths of doctrine, as follows: Jesus as saviour, mediator and logos; the preaching of John the Baptist; Jesus as preacher of universalism; as Messiah; as preparing for the Kingdom; the sermon on the mount as compared with the Talmud; the Lord's Prayer; the beatitudes; the woman in adultery; the gnostic and cryptic parables; the late ethical parables in Luke; the discourses of the Fourth Gospel. Thus the Gospels are a congeries of myths, and the old orthodoxy that holds them to be veridical is a blasphemy of man, because it implies that the soul of humanity is impotent to engender such products. Paul, Peter, and others perhaps played a real rôle, but most of the New Testament story was the slow product of generations of minds unknown. The age of myth manipulation which

evolved it was followed by a still less critical age, but one more fecund in fancy as the new faith fell into the hands of the barbarians, and from the mass of new legends the early Christian centuries in the Dark Ages made further pagan additions to the *mythus receptus*, such as the descent into Hades, the Immaculate Conception and Assumption of Mary, the Trinity, etc Robertson's Docetism rejects Miss Harrison's arguments that there was an historic personage behind the Orpheus myth and cult, as well as all views that there were remote actual men back of the rites that focussed in Osiris and Demeter. He doubts even the far more accredited personality of Buddha, as Davids and Stuart have sought to show that it was made up of older lore of Krishna, Rama, and Agni. As against Fraser, who thinks we might as well doubt Alexander or Charlemagne because legends have grown up about them, Robertson urges that, while a series of extraordinary minds may have coöperated in forming the Gospels, the Pauline epistles, and the literature of early Judaism, it is impossible at least to prove that both Jesus and Buddha were not wholly mythical. If we argue that myths are formed to explain rites, we must deny a real person behind the Messianic mask. Jesus is thus not a man about whom myths have gathered, but an apocalyptic personification to whom certain human traits have been given, as the Greeks gave them to Demeter. So the gnomic sayings, conflated into the sermon on the mount, were not uttered by an historic person, but were ascribed to a pre-Christian Jesus-God. Again, to eliminate the miracles and accept the rest by the method of Strauss, Renan, Arnold and many others, is not enough. We must frankly admit that the teaching and wonder-working demigod Joshua-Jesus was himself unhistorical. Even Grant Allen, whose "Evolution of the Idea of God" shows how dying and rising deities grow out of an older vegetation cult, although he reaches the conclusion that the chief items in the Jesus-saga are but parts of once-universal rites of a God-man supposed to ensure the renewal of plant life in the spring, still holds to an historic core as a postulate of an Emersonian being "who found us children in religion and left us men." In fact, however, thinks Robertson, Jesus has been composed by the soul of humanity, which may in turn decompose him into his many elements. Every religion is beneficent (if it is so at all) only at the moment when it is taking shape as a reform of an older faith. Robertson finds all these principles illustrated in the religions of ancient America, particularly

in that of the Incas of Peru. Thus religions have alternately made for progress and for paralysis, stagnation, or regression. Every one of them has frustrated in its later the higher motives of its earlier stage. Paul's Jesus is largely Talmudic, and therefore mythical. He is a sublimated human sacrifice. The best that can be said of Christianity is to agree with Crawley in "The Mystic Rose," that it has for the most part preserved the best elements of primitive faiths.

Robertson compiles a genealogical table of sacramental ceremonies, the first and lowest stage of which is where the victim (animal or man) is eaten by gods and the dead as a feast. Dead relatives, too, and parents filially slain are eaten to keep their qualities in the family. Then come sacrifices of human beings at funerals, which Spencer thought primal. From this evolve: (1) Offerings to the gods, from burnt sacrifices of flesh to fruits, libations, and incense; (a) totemic sacrifices, where the victim is eaten either as a god or as a mode of union with God or ancestors; (b) human sacrifices, of, e. g., captives eaten as thank-offerings, food for the slain dead or propitiatory for sin or for life and vegetation charms, or again, as buried in morsels to stimulate plant-life, or finally, to consecrate foundations. (2) The other class consists of ritual sacrifices blessed by priests and eaten as sacraments, including, (a) the quasi-totemic sacrifice in which the God eats himself as animal or as symbol in a sacramental communion with his worshippers; and (b) human sacrifices where the victim either represents the god or has special efficacy as being a king, or as a first-born or only son. Thus grows up from the barbaric beginning the general conception of a peculiarly efficacious eucharist or sacramental meal which consists in eating symbolically a sacrificed animal or man representing the god. Sometimes it is assumed that the animal sacrificed is an enemy of the god. The last stage of development is when, after public human sacrifices are abolished, there is a mystery drama (on which Robertson lays great stress), that symbolizes the act of human sacrifice wherein the victim is sympathetically regarded as an unjustly slain god. If these latter practices succeed in their competition with the official public rites, they in turn develop a priesthood which exalts them to official ritual form, and thus arises (3) the eucharist administered by the priest, of which the norm is not flesh but bread as symbolizing it, and not blood but wine as its token. Sometimes we have a symbolic animal or a dough image of it, or perhaps a

baked image of the god-man or child. This is still called, however, the *hostia*—victim—and both may be reduced to a single symbol as in the communion of one kind by the consecrated wafer of the Catholic Church. Thus back of this hallowed rite of the Church lies the awful fact that "thousands of millions" of human beings have been slaughtered, as a sacrifice to the gods or to make atonement for sin. Robertson even holds that the doctrine of immortality, which insists that this life is not all, has played a great rôle in this slaughter, because to rob of this life has meant to them the gift of another. Most of these innumerable victims are innocent even by the code that sacrifices them. They offer themselves, usually unwillingly, as a sacrifice for others, and in so doing conform to the deepest motivation Christianity knows.

To this we might add that perhaps the race soul, could its processes and their motivations be psychoanalyzed, would be shown to have sought to make purgation of its own conscience for these holocausts in the past by evolving the story of a mystic God slain from the foundation of the world, or once and for all, so as to sublimate the idea of sacrifice into an eternal symbol by a final act which would never have to be repeated. On this view in the present form of the Christian sacrament, the flesh and blood of our slain and risen Lord are partaken of, partly as a penance for the ancestral sin of this blood-guiltiness, and partly as a token that we are henceforth free from the awful obsession that the slaughter of one can atone vicariously for the sin of another. If an historic or a fictive Jesus died to put an end to all this bloodshed, his death marked a great epoch in the world's history. To have veiled so awful a record by a new fable that diverted the mind from the truth of the vast body of summated blood-guilt, closed this dreadful vista of the past, and the new blood-covenant that took its place was given a more individual, futuristic, and spiritualized interpretation.

Many, if not most, of the pre-Christian religions had secret and solemn ritual dramas or pageants celebrating birth, death, resurrection, and other incidents ascribed to more or less divine cult-gods. According to Robertson, these played a great rôle in helping to historicize myth. The very grotto, he tells us, thought to be the birthplace of Jesus in Bethlehem, was once the place where the Adonis-Tammuz cult was celebrated. From the ceremonials connected with Christmas and Easter developed our stories of the Nativity, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. The sacred meal which in the Gospels is

already correlated with the Passion Play had an independent and earlier origin in the cults of Mithra, Dionysus, and others, and the fusion of these with the Passion group of incidents into the life of one quasi-divine person insured to this latter a very great future. He rapidly grew in power because he combined the best ideas of many cults. Thus Jesus became able not only to overcome the Jewish priesthood, which stood for monotheism and was jealous of the new deity (who, however, had in his favour the inveterate polytheistic proclivities of the Jews, as shown in their frequent lapses to the worship of Canaanitic deities, which had cropped out in the second century B. C. in the apocalypse of Enoch, in which "the anointed" is exalted to the rank of divinity), but the Jesus movement, because it was so comprehensive, effective, and syncretic a combination of elements, was able to overcome gnosticism and finally to take on universalistic dimensions under Paul, before whose day Christism had been anti-gentile and even anti-Samaritan. The new God-Jesus had of course to overcome Phariseeism, and could not become supreme in Jerusalem because he could not use the temple. But when Jerusalem was captured by the Romans, Christianity was set free and entered Rome, and after a struggle overcame its chief rival, Mithraism. Mythic events, if great and deemed vital, always tend to be translated into history. Mystery plays of birth and death have to be very plastic, and every detail tends to be wrought out elaborately into significant particulars, because such items as the betrayal by Judas, the anointing by women, the attempted substitution of Barabbas, the dream of Pilate's wife, the "being forsaken of God," etc., have a long previous history in myth. The turning water into wine is a psychic fossil or vestige of the once highly developed Dionysian cult as it was once celebrated at Andros. The idea of converting stone to bread is a hint at a more detailed incident of the same transformation connected both with the life of Buddha and the cult of Mithra. Dionysus in his flight takes two asses, rides one, and takes the other along; and so when Jesus rides into Jerusalem there must be a second ass or foal. Peter's keys are partly Mithraic and partly from the Israelitic sun-god, Janus, who kept the door of the heavenly palace and led in the year at the head of the twelve months. Osiris castigates thieves as Jesus purges the temple. Poseidon often runs over the water. It is of such pericopes that the Gospel narrative is made up. Most interesting of all, perhaps, is Robertson's

explanation of the episode of Simon of Cyrene. In ancient art he is represented with Hercules, holding two pillars under his arms like a cross. In the Jewish legend he dies on the spot where he set them up. Hercules performs this feat in Cyrene, and Simon is the nearest Greek name for Samson, who is a solar myth. What is, therefore, more natural than that a solar hero, Simo or Simon, should become cross-bearer?

As to Jesus' sayings, they are too inconsistent one with another to have ever come from a single, actual, and unitary mind. They are rather formulae put by his later disciples into the mouth of their God. By careful computation Robertson thinks that "at least four fifths of them" are of mythic origin. Moreover, the Jewish Messiah had been generally conceived to be an active hero, leader, and national deliverer, while the Gospel Jesus is passive and impotent to save his people from their oppressors. The doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven is not original, and was introduced late in rather secret parables. Jesus did not come from Nazareth, for there is no such place. The word means Nazarene, which was the name of a secret order to which Jesus belonged, and by a blunder was interpreted as a place. The transfiguration, the walk to Gethsemane, the scourging, the crown of thorns, and even the story of the twelve apostles, are not in the original narrative, but are later additions from pagan sources for didactic purposes. Thus the whole life and teaching of Jesus are made up, warp and woof, of traditions that developed layer upon layer, and as they spread and people mingled they slowly accreted into their present form. While we can distinguish many of the strata others are too felted together to be resolved as yet. Only the Baptist and his words, and Paul and some of his writings, seem now to remain and be essentially historic, but even they by further investigation may be resolved into myth.

(2) W. B. Smith,[1] who is the most acute logician and polemist of all those who deny historicity, began his work in this field more than twenty years ago, by a series of detailed studies of the chief Pauline epistles to prove, chiefly by internal evidence or an analysis of their content, that they could never have been written by the apostle to the gentiles. Most of these studies, although we are told they were long since finished, are still unpublished, and Smith tells us of a long pro-

[1]His chief works are, "Der vorchristliche Jesus." 1906. 246 p. and "Ecce Homo," 1911, 315 p., and various papers in the *Monist* and elsewhere.

gram of work he plans yet to do. We infer that he regards the other epistles as he does the Romans, an epitome of which he has printed (*Hibbert Journal*, 1902-03, pp. 309-34), as without unity, or as concretions of teachings impossible for a single sound mind, which during the first silent Christian century were never ascribed to Paul. The material was preëxistent and from many sources, and the compilation is patchwork and never even had a thorough redaction. Although not the first to draw such general conclusions, Smith is both more emphatic in his negation and more thorough in his method than his predecessors or his coadjutors. In the study of other epistles, the apocalypse and even Acts, he is struck by the almost entire absence of allusion to the human Jesus of the synoptists, but finds them chiefly concerned with dogma and "metempirical" theosophies. He also finds the New Testament permeated with gnostic ideas, many of them of pre-Christian origin, so that in 1904 he begins to collect traces of a pre-Christian Jesus-cult and concludes that the essence of primitive Christianity consists in the union of the Jesus- and Christ-cults and ideas. Neither of these titles at first designated either an earthly or a human, but only a divine, being. The latter is partly Jewish and partly foreign, arising during the *diaspora*, and fusing with the Messianic idea. Thus the Hellenic and Semitic cults united. The origin of the Jesus idea is the theme of his first German book. In general he holds that no single person could ever have started a movement so sudden and so widespread, and he premises that if we had no evidence of a prehistoric Jesus we should have to assume one.

Smith, who is at his best as a textual expositor, begins with the four passages in the New Testament that speak of "the things concerning Jesus" and make various other references to the things of the Kingdom, way, estate, etc. Such more or less stereotyped, if vague, phrases he thinks refer, not to an historic Jesus but to a pre-Christian Jesus-doctrine. These "things," we are told, were the theme of the zealous Apollos who knew only the baptism of John and nothing whatever of the flesh-and-blood Jesus of the synoptists, so that his Jesus also was pre-Christian, although he may have acquired later an esoteric knowledge of the hero of the Gospels which he taught, e. g., to Aquila and Priscilla, "to whom he expounded the way of the Lord more perfectly." He may also have written the Epistle to the Hebrews. At any rate, his Jesus-doctrine antedated his knowledge of the synoptists

and was perhaps taught in the form of a catechism, or was at least definite enough to be the basis of a fiery propaganda. At Ephesus Paul found disciples of John who had not even heard that there was a Holy Ghost. These twelve men were probably followers of Apollos. Again, Simon the Great, the magician, could not have been so suddenly converted by Philip if he had not already a doctrine that prepared the way. He really was a cosmogenic philosopher. So, too, Elymas, son of Jesus, wrongly called a sorcerer (Acts xii: 6-12), was a propagandist of an older, cruder cult of Jesus, and wrought miracles in his name. Once more, Luke's motive in writing his Gospel was to reduce the often remote foci from which the many Jesus-doctrines emanated, as well as the latter themselves, to unity. The great persecution against the Church when Stephen died (Acts viii: 1) must have been against some one or more pre-Christian organizations. In a hymn, too, quoted by Hippolytus, which Smith thinks antedates Christianity, Jesus is "God's Son in heaven, yearning to save men by the way called gnosis." Jesus' name had weird power to work miracles, and especially to exorcise demons. "Naassene" is only an ancient epithet, meaning watcher, and came to be the name of an heretical sect.

Again, the very important term *anastasis* is ambiguous, and is variously translated resurrection, awakening, sent (by God), etc. There are many Old Testament terms more or less cognate in meaning, which came to signify called, ordained, etc. These words came to designate modes of the *breaking out* of a new kingdom, and hence were peculiarly significant for apocalyptic minds. But no such kingdom ever came; and so, by a process which myth describes in other terms, but which psychoanalysis would call *Verschiebung*, Jesus himself was made to rise from the dead as in some sense the psycho-kinetic surrogate of the new Kingdom. The expectation of this latter as it aborted found also another vicarious expression by reinforcing the faith in miracles. As the decline and death of Jesus symbolize the bankruptcy of hopes for the realization of the Messianic kingdom on the one hand, so his Resurrection typifies the development of the spiritual kingdom within as a compensation for its loss. In other words, there never was the apocalyptic second coming (a later idea) or the parousia, and so the Gospels gave another expression to that unrealized expectation—viz., Resurrection. The fall of Jerusalem, especially, made the hopes of an earthly kingdom bankrupt, and as later the fall of Rome was com-

pensated for by Augustine's "City of God" (a dream which became the Church), so the Resurrection became a palladium against despair when the Holy City fell. Jesus' interpretation of the new order of things was vastly different from the dynamic, catastrophic advent that Messianism had expected. The great discrepancies once held to have developed between the Petrine and Pauline or the Semitic and Hellenic tendencies in the early Church could never have existed even in germ in the self-consciousness of a single personal Jesus. These trends represent only the transformations of propagandism which developed in different directions. To prevent schism, there was a deliberate and radical redaction of tradition, which is represented in our Gospels, written in the interests of unity. The central theme of the New Testament is the new Kingdom, which is also the chief theme of the apocalypse, epistles, and Gospels, as also of the Baptist, Apollos, etc. Secondary to this in importance and derived from it are the ideas of the Resurrection as applied to Jesus and saints, and also the very different ideas of the Kingdom as taught in miracles. The parable of the sower, e. g., stripped of what Smith thinks accessories, and reduced to what he conjectures is its original form, teaches that the seed is the spermatic *Logos* of the Stoics. It was perhaps originally a myth of creation, and the seed was the ordering germinative principle. A pre-Christian Naassene sect, perhaps, and they alone, held the unique view that God sowed the world in the three soils, physical, psychic, and pneumatic. Hence, as a member of this sect, Jesus is made to give a new turn to it and explain the parable. Smith's pared-down version of this parable, if a far more modest adventure in the way of reconstruction of lost or never-existing versions than those which have been attempted in the way of enucleating the primitive Mark or the logia, is certainly more speculative and *a priori*, ingenious and stimulating though it is. Paul, he thinks, must have died about A. D. 68, and the first mention of his Epistle to the Romans is A. D. 96. It was the fruit of nearly a century of conflict and the influence of Marcion is strong in it. It is without either integrity or genuineness. Its prologue and epilogue are alike misleading, and under Smith's use of inner evidence it dissolves into fragments which a single mind never could have produced.

In "Ecce Deus" Smith first combats the inveterate error that a world movement starting at so many places, impelled by so many people, appealing to such diverse degrees of culture, and above all

containing views so at variance, ever could have been the result of one short life. The Renaissance, the French Revolution, the Reformation even (all less significant than Christianity), were, like every other great movement of the human spirit, due to the combined works of many men and years. There were very many cults all about the eastern Mediterranean, many saviours under many names, which later that of Jesus slowly absorbed, as Aaron's rod swallowed the others. Jesus is the only bond of unity in this syncretism; in this function lies his chief significance and *raison d'être*, and here are found the motives that created him. To posit him was the form taken by the wish and will that unity prevail. Very few indeed are the human traits in the oldest accounts of Jesus; and if he had really lived, and died, and arisen, it is inconceivable that the early characterizations of him should have ignored the incidents of his earthly life and left others than the apostles and later devotees to tell his story. It would seem as if the influence of his humanity increases directly and not inversely as the square of the distance from him in time and space. Why, too, are natural events transformed into miracles, so that it is left to modern critics to reduce Jesus to human dimensions as God was said to have done at the incarnation? Why, especially, does the general tenor of the accounts make him so vastly more God than man? Perhaps the oldest, certainly an early and typical formula, is that in I Timothy iii: 16, "God manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached to the gentiles, believed in the world, received up into glory." One does not speak thus of one's friends, nor are they so suddenly apotheosized. This, too, indicates that Jesus was a fixed idea, a monomania rather than a real person. Nothing but the proclamation of his divinity could possibly fuse into any kind of harmony the many discrepant conceptions and cults; for no mere man could be the centre of this vast totalizing and unprecedentedly precious synthesis.

All miracles are parables of esoteric, gnostic, theosophic, and very secret organizations. They are in fact their symbolic language or their very portative current imagery or system of symbols. The tendency to materialize the spiritual is like tuberculosis bacteria, which are in us all but normally kept down; but in these occult circles it shows its real strength and nature. We are told of twenty passages referring to the necessity of reticence. Monism had its crusading era at about the beginning of our own. This passion of the best part

of the world was summated and launched against idolatry and polytheism, and the demons which Jesus is said to have cast out were really false gods. The instructions to the first promulgators of the new faith are to be subtle and tactful in their advancement of the great cause of monotheism. They must be very clever in the means of inseminating minds with their doctrine so as not to give offence. This demand resulted in the device of a new method, viz., the parables, and this mode of propaganda necessitated a personal leader; and so Jesus, a word that means primarily healer, was made ever more real until on the one hand he came to seem historic, and on the other his function came to be conceived *sub specie eternitatis*. Thus our conception of Jesus owes its inception in large part to the fact that the worship of a plurality of gods was thought to be a disease needing a physician. Heresies were often outcrops of ancient or contemporary idolatrous tendencies, but the most dangerous of these were the efforts of now one and now another of the pagan faiths that had been syncretized into Christianity to become supreme over the other components of it. Our records of the beginning of Christendom and the more specific proofs of most of these theses are still imperfect, because the whole movement had to be even more cryptic and concealed than were the proceedings or even the existence of the learned societies of the Middle Ages. They were more like the mysteries of the old faiths of which we still, despite the excavations which have taught us so much, know very little. Only when Christianity arrived at Rome, got out of the catacombs, and came to power after the persecutions, was the taboo on publicity removed. Thus the active principle in Christianity was the monistic instinct for unity. The apostles and Church fathers were, like Spinoza, God-intoxicated. This was their chief theme, and of the life of an actual person, Jesus, they had very little to say. Alexander first suggested to the world the idea of a political unity of many nationalities, and Rome later tremendously intensified this ideal, while philosophy freed and universalized the human mind and made it somewhat familiar with cosmic ranges of thought. So the Gospels must be preached not only to heathen but to all creatures, and become world-wide. Freedom from the tyranny of demons, in an age oppressed by every kind of superstition that had been brought to and tolerated in Rome, became a passion. Gospel truth makes free. Thus the essence of the teaching of the Evangelist is, "Fear and honour God."

Negative evidence is secondary but important. It is true that myths tend to gather about great men like clouds about mountain peaks, but clouds also may gather no less densely over prairies and seas where there are no mountains. So many myths could not collect so soon, however, about Jesus had he lived as a man where and as he was said to have done. The accretion of them must have begun long before. Were he real it is true, as all, both believers and higher critics say, that he was unique and unparalleled, for he stood far above Paul, Peter, and either of the Johns. But just so far as his figure is unique it is extra-human. No real person could have been exalted to deity so soon after so disgraceful a death. Much as the liberal critics panegyrize the de-divinitized Jesus which results from their negative conclusions, he remains for them vague. He is made out of the same psychic stuff that rhetoric and poetry are, as if the momentum of the old belief in, and adoration of, him reinforced a sentimental regard for him in their own souls despite their negative conclusions. *Parturient montes, nascitur ridiculus mus,* but why make a totem of the mouse because of his origin? Outside the Gospels there are very few references to Christ's human personality, or to his life or teachings. Even in one of the earliest books of the New Testament he is described (Rev. i: 14-16) as girt with a golden girdle, with hair white like wool, his eyes a flame of fire, his feet burnished brass, his voice like the sound of many waters. He holds seven stars in his right hand, out of his mouth comes a two-edged sword, and his countenance is like the sun. He is *alpha* and *omega*. No less than twenty-eight times in this book he is called a lamb. In Hebrews, another of the earliest of the New Testament books, he is a self-offering high priest after the order of Melchisedec. He has no parents, no beginning or end of days, and will remain high priest forever. This, too, could not have been said of a friend. The more exalted he had become, the greater satisfaction his intimates would feel in speaking familiarly of him.

Now why were such things the first to be said about Jesus by his followers and before the Gospels were written if he had been a real man and acquaintance with whom they had sojourned? Why is there in all the New Testament not a single reminiscence in the first person of anything that any one had seen, heard, or known at first hand concerning him as a man? This is the query that Smith amplifies in detail for different parts of the New Testament, as critics have long

called attention to the surprising paucity of allusions to Jesus in contemporary Greek and Roman writers.

Smith would push the symbolic interpretation to its uttermost (p. 113). Not only are all the miracles symbols and not literal occurrences, but the erring woman whom tradition has so persistently associated with Jesus is a symbol of a people alienated from God and debauched by idolatries. Deeper, older meanings lurk behind all the teachings of the New Testament. "That God be all in all" is an apocatastasis of Anaxagoras. Paul's wish to escape the body of death is from Epictetus, who said his soul always carried a corpse about with it. That it is adultery to lust after a woman harks back to Aristotle's Ethics. Humility is Stoic. In Paul's expression that he came last as one born out of due time (I Cor. xv: 8) the word *ektroma*, so puzzling to exegetes, really refers to the gnostic idea of primitive matter, Plato's *hyle*, and to the *tohu vabohu* of Genesis. The eucharistic bread and wine typify the new life, and this rite was meant to make Jesus seem more sarcous. Their (children's) "angels behold the Father's face" means that in them the meanest convert has access to the supreme *sophia*. The bewitched Galileans (Gal. iii: 1) before whom Jesus Christ had been plainly set forth crucified, and Paul's body-marks of the dying Lord (II Cor. iv: 40; Gal. vi: 7) refer to the pre-Christian mystery cults symbolizing death and resurrection. But as Smith says in substance, the exposition of single passages has been a veritable *Grubelsucht* (as Farrar well shows in his history of exegesis). It is at best fishing with a single short line in the ocean. It makes us lose perspective so that we cannot see the woods for the trees. Smith hopes that if this detailed work is carried on far enough all intelligent and unbiassed minds will, some sooner, some later, reach a point where they will perceive that there is a far deeper original system of meanings now pretty well lost behind Scripture in general and all the integral parts of it in particular, than our present-day bibliolatry or the more liberal and aggressive higher criticism has yet dreamed of. Perhaps the latter is most perverse and blind of heart if Smith's conclusion (p. 126) is right, that even Mark contains not a single trait or mode of activity of Jesus that can be called human. Their quest for such a Jesus, who has been chiefly sought just here, is indeed a fool's errand. If the atmosphere of symbolism, allegory, and metaphor sometimes seems highly rarefied in Smith's pages, we must realize that the entire mentation of that age

was of this type; and why should we treat the New Testament less spiritually than the New Testament does the Old, for even Abraham and his two sons are explicitly called only allegories of the two covenants (Gal. iv: 24)?

Paul's testimony concerning the eucharist (*circa* 58 A. D., I Cor. xi: 23 *et seq.*) differs from that of the three synoptists if we admit Holsten's interpolation theory in that it is more agapistic than eucharistic, and more Mithraic than either, with vestiges even of primitive exorcism formulae. Paul's account, even more than that of the *didache*, was carefully revised and is correlated with eight passages from the epistles describing Christians as parts of Christ's body, union with which is symbolized by the communal bread, as wine typifies our union with his soul. Hence eucharistic passages are proofs of unhistoricity rather than the converse. Again, the Kingdom is mentioned *circa* one hundred times in the synoptists, and only rarely elsewhere. John calls God Father 118 times, or more often than all the other books of the New Testament combined. To enter God's Kingdom the prime requisite is repentance or doing penance, forsaking sins or conversion; and these and other similar expressions in both Greek and Hebrew refer to turning away from false gods and their abominations. A study of each of the prophets from Amos down, and of the chief books of the New Testament, confirms this view. Entrance to the Kingdom, then, involves a religious rather than an ethical change, save so far as the worship of idols implies all kinds of moral abominations. This was the burden of the Baptist's preaching; and so Jesus, had there been such a person, would not have taken the same theme as the Gospels make him do after John was imprisoned, because it would have seemed an old story that had done its work. That he is said to have entered upon this type of preaching when John, who had already made the people familiar with it, was out of the way, is another indication of unhistoricity. In fine, heathenism and polytheism were the chief evils or sins in the world, and the worship of the one true God was the *summum bonum*, or an end which once achieved involved all other goods. We have long made a great mistake in thinking that the passages that inculcate repentance mean the necessity for personal betterment. To repent or to be converted is to turn away from the adoration of many and false gods. This is the *sine qua non* for entering the Kingdom which, by the way, tends to be called

that of God in the older phraseologies while later it is called the Kingdom of heaven, and direct mention of the holy name of God is avoided. Judas is simply and almost obviously a personification of the Jews as the Christians regarded them. There is no record that in Judea Jesus cast out devils or performed other healing miracles, save restoration of sight as he had done in Galilee. This was because the latter was a stronghold of idolatry, whereas Judea and Jerusalem only lacked spiritual sight. It is in the regions, therefore, of rankest idolatry and polytheism that he is made to do most of his mighty works, not only of exorcism but in curing all kinds of diseases, all of which are only symbols of false idolatries and pagan polytheism.

In fine, Smith meets New Testament exegetes on their own ground and with their own methods, even in their German stronghold, and is particularly severe with Harnack, Schmiedel, Wernle, and other liberals. He feels that a great new movement is about to break through the crust of current critical Christology, and that the sacrifice of historicity in the man-Jesus will be more than compensated by the new spiritual interpretation of all the deeds, words, and traits ascribed to him as symbols of the great auto-soteriological processes of the folk-soul; that Christianity represents the greatest culture synthesis which Mansoul has yet made; and that the supreme motivation of it all is the inveterate passion for unity.

It is folly to ignore this wealth of new suggestions, even if we are not convinced of the soundness of all of them. Every critical student recognizes the lack of unity in the books of the New Testament; and the effort to get behind them is too strong, and has already been too fruitful, and is too full of promise of yet greater results, to be stayed. Smith's contributions are fresh and original, if also revolutionary, ranging all the way from mere conjectures, not a few of which are confessedly so, to great verisimilitude. He often seems to lack perspective and synthetizing power, although he doubtless feels that the time for the latter has not yet come. In the writer's view his chief defect is lack of what might be called the higher psychoanalysis, many of the terms and processes of which would not only greatly definitize his views but would enable him at many points to penetrate much further into his themes. By this I do not mean the specific technique of the new psychology of sex, although as so many of the old cults and idolatries were phallic (which Smith hardly ever mentions), this would

be a vast gain. His chief need is familiarity with the processes by which what consciousness says is translated into the deeper unconscious things which it means. For this work Christology, to which psychoanalysis has hardly yet begun to be applied, is the greatest of all fields and symbolism, especially now that it is revealing itself as applicable to other fields than eroticism, is the magic open sesame. The Hebrews, from Abraham down, have been breeders of men, and eugenic considerations have been hardly less dominant among them than the monistic passion. To the new psychology, which Smith does not seem to know, religion is more and more revealing itself as a spiritualization of Eros, correlated in many ways which we do not yet begin to understand with the *vita sexualis*. To our mind the time is at hand when we shall have to say baldly that no one can work successfully in the domain of myth, rites, cults, symbols, or deal with the folk-soul generally without some knowledge of the more and more accepted mechanisms by which conscious and unconscious processes act and react upon each other; of how latencies become patent, and *vice versa*; of how secret wishes take on so many polymorphic forms that know not their origin; and of how complexes are formed and dissolve in the process. Thus the origin of both parables and miracles and how they came to be confused with each other, the meaning of idolatries and of demons and why they came to be so abhorred, the proliferations of the monistic passion itself, and even the darkest of all points in the writings of this school—just how the concept of a fictive Jesus arose and why it has been so strongly clung to, are already capable of further elucidation by these methods. All the more important problems here raised fairly cry out for the higher psychogenetic to supplement the exegetical interpretation Smith offers us. It is by these methods, if we are not mistaken, that a consensus of the competent will be reached if it is ever attained at all. Something like this is the inevitable next step, and when it is taken Smith more than any one else will be its prophet, for the best of his work already anticipates it in some degree. But even were it already finished so that we understood all of the chief psychic motivations that created Jesus, so that he would stand forth as a necessary product of the folk-soul, why should the process of projecting him in the form of a flesh-and-blood person, which has been so strong and beneficent in the past, not go on perennially on the warrant of pragmatism? Just so far as his rôle becomes clearly defined, the

possibilities that it may have an actual embodiment increase, and we ought even to posit this until the resolution of his figure into purely fictive traits is complete. But of this more later.

(3) Drews,[1] a student of Hartmann and Nietzsche, and, like Smith and Robertson, an ardent monist, has given us the most coherent presentation of the above views, to which he has added much. He begins by premising that instead of being injected into the world from without, as was formerly thought, the exact opposite is true of Christianity, viz., that it is in a unique sense a product of its age and time, so that to understand it the first prerequisite is to understand the condition of the world of which it was the inevitable product. At the dawn of our era the world was, indeed, in a unique condition. Old states had crumbled under the rough hand of Rome, in which itself decay had begun. Philosophy had spent itself, and the many religions, all of which were tolerated in Rome, confused men's minds. Nature and spirit were opposed, and the universal sense of uncertainty made men's minds turn inward upon themselves for support against the loss of outer joy and stability. Augustus, who had brought temporary peace, was deified and seemed about to inaugurate a golden age, so that for a time men ceased to lament that they had been born. But there were boundless superstitions, and many minds grew apocalyptic, expecting the end of the world. Rome was a pantheon of cults, in none of which any superior mind believed. The unprecedented need felt for religion, however, stimulated the formation of many secret brotherhoods, which looked to the East for their inspiration. Judaism, under the long influence of Parseeism, had become increasingly dualistic, and in the struggle of the light and dark worlds with each other, Mithra seemed to satisfy human needs and almost became supreme. He was a virgin's son, protector, saviour of souls; so that the Hebrew Messiah-idea was attracted into his likeness, while the Philonic *logos* also was an agent in the passionately desired apotheosis of man. The therapeutic sects lived for contemplation; the Essenes for purity; the Ophites and the Naassenes believed in Manda, the heavenly word of life coming down to save men, which they termed Jesus, Joshua, or Jason, and such deities were secretly worshipped also as health-bringers. All these sects came more and more to believe in a suffering, dying,

[1] "Der Christusmythe." 3d ed., 1910, 238 p. Trans. by C. D. Brown, 304 p. "The Christ Myth." London, 1910. This work is supplemented by his "Petruslegende." 55 p.

and rising god, according to the deep conviction of all the peoples around the eastern parts of the Mediterranean. These widespread pagan rites of a mock king given great power and worship for a short time, and then slain as an offering for sin (as we see in the burning of the effigy of the evil Haman at Purim or Paschal festivals, identified later with Barabbas and with countless more modern ceremonials), all go back to spring sacrifices to ensure good crops. In his birth, baptism, offering, and symbols, the Messiah-Jesus in his evolution came to absorb and embody the most essential traits of the most important and salutary of these many cults. This is the main thesis of Drews, which he seeks to make plausible by covering in a briefer and more general way, but with better perspective, much of the ground which some of his predecessors had gone over in greater detail. To all the ingenuity he has displayed no epitome can do justice, although his whole argument hangs very largely, though by no means wholly, upon details.

Faith in Jesus had existed "among innumerable Mandaic sects in Asia Minor before our era." Paul first formulated and unified these views. He himself, despite Jensen's skepticism on this point, no doubt existed, and probably wrote at least the four great didactic epistles, Galatians, Romans, and the two Corinthians, despite Smith, Kalthoff, etc. In no authentic passage does Paul ever quote Jesus, not even in his great polemic against the adherents of the law when many of the words ascribed to Jesus would have admirably served his purpose, so that we must conclude that Paul had never heard of them. Indeed, he seems never to have heard of any of Jesus' miracles, nor even of his Galilean ministry. Wernle says were all Paul's epistles lost, we should know not much less of Jesus than at present. The apparition of Jesus changed Paul's life and divided it into two parts. Although he insisted that Jesus was a man, he describes him chiefly as a divine being or as an ideal of the *genus homo* or as a Platonic metaphysical prototype of mankind, as the first-born of all creation, etc. Stoic and Orphic ideas also flourished at Tarsus, and Paul and Seneca have always been rumoured associates. The myths and cults of mystic death and resurrection connected with communion rituals were very highly developed there, in which consecrated bread and a victim's blood in a chalice had magic power to purge away sin. Nearer Asia was permeated with the idea of a young and beauteous deity who died and thus reanimated

nature; whose end was violent, but whose resurrection was glorious. "Nowhere were these celebrations of Tammuz, Adonis, Attis, Dionysus, Osiris, etc., more magnificent than at Antioch." Such ceremonies Paul had at first thought blasphemous, persecuting Christians whom he thought the law cursed because they worshipped him "who hung upon a tree." At length the thought occurred to him whether such an expiatory function might not be applied to all the Maccabean martyrs and even to Isaiah's "Suffering Servant of God." One may renew life in others by voluntary self-sacrifice. Had this Jesus-God not perhaps done just this? May not the sins of the people be atoned for by the voluntary sacrifice of their God? May not justification be attained thus, instead of by Pharisaic observance of the law? for his own righteousness and that of all others was far below the ideal standard. Must not sanctification, despaired of under the law, come in another way by direct infusion of God? Had the Messiah already come, and had his voluntary shameful death and revival opened up a way of righteousness unattainable by any individual under the law? Paul as persecutor had been an ardent devotee, and so could appreciate what devotion unto death meant.

The moment such a thought as this flashed through his mind, Pauline Christianity was born. His concept of a redeemer is that of an incarnate God who, because he has come down from heaven and from God, can raise man to union with the divine. The victim represents at the same time both the people and a deity offering himself up for them. Thus Paul does not need to think of a concrete personality. His man Christ Jesus remains more or less intangible, a personification of humanity, though more definite, to be sure, than Philo's *logos* that descended into the world but was not of it. The death and revival of the Pauline Jesus is not so much a story in time as an eternal event. Man, too, is midway between the worlds of good and evil, and God takes on the likeness of sinful flesh in order to enter this sphere of man. Thus Paul's Christ is not unlike the Platonic idea of man personified. Any act that does not proceed from faith, that is, from the deepest conviction of the divine in us, has no religious value. This Paul got from Stoicism. To it, however, must be added baptism or burial with Christ and the union sought by the old mysteries and symbolized, patterning from them, by eucharistic partaking of his body and blood. Paul's union of men with each other in Christ is Plato's elevation to the

world of ideas by Eros, the double-natured son of riches and poverty, who is poor, homeless, weary, and dying, according to his mother's nature, but also vital and ascendent, like his father. Thus Paul's Christ takes on the form of a servant, yet contains all the fulness of the Godhead. In the Timæus, Eros is called the world-soul and given the form of an oblique cross. Thus the contradiction between the worlds of sense and of ideas, which philosophy has never been able to overcome, is destroyed and man is born again into the new life of the spirit and becomes a true Son of God. So we see Paul's Christ as an allegorical and syncretic personification. Knowledge of the historic Jesus would be an obstacle to this apotheosis.

Why did not those who had known a real Jesus, if there were any such, protest against this hypostasis? Drews answers that it was because in the days of Paul's early ministry there was no Jesus, and Paul's Christ was all there was. The Jesus of the synoptists was a later creation, which Drews describes as a mighty hymn which enthusiastic devotees made history sing to super-historical ideas. Paul's man-Christ Jesus was just as real as Yahveh's suffering servant, and no more so. Thus Paul saved if he did not create the whole Christian movement, without knowing anything of an historic Jesus. Indeed, had Paul's writings stood first in the New Testament, as they should have done, instead of appearing to be based on the synoptists, insightful people would have seen that historicity was an afterthought. Starting in part from the apocalyptic Jewish expectations of a revolutionary Messiah, it was borne on by a mighty social agitation centring in the mysteries. The larger currents that tended to make Jesus an Aryan came originally not only from the old Indic fire-cult but from many sources, from near Asia and northern Africa, so that it had no definite local or personal point of departure.

What, then, about our Gospels? They are the best of many, all composed to awaken belief in Jesus as sent from God for man's redemption. The oldest, ascribed to John Mark, a pupil of Peter and fellow traveller with Paul, Drews thinks was not written till just after the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70. As both Wernle and Wrede have urged, Mark stood far from Jesus in both time and place. His Gospel is a defence of the thesis that Jesus is both Messiah and Son of God, and his chief proofs are miracles. Mark belongs thus to the history of dogma, and the disciples in it are hardly real figures. In the

Epistle of Barnabas (96 ? A. D.) we read that Jesus chose "as his followers of all men the most evil," to show that he called sinners. Luke and Matthew, who came later, add much to Mark, showing that tradition was growing. Those, however, who think that by going back to earliest records, even a primitive Mark, they will find a more human and less divine figure, are mistaken. On the contrary, we have a God becoming man instead of a man becoming God. From all sources, in fine, we have too little, too divergent, and too uncertain data for any real orthodox biography of Jesus. Small as the historic kernel has become under modern criticism, not only conservative but even radical writers often show a strange enthusiasm and pronounce extravagant eulogia upon it. Criticism has plucked Jesus more and more of the plumes of his former glory. In fact, he is rather a pathetic figure as the higher criticism has left him. Although no whit more historic than the Johannin Christ, the residual Jesus of synoptic criticism "has become an empty vessel into which Protestant theology pours the contents of its own medication."

Christianity was thus in fact almost complete before the beginning of our era, and there are many older parallels for about every item and every saying. The latter were not invented, but spontaneously evolved, some of their elements many times; and much of it was put together so clumsily that intussusception had hardly begun when the Gospels took form, while other elements are combined so clearly and effectively as to rival the most certain history. Many persons and cults for ages contributed traits. Most of the deeds and sayings are like pebbles worn down and polished by the waves of ages of tradition. Many are very like, while others are very dissimilar. Some are widely scattered and others aggregated as into a secondary formation like conglomerate rock, but with few traces to guide us as to what or where the primary formations were. Almost nothing can be referred with certainty to its original author, and the hero of the whole cult is as unhistoric as the seven wise men of Greece, David, Solomon, or William Tell.

The Lord's Prayer, like the sermon on the mount, is all in the Old Testament, while many of the moral precepts ascribed to Jesus are really trivial or commonplace, and would be so regarded but for their hallowed associations. With a few possible exceptions, Paul had no use for any of them. What is important in Jesus' teachings is far older than he. His use of rewards and punishments in the next world

as motives for virtue in this is simple selfishness and egoism enlarged to include the next life, and is far inferior to the Stoic ethics. Mithraism, which nearly conquered the West, had also a no more real personality behind it than did Goethe's Faust or Werther, which have so stirred the literary world. Jesus is simply the expression of the inner and outer life of a community near the beginning of our era, which was given an historical garb (Kalthoff) or a patron- or club-God like Æsculapius, or perhaps in a sense like Jason, Achilles, Theseus, or Siegfried. Orientals have a strong proclivity to make history out of inner experience. Thus Jesus could not have been a deified man, but was a humanized God; and this, Drews claims, makes his view more spiritual than are the interpretations of the higher criticism or liberal Christianity generally. A group of twelve apostles who had seen Jesus and worked with him, a circle from which Paul was excluded, never existed. Not only had the celestial Christ to be attached to the man Jesus, but the composite personality had to be made as factual as possible, for historicity soon became the keystone of the arch that bore all the weight of dogmas and of the Church just in proportion as the latter developed. So, too, beside Paul's way of meeting the deep-felt need of redemption by a mediator was the gnostic Johannin way. Gnosticism held that man could not save himself, and so it was both pessimistic and dualistic. It taught that the soul comes from above and will ultimately return from the body in which it is imprisoned, and that this return is salvation. The gnostic God-Redeemer came down to manifest this insight, which really opens all the secrets of heaven and earth and ensures immortality. The Mandaic sect of the Naassenes, as well as other gnostic sects, called this mediator Jesus, the man to whom the preëxistent God-Christ attached himself at the baptism, leaving him, however, finally, to die alone at the Passion. Thus gnostics were more or less Docetic and held to many redeemers, aspired to asceticism but often lapsed into vice; denied that the Resurrection was physical, and defied both Jewish and Roman law. Hence they were for some time the greatest danger that threatened Christianity; but this was obviated at one stroke by affirming the complete manhood and historicity of one Jesus who should be correlated with the Old Testament Messiah. This, too, checked the pluralistic excess of gnostic fancy by focussing on a single world-Redeemer whose life, death, and Resurrection were made the focus of history. The affirming of

the human reality of Jesus henceforth became the chief expression of the Church's instinct of self-preservation. Thus the dogma of Jesus' historicity saved Christianity from many dangers at once.

The Fourth Gospel marks the close of this epoch. It is saturated with the best in gnosticism, exploiting its quest for mystic mediation to the uttermost, but also stressing the historical reality of Jesus' corporeal life. In its Parsee dualism man is intermediate between the kingdoms of health, light, life, spirit, on the one hand, and the Satanic kingdom of earth. From pure love God sends his *Monogene* (or only-born, a modification at once of the Philonic *logos* and the Alexandrian aeon) to earth, with a *pleroma* of his own power. He redeems by taking on flesh without thereby ceasing to be divine, and brings men to his life by revealing wisdom and love. He sacrifices his life for his followers and thus resumes celestial glory which he also opens the way for others to receive. He also becomes the paraclete, another Platonic agent or aeon of the divine which is also his surrogate. John breaks with gnosticism chiefly in affirming that the word was made flesh, although he asserts more than he delineates a real man. Hence the Johannin Christ "wavers between a sublime truth and a ghastly monstrosity." John does, however, fix the hazy uncertainty of both mythology and abstract speculation into a personality that came to be nearer to the heart of Christendom than any other, and therefore gave it an incalculable advantage over its competitors, Mithraism and the rest. Thus, in fine, Paul, John, and the Church community made Jesus and not he them. He was evolved to meet social and communal needs to which his figure still appeals more than it does to the individual soul. To think of religion as primarily personal would in the early Church have been a sin against the Holy Ghost.

Perhaps the fall of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, if it did not cause, marked the acme of the unique apocalyptic or catastrophic state of mind, and contributed most to make those who believed in one yet to come pass on to the belief that he had already come, that is, made Christians out of the Messianists by a change of tense. Jesus had too many and diverse epithets as attributes of God to be a single person, and also how could one and the same individual inspire men so different as Paul, Mark, and John? This symbolic designation suggests that the cult that became the Church was at first very secret. Parables were used to hide esoteric truth from those outside. Of old every great new move-

ment had to be secret, and especially would this be the case with one organized to destroy surrounding idolatries. There were long discussions whether there should be an open policy or whether the new life should be hid. Gnosticism preceded Christianity instead of conversely, as was once thought, and all things in the latter became symbols of the former. The literal interpretation of the Gospels was an after-thought. The need of organization crassified everything into literal fact, and the re-spiritualization of Christianity will again reveal God as the central figure of the New Testament. We recognize symbolism in the Fourth Gospel, in which miracles become parables, but the synoptists were no whit less symbolists. When we have insight, spirituality, and imagination enough to penetrate the veil, we shall see that the authors of the Gospels were intent not upon writing chronicles or annals, but had a far loftier and more truly religious purpose than we had supposed. Passion Week, especially, is now construed as a dramatized allegory, or a miracle or mystery play. The trial and execution of Jesus were in most of their chief features impossible from the standpoint of both Roman and Jewish law, as Innes has shown; and neither could ever have occurred. The incubus of the historic method of interpretation is responsible for the denial by the higher criticism of the divinity of Jesus. The overrunning of Europe by the barbarians also helped the Church to crassify John's light, door, way, bread, lamb, etc., into a person on the lower level of history, and prevented the Hellenic tendency prevalent in the synagogues during the *diaspora* to allegorize the Old Testament from extending to the New.

What now is the reaction of the psychologist of religion to such mythic interpretation?

The root of the whole question whether Jesus was a myth or a man is a vital psychological and pedagogical one, which is rarely treated in the literature; viz., what real difference does it make from a pragmatic or any other point of view for us at this distance? Of course, on the old interpretation of Paul and the Church of the need of a vicarious atonement by a flesh-and-blood offering of an actual person, it makes all the difference between real salvation and none at all. On this theory, if a physical God-man did not really die, man is not redeemed from sin and death, for the price was not paid save in the spurious coinage of the imagination. The folk-soul has always sought to deceive God and evade the claims of justice by many a fictive

chablone sacrifice instead of a genuine one. But God, who accepted a ram in place of Isaac, has, as the entire history of sin and other offerings shows, been increasingly lenient, prone to mitigate his old exaction of human victims and to accept countless more or less rigorous penitential sacrifices as substitutes. He demands not even bulls and lambs, but a contrite heart; and this suffices. If, then, drama, epic, or symbol be more effective than historic events or the doings of real persons in bringing about this state, the "psychology of God" indicates that he would not only accept but prefer the latter. Again, the psychology of historicity points in the same direction. Just how much does it affect the impression made by seeing the play of "Hamlet" to have been convinced by Simrock's "Quellen" that no such person ever existed? To be sure, Swiss peasants were shocked by being told on the highest authority that their national hero, William Tell, was a solar myth, and his arrows the sun's rays. Thus, too, orthodox believers feel when told that the Jesus they have worshipped is a myth, and thus, too, children feel when undeceived about Santa Claus. The list of ancient worthies once believed real, but whose existence modern scholarship has challenged, is a long and growing one; and so, too, is the list of cult gods and heroes whom those who revere them have never deemed more real than are John Bull, Brother Jonathan, Saint Crispin, Ceres, Mars, Prometheus, Loki, the Muses and Fates, Faust, or Uncle Remus.

Again, in our pragmatic age we might ask which would do more to advance Buddhism, a genius who should be able to so set forth the gist of the founder's doctrine and life in the most sympathetic and dramatic way to arouse the true hedonic narcosis in reader or spectator, or the savant who should contribute new and indubitable proofs of his historicity? Are we not in fact, and rightly so, more concerned with present effectiveness than with antiquarian truth? Surely there is much myth that is worth more to the world of culture than is much history. Many of the best things have not actually happened yet, at least purely, but may occur almost anywhere and at almost any time. We have too low ideas of what myth really is at its best; for, as Grote long ago showed the world, *muthos*, *logos*, *ethos*, and *nomos* are the four bases of culture, ancient and modern alike. If the Jesus-story grips my heart and moulds and may recast my life more than all else, it is the truest of all things for me by every pragmatic sanction, and if

it does more to make me better than anything else, it is the most precious of all things, so that the present question is whether it will best stand this test and remain supreme over every competing cult. Those who are not timid concerning such a result will not be dismayed if they have some time to capitulate to these new views.

If this be true, it is ultimately a question of how far we have grasped the higher truths of our religion or, in a word, spiritualized it. Those who have done so most need have least fear. Perhaps these writers will come to be regarded as morning stars of a new dispensation of Christian faith. Languages, e. g., are now known not to have been made but to have grown by innumerable spontaneous creations of countless minds. Now suppose a higher universal language of languages tended to evolve not as a conscious creation, like Volapük or Esperanto, but as a composite photograph of the best etymological and grammatical elements, unifying all and supplementing the defects of each by drawing upon the excellencies of the rest, and in this product giving us a key for the understanding of all and furnishing a consummate product of the linguistic instinct. In this case we should have an analogue in the field of philosophy to what has occurred in the life, teachings, death, and Resurrection of Jesus, the supreme myth of myths. Such a mythopheme fits the nature and needs of the soul better than history ever can, because it arises out of the inmost nature of the soul itself. Outer events have extra-human elements, are objectively conditioned, divert and even repress purely psychogenic motivation; but this story with its countless ramifications is made more purely and uniquely than anything else out of the soul-stuff of wishes and aspirations. In it conscience speaks with its clearest voice. In it, too, man sees most clearly the evil that is in him, and applies the best of moral therapies. It tells him that he and the God he has worshipped arise out of the depths of his own soul, and that he can thus reunite himself to him. The individual hears the voice of the race in him, affirming good and negating evil. He feels that the universe is moral to the core, realizes the hideousness of sin, and sees the way of escape from it. He also feels the beauty of virtue, and sees how to triumph eternally with it. This view may thus come to fit the better scheme of things now beginning to form, make the New Testament coherent, Christianity more acceptable, and even reunite liberals and conservatives. There is an increasing number of things which

the old theories failed to explain, as was the case with the Ptolemaic system before Copernicus. In either case all the teachings remain the same. Criticism has taught us to reread with great zest the Old Testament by showing that its account of creation, the flood, patriarchs, exodus, and history are all products of the principles of the prophets and inspired by them. It has shown us that Israel's thoughts of God and man were a true development, and that the books of Moses sprang from the prophets as the Gospels did from Paul, instead of in the inverted relation in which they now stand in our canon. Even if the Gospel writers meant their annals to be taken historically, something is wrong, and so a vague sense of unreality has stolen over the Church. The ignoring of the results of scholarship is on the conscience of orthodoxy, although it be not fully conscious of it. Schweitzer, in "Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung," sums up his history of the lives of Jesus for a century as a "cemetery of discordant hypotheses." The theorem, "If Christ is a God he is not man, and if he is man he is not God," Anderson (*Monist*, July, 1914), well compares to the long antithesis between matter and mind in philosophy. Now the one and now the other view predominates and expels its opposite, or else a higher union is sought by a mediatorial third principle, a misfortune which some think metaphysical monism obviates, for there can be no absolute contradiction in the nature of things. The acme of negation, therefore, is found not in the above denials of historicity but in the liberal repudiation of divine elements in Jesus by the higher criticism. It is impossible, without flying in the face of even the *Ur-Markus*, to reduce the central figure of the New Testament to merely human dimensions. Hence the above attempts to reverse this process and consider him as a God from the starting point are opportune.

Non-historicity, however, is not unreality. What if Jesus entered history only as his logical predecessor, Yahveh, did, just as really but no more so? If there were prehistoric Christs why, as Anderson well asks, should they derogate from the importance of the Christ of the Gospels, any more than it is a disparagement of Yahveh that Moses got his very name from a Kenite tribe at Sinai? Indeed, the whole question of Jesus' historicity is a little like the problem of Kant's *Ding-an-sich* or of metaphysical or epistemological realism. From the schoolmen, and indeed from the dawn of philosophy to our own day, the problem of substance or being has been thought vital for theory;

but it makes little difference for the practical conduct of life or for the pursuit of science whether one deems noumena or phenomena ultimate, and there are analogies between this and the problem of the ancient historicity of Jesus. Suppose we made the weird and fantastic assumption that an authentic portrait of Jesus were discovered, and even that we could have, if we desired, his entire public career and every incident in it reproduced in a series of moving pictures and his words restored by some phonographic process. Would devout Christians really wish this? Would they not fear disillusion? Would such a thing be a real desideratum? Would not the objective gain in certainty be more than offset by a loss of the inner ideal communion with his spirit? Too realistic Passion Plays are thought to be irreverent and materializing, however worshipfully presented. Renan called the Jesus-story "the category of the ideal." Would the Christ formed within, the eternal formula of regeneration and moral progress, not lose something of his power by being reduced to an accurately located and dated time and place in history? If Jesus were to come again in flesh and blood, filling all the needs of our time as he did of his own, would it not be a higher dispensation than the old one? and is it not this which the Christianity of our day really wants?

One thing is certain, viz., that these studies open far vaster fields than mere textual criticism or theology, whether liberal or conservative, Palestinian antiquities or former characterizations of Jesus or Church history ever dreamed of. They upset smug professional complacency and open a wider historic horizon, showing us that to grasp the full meaning of our religion we must know far more about the work of the folk-soul and go far deeper into the psyche of the individual. These laymen have propounded new and vital problems of which they have been able to answer only a few. If they abate some of the old forms of conviction, they increase the unformulated feeling that there is far greater worth and a wealth of deeper meaning in the New Testament than the older scholarship has suspected. They stimulate new interest in study, and make the conventional reticence of orthodoxy, which has steadfastly ignored the results of scientific research in this field, ever harder and more intolerable, especially to ingenuous academic youth, to whom these writers make very strong appeal. Many of these whom I know and who had grown cold toward the Church have been warmed again to the heart toward it by these views, which

have made them more *frisch*, *frei*, *fröhlich*, and *fromm*, and which by their very dash, novelty, and abandon to more or less uncritical *aperçus*, speak to the core of the soul of those in later adolescence, both the merits and defects of which views like this admirably typify. We should not forget, too, that as the age of most conversions, confirmations, etc., shows, it is this period of life that Jesus himself, whether he be man, myth, or symbol, best illustrates, and to which he has always made the strongest appeal, for the zests of this age are proverbially the best material for prophecy.

On this view the soul of the race has long sought a link between God and man, as science now seeks the missing link to bridge the gap between the higher fossil apes and man; and there is some psychological analogy between the formative tendencies that gave us the *theanthropos* and those that have constructed the *anthropopithecus*, the differentia being that the first member of the God-man synthesis is a spiritual creation, while the middle term linking man with the anthropoids is theoretically constructed out of sparse and fragmentary geological remains. Jesus by the above writers is in a sense made a *point de rèpere* for many ritual and mythic partial expressions of this age-long quest for mediation. For the race he is what the hero of the anonymous but significant book, "Whispering Dust," was for its writer, a slowly evolving but very satisfying complemental ideal which has come to dominate the lives of believers. Something like his figure tends to be formed in the heart, and the question is whether these tendencies could or did create him spontaneously and spiritually from within, or whether one or more historic personages were used as paradigms or models; that is, whether he was made or found. Did the revelation of him come from the inmost depths of human nature, or was it objectively given? Is the power to accept and appreciate such a personage only a less degree of the selfsame power which needs only to be raised to a higher potence in order to create him? Is he in fact made of the same psychic material as were the prophecies and expectations of him, turning the souls that follow him, not like neurotics and psychasthenics, away from reality, but with a supreme and unique energy to it, modulating over from *will be* to *is* in the birthhour of our era and lapsing since to *has been* in the many conjugations of our complex grammar of assent, which has every conceivable mood and voice as well as tense, for the verb "to believe," like the verb "to love," has not only every form of

inflection but may have a vast number of both subjects and objects. Or will such studies, if confirmed, do for Jesus what Kant sought to do for God, soul, and immortality, by exalting them above the categories and making them postulates for conduct? and may we thus establish faith in Jesus by the practical rather than by the theoretical reason?

If so, and if historicity can add to the efficiency of the Jesus-idea, then we must by every principle of pragmatism hold that he lived a real life some time, according to the records and the faith of Christian centuries, obscure and uncertain in many points, though that life must forever remain. If this be so, uncertainty concerning the details of his life is not a handicap but a boon to faith, just as the absence of all authentic portraitures of him has been to art, because it not only clears the way for but incites to make ever new and higher constructions. Some such life was lived by some one whom we call Jesus the Christ, just as in the formative period near the beginning of our era and in our canon that life was variously interpreted and drew to itself so much of the best in the rites, beliefs, and customs of different lands and peoples. Our Jesus is the historic nucleus about which was crystallized so much that is mythic and symbolic as well as historic, the whole being shaped to meet human needs. So we must continue the work of syncretism, idealization, and transformation if we can only rise to doing so with the same freedom that Jesus' co-fashioners of the New Testament exercised. Jesus' nature remains thus dual, for he is at once a real and an ideal person, a joint product of fact and need. He was a man glorified by the totalizing imagination, and the problem of psychology here is to seek out what kind of personality and life-history could have attracted and assimilated so early so much that happened in so many places and so much that never could have actually occurred anywhere. We need to ask, not how he came to embody so much divine glory, but how he came to be invested with such a pleroma of human ideals, how a person came to be also a totemic race-man, how an individual came to represent humanity, or how the *genus homo* came to be embodied in a single specimen.

If proofs of his historicity grow weak, should we postulate it without objective evidence on the warrant of pragmatism? What are the meaning and the worth of historicity from the standpoint of psychology or of the higher pedagogy of the race, and of the individual? We answer that it is the inveterate ejective habit of thought that makes it

necessary for complete reality. The anthropomorphization of the divine may be the last and most sublimated form of idolatry, and objectivization is incomplete without historization. The incarnation is the resumption by man of God, who is his project, or the rehumanization of the divine. It is the construing of God's essential attributes into the terms of man's life. The Yahveh of the psalms and prophets had to moult his old absoluteness and transcendence as superfluities and recast his nature into the mould of man, not in imagination or theory but in fact, thereby also deifying man as well as making himself more real. In doing this Yahveh shrank and faded, and lives on personally only in his Son, the man-God of the New Testament. Historicity is clung to so tenaciously because it strengthens the feeling that God is really man. This conviction safeguards man against the tendency to again dehumanize the Supreme Worth and thus again subject himself to an alien, extra-human control. The tenacity with which we cling to the historical ideal, when analyzed, really expresses the horror of the soul against regression to either the old superstitious belief in nature or animal gods or to the purely fictive superstitious orderers of human life. If we can only realize that a man embodying all the fulness of God once was actually born, lived, taught, and died, then we are safeguarded from the ever-haunting dangers of relapsing to the old and baser idolatries. Such a life means that the kingdom of man has actually come, and there is nothing higher. Without historicity this theorem lacks concrete demonstration.

Suppose, then, we regard historicity as an essential attribute of the Jesus-idea, which would be more or less mutilated without it, even though its proofs are not all that could be desired, so that we are a trifle less certain of it than we are, e. g., of Julius Caesar; should its pragmatic value not have weight in our decisions, and can we not allow it to do so without admitting the Jesuitic principle that the end justifies the means? We can at least plead the utter uniqueness of its supreme worth, and flout as impertinent the insistence of logic that to admit the pragmatic principle in one case would be to admit it in all, because of the difference in degree, both in certainty and in value involved. No one ever saw an ion, atom, or id, yet they are basal and integral for science, and so is historicity for both Christianity and its ethics. Must not the prepotent will to believe, which may have been intense enough to create the Gospels themselves, also be reckoned with by all who know

how rightly to evaluate the psychological forces which impel man to eternally reconstrue his history? The Jesus-idea had to be made a factual reality, as a psychological necessity of the folk-soul, because, if not thus conceived, so many trends that have their focus in his life would be more or less aborted. Deity would remain incompletely humanized, our conceptions of the Supreme would be superstitious, and the absolute still transcendent and not immanent. If the incarnation be a psychological and not also an historical fact, we are not redeemed from the old credulities of faith and the intussusception and atonement of God and man fall short of complete identification. Thus, while critical scholarship may have made it almost certain that he lived, a categorical imperative which we call faith, made out of hopes, wishes, ideals, and their momentum is also necessary before certainty can become cataleptic.

Why, then, do believers so intensely want Jesus to be historic? Partly because they cannot grasp him as the resultant of the play of psychic racial trends. The latter are too subtle and intangible, and the laws of their activity too little understood. In place of a spectrum cast by human experience whenever the conditions are met, they want a painted spectrum that can be shown at hand as in a text-book, otherwise Christ is as indefinite as thought without words or images. Again, Christianity from the start was social in a sense even more than it was individual, and this necessitated a system of objective symbols for sharing common thoughts, feelings, and actions, such as only a personality can make; for the appeal must be not merely to the imagination but to memory. Love, too, needs a real object, and the devotion of early Christians cannot be explained by myth or symbol, for such loyalty as theirs is impossible save toward a person. Had he been a fictive individual, too, it is inconceivable that the strength of the tendencies that created him would not have sought to complete the process by some image, effigy, or description of his person instead of ignoring every physical characterization and condemning likenesses of him. Whence came the great fear of idolatry of him if there were no real person in danger of being worshipped in portraiture, image, or in other material ways?

(4) Jensen, a professor of Semitic philology at Marburg, has with great ingenuity maintained the thesis that no such life as that which the Gospels ascribe to Jesus was ever actually lived by any one, and

that not only Jesus but Paul, Moses, to some extent Peter and others, are later variants of an ancient Babylonian set of sagas. The original epos was inscribed in cuneiform on tablets, chiefly in Nineveh, some 700 B. C., although the story can be traced back perhaps two thousand years; and this Jensen has edited, paraphrased, and commented on voluminously and in great detail.[1] This story he thinks is a composite of several yet earlier groups of myth, so that he calls it "the oldest in the world." Not only the various ancient story complexes, all indigenous to Babylonian culture, converge in it, but later from it diverge many offshoot stories, not only Hebraic but Greek (not Homer), and not only the Old but the New Testament is permeated by its influences. It or its *Absenker spukt* in or haunts the entire Bible, in many parts of which not only the episodes but the sequences, on which Jensen always lays great stress, are the same as or are recognizable variants from this one primal source. We find, therefore, many borrowings from this saga material, which gave many original patterns. Strauss believed there was a nuclear personality as a real historic centre which attracted much mythic material. Rich as his *thesaurus mythicus* was, and able and bold as he was, he shrank from the last step of making Jesus purely fictive, so that now some regard Jensen, as more do Drews, as a second Strauss, completing his work. Drews does not tell us with any definiteness how the figure of Jesus arose, as Jensen seeks to do (who, by the way, has almost no disciples, feeling that he alone can dethrone a false God, while Drews has many).

This "Gilgamesh Epos" as we now know it, thanks largely to Jensen, is in twelve tables and poems, cantos or stations. Perhaps some are connected with the twelve signs of the zodiac, the months, etc. It is certainly a monumental treasure-house for saga and religion, although there are many gaps in it, and doubtless some are out of order. But Jensen has been indefatigable and most ingenious in deciphering, piecing, ordering, and has at least convinced the world that we have here a great monument. The fate of the two heroes, Gilgamesh and Eabani, is the basis of all, and has attracted a mass of details and mythic lore from far and wide, some of which distract us from the main course of events and appear somewhat as foreign bodies not yet

---

[1]His original work is "Das Gilgamesch Epos in der Weltliteratur." Bd. 1, 1905. The original text is given in Bd. 6 of the "Keilinschriftlichen Bibliothek," in connection with the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Bd. 24. See also Otto Weber's "Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer." Jensen has made a popular statement of his methods and results in "Moses, Jesus, Paulus: drei Varianten des Babylonischen Gottmenschen Gilgamesch." Frankfurt, 1910, 64 p.

intussuscepted as in the case of the flood in Canto Eleven. Sometimes the connection of incidents is, despite Jensen's pains, loose and even unnatural, so that it still lacks unity, which some think astronomical considerations would give, although Jensen rejects these.

Jensen's thesis is that "the entire course of certain Babylonian sagas constitutes the main record in most of the Old Testament stories, and especially those of Jesus and Paul in the New, and that they repeat the events in these sagas in essentially the same sequence, so that a similar, or at least striking, parallelism occurs between the Old Testament stories and those of the New." Thus his main reliance is on long systems or series of parallel episodes.

We can best illustrate Jensen's theory by a glance at the first part of his epos and the parallelisms which he seeks to establish between this record and the life of Moses. Gilgamesh is a mighty hero, two thirds god and one third man. His rule almost crushes the ancient city of Erech in southern Babylonia. The work he requires is probably the rebuilding of the city walls, and the people are so oppressed by their task that their groans ascend to heaven. There the goddess Aruru, who made Gilgamesh, is commanded by the other gods to create an *Ebenbild* or rival, so that the city may breathe again; and accordingly Eabani is created, a wild-appearing, very strong man, whose entire body is covered with hair, who is clad in skins, who lives in the steppes and deserts with animals, whom he protects from hunters. He "does not know land or people, eats herbs and drinks with the cattle, and it is well with his heart." A hunter, antagonized by this protection of game, comes to Gilgamesh to complain, and it is finally proposed to lead Eabani astray as Parsifal was to have been seduced, by sending a joy-maiden from the city of Erech who gives herself to Eabani, in order to bring him to the city. The drinking potion they give him succeeds, and when he sees the maiden he approaches her and forgets his cattle; and when he is sated with her charms the cattle flee. This trait is poetically developed, showing that after naïve man has known woman his close communion with nature is lost. Jensen does not tell us whether this is an episode, although Weiss thinks it rather essential. Depressed by the flight of the animals formerly his friends, he allows himself to be conducted by his mistress to Erech, where he meets Gilgamesh, of whom he has heard that he was prepared for his advent by dreams and will become his friend and brother, share regal honours,

and mitigate his rigour to the people. The joy-maiden tells Eabani also that he is beautiful and must no longer live in the fields like a beast, and that she will bring him to a house of joy, which is a temple, and to the home of Anas and Ishtar, etc., that he needs a friend for his hurt. On entering the city, maidens greet him with songs of praise and lead him to the king, who goes out to meet him and celebrates friendship with him. Here ends the first table of some three hundred lines, of which only two hundred and thirty are preserved; but in the gap Jensen infers that Eabani vanished into the desert full of anger, hunger, and misery, although the sun-god called him to go back to Erech.

Of the second table there are only eighty-two lines intact. Jensen infers that the city goddess Ishtar has been carried away from Erech by the Elamites. We find Gilgamesh weeping over his friend Eabani, Jensen thinks because he did not like the city. Yet they fight the Elamites, kill the dreadful Chumbaba, and bring the city goddess back. The goddess now turns eyes of desire to the returning victorious king, but he repels her and reminds her of the misfortunes of her previous lovers, the last of whom, like Gilgamesh, had spurned and insulted her and thereafter had been made a "weakling" by her. Angered by this, Ishtar goes to heaven and accuses Gilgamesh to her father, Anu. She says he has cursed her, and so a bull is sent to punish him, but after a hard battle Gilgamesh triumphs. The son of God asks Eabani why he cursed the joy-maiden, who had given him health, glory, love, and the friendship of the king. After another gap in the text, Eabani dies. Smitten with the fear of death, and anxious to know whether eternal life is possible, Gilgamesh undertakes a long journey in the desert to his ancester, Xisuthros, the deified Babylonian hero of the flood, who has been made immortal. Wandering through Syrian deserts to the mount of heaven, he finds two scorpion giants, that prevent his passage through a dark city gate, which he finally passes, and later meets the goddess Siduri, the maiden of the mount of heaven, goddess of wisdom, who first unbolts the door to him. Xisuthros, the sailor and servant of the king, comes from his port in the far West, and at his command Gilgamesh cuts long trees and sails with him toward the setting sun. At first all goes well, but at last in the "waters of death" beyond Gibraltar the voyage becomes dangerous. The girdle of Gilgamesh is loose, ready for a leap into the sea (into which in many of the variant myths he does spring), but he finally learns to ask concerning life and

death. The answer is that all must die. How, then, he queries, had Xisuthros found eternal life, and in answer he is told the story of the flood. To escape this and reach his now divine lord, Eabani, and on the advice of this god, he builds a ship or ark and puts in it all his family and possessions, and all animals. In the great storm that turns the land into a sea, all else are drowned, but he lands on a mountain and makes his offerings. The god Bel does not want him or the others saved, but the god Eabani does, so that all are at last brought to the mouth of the stream where Eabani and other deities reside. Now pitying Gilgamesh, Xisuthros promises him immortality if he will go without sleep six days, but so hard is the journey that he falls asleep. Mystic loaves have been baked, and these are offered to atone for his sleeping; but he will no longer accept assurances of immortality, and laments that he must die, probably cursing the sailor for his misfortune and vowing never to return. After Gilgamesh has washed or regenerated his children and himself, thereby winning back his own beauty, he dives, at Xisuthros' command, deep down into the water, and brings up a marvellous cure which seems the elixir of life. Then, departing from these shores, he is robbed of the magic girdle by the serpent and laments, knowing that now he must abandon all hope of eternal life, but arriving at last on foot at Erech. As he realizes now that all must die, the bold wish arises that his friend Eabani may appear and tell him what he is to expect under the earth. After he has appealed to several gods, at last one hears him and Eabani's ghost arises and tells him of things beneath the earth. Here this episode closes, and we know nothing of Gilgamesh's further fortunes. But his wish for immortality is fulfilled in some wise, for he is represented as directing as a god, or as a proxy of the sun-god, the kings of earth. As to the seven plagues, they are a lion, a dragon, both of which were subjected, a wild dog, two plagues of hunger or famine, one of fever, and then another of hunger. Finally we hear that a strangling pestilence god, Ira, ravaged the land. This very rough outline is richly dight with incidents, some closely, some loosely connected, with these central themes.

To illustrate Jensen's method, let us glance at his use of parallel columns to show the relations between the items connected with the above and those of the life of Moses, e. g.: (1) The hard labour of building the city walls to which Gilgamesh subjected his people is like that of the Israelites in Egypt. (2) Eabani is in the desert with the

animals as Moses is as a shepherd of Midian. (3) To the former a girl comes to drink, as Zippora comes to Moses with the cattle at the fountain. (4) Eabani gives himself to the girl, as Moses marries Zippora. (5) Eabani goes with the girl to Erech as Moses does with Zippora to Egypt. (6) Gilgamesh's dreams are interpreted to mean Eabani and so Gilgamesh goes out to meet him, as God commands Aaron to meet Moses. (7) Eabani becomes a friend of Gilgamesh, as Moses does of Aaron. So in some twenty-five more main items Jensen finds coincident data which show the relation between the Babylonian saga and that of Moses, which he thinks nearly as close as the Babylonian story of the flood and that of Noah and with similar sequences of events. To be sure, there is much in the Moses-saga after his return from the desert that has no pendant in Gilgamesh's story, so that these items, like the Red Sea and the Sinai incidents, may be thought to be Israelitic and perhaps historic. But the plagues are similar, and Jensen very ingeniously finds counterparts between those in each legend. In the one God draws with a staff on the heavens at his feet a great water-snake as Yahveh makes Moses throw down his staff and it becomes a serpent. As the Lord of Heaven commands Gilgamesh to kill the lion of the plague, so Yahveh orders Moses to free the people from the yoke of Pharaoh. The blood of the great lion flows three years, three months, and a day, as all the waters of Egypt became blood and the hero who frees the people from these plagues becomes hero of the world, as Moses does of his people. The white dog Jensen interprets as dog gnats in Moses' time and in place of drouth, famine, and disease the plagues of Moses were hail and grasshoppers. Here he finds some twenty other points of resemblance, including the motivation of the law at Sinai, which came from Babylon. Yahveh's strife with Jacob and Elijah's flight to heaven, are connected with Jesus' Ascension, etc. From such items Jensen concludes that the part of Moses' history that remains isolated is slight and uncertain even if it does contain historical kernels, and he argues that what is true of the Aaron-Moses is "true of numberless other Israelitic sagas which go back to the Babylonian cycle as their prototype." He goes on to prove that we have very little that is historical of the patriarchs or of Joshua, Gideon, Samson, Saul, Samuel, David, Nathan, and Jonathan for these and their characteristic incidents are mostly from the Gilgamesh saga, and even Elisha and Elijah do almost nothing outside its

scheme, but are essentially marionette figurines transferred to the Israelitic stage. The glory of Solomon is probably a reflex of that of Assyria, and perhaps even the scheme of dynasty changes, so that the derivatives and branches of this old saga permeate the whole Israelitic soul. It is the *Ursage* of the most diverse culture elements in very different lands, and save the "Iliad" the whole Greek system of myths comes from it, and so is in a sense cousin to the Israelitic tales.

The incidents of Jesus' life are a sister saga; and here, too, we are given tables. In the Old Testament Elias appears first east of the Jordan, just as John does at the beginning of the Jesus-tale. The former is hairy, with a girdle of leather; ravens bring him food. So John wears camel's hair and a leathern girdle and eats locusts and wild honey. Elias anoints Elijah as John baptizes Jesus. Both go into the desert. Elias and Jesus both fast forty days and nights in the wilderness. Elias censures Ahab for killing Naboth, as John does Herod for his evil deeds. Isebel, Ahab's wife, hates Elias as Herodias does John. Elias becomes beside himself, and John dies. Elijah feeds one hundred men with twenty loaves and a residue, which parallels the feeding of five thousand with five loaves and two fishes with a residue. Elijah raises the son of a Shulamite after Elias cannot do it, and so Jesus heals the demoniac boy after his disciples fail. The rich Naaman comes to Elijah to be made well but does not fulfil the conditions, and this is like the rich youth who comes to Jesus but lacks the one thing needful. And so on through a series of incidents, until finally a dead man placed in Elisha's grave revives just as Jesus does. Here we have not a systemless scheme, but a long series with identical sequences. Elisha goes to heaven and sends back his spirit, as Jesus does. Thus, says Jensen, "the greater part of the Jesus-John stories are *sagenhaft*," and as the sagas are of ancient origin so Jesus goes back to Babylon. Following the first three Gospels before the entry into Jerusalem, at the outset of the Gilgamesh saga the gods command Eabani to be made by a miracle, and so Jesus' birth is supernatural. Eabani lives in the wilderness with animals, is hairy, eats grass and herbs, as John does locusts and honey. Gilgamesh dreams of a star and a ruler of heaven stronger than he, and John prophesies of the coming of one greater. Eabani goes to the desert and is comforted by words from heaven, like Jesus. The great lion and snake are to be overcome, just as God's kingdom is to fill the earth and Jesus come in

the clouds. The conjuring of the dragon is like the driving out of demons. The plague or fever and the prayer of Xisuthros for the suffering man are like Simon Peter's wife's mother, sick of a fever, whom Jesus cures. Xisuthros builds a ship for emergencies, as Jesus prepares a boat. The former goes with his friends, as Jesus does to the boat, a storm arises, and both land far from home. Sinful man and animals are drowned while in the Gospels two thousand swine perish in the sea. In the following items we have Jesus' ascent of the mountain; the Phoenician woman; the passage of the disciples across the sea, smooth at first, with the storm following, from which they are saved by Jesus; the first announcement of his death; the "Get thee behind me, Satan"; the command to catch fish; the incident of the rich man—these are other parallels. We have also indirect data to confirm and supplement this conclusion. The Last Supper of Jesus with his disciples has a close counterfoil in the last sacrificial meal of Xisuthros, which before his removal he offers to the gods, although it is not certain that Jesus' Ascension is a correlate of Moses vanishing in the clouds or of Azariah vanishing in God according to the Tobit saga. Now the differences between the Fourth Gospel and the other three are sometimes even greater than those between the ancient incidents and those of Jesus, all being mythic. John, although departing a little further from the common basis in some respects, in others preserves the old saga material even better than the synoptists. The coin in the fish's mouth has its antique parallel in the fishing out of the water of the wondrous cure. Luke's story of the rich man and Lazarus plays upon that of Eabani's citation for Gilgamesh, although he departs so far from the model that Jesus himself is made to tell it as if it were a story without relation to himself, though it was originally a part of his legend.

Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem begins a part of the Jesus-saga that has a very old place in both the Israelitic and the Gilgamesh sagas and is a reflex of a part of the Chumbaba episode, that is, his trip to Jerusalem, his betrayal, his capture by armed men. Jesus' death, on the other hand, represents many fragments, often out of order. Jesus' saying before the high priest, the false witnesses, the accusation of blasphemy, the condemnation, as counterpart to the slandering of Naboth by false witnesses because he would not subject himself to the will of Ahab, the old stories indicating that he cursed

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN

God and the king: all this Jensen connects with the story that after Gilgamesh appeals to the conscience of the goddess Ishtar and scorns her love, that is, refuses to be subject to her will, he is falsely accused of having cursed her. Here, indeed, we have perhaps more Gilgamesh than Jesus. In Jerusalem Jesus heals a patient who has sinned. This draws on him the hate of the Jews, as does his breaking of the Sabbath, by which he offends God and yet he calls himself his Son, and so is thought a blasphemer. So Gilgamesh insults the goddess, becomes sick, is accused of blasphemy because he curses Ishtar. Thus we have counterparts.

Thus Jensen concludes that the whole Jesus story, not only in its general course but its episodes, is, for the most part at least, saga, built upon a very ancient pattern, and that we really know "as good as nothing" of the life of the founder of Christianity or "just as little as we do of the putative founder of the Mosaic religion." We must not mix the authorship of the sayings of Jesus with the life course assigned to him. Indeed, the sayings John ascribes to him have very little in common with those the synoptics put in his mouth. Perhaps there is more divergence as to sayings than as to the course of events. This inclines Jensen to believe that the sayings ascribed to Jesus did not originate from the man who is said to have lived his life, which indeed no one ever did anywhere. Perhaps the sayings pertaining to saving or losing life do go back to the "Gilgamesh Epos." But most of the great synoptic sayings of Jesus have nothing in common with the Gilgamesh saga and so cannot be speeches of an historic Jesus. Where, how, and when this Jesus lived we know not, and indeed it makes little difference. The very name is suspicious, since it designates the mythic bearer of the Jesus-saga. All goes back to this first Jesus, and may or may not be traced to him who said the words ascribed to Jesus. Their author must perhaps remain for us *vox et praeterea nihil.*

Jensen even makes the chief events in the life of Paul fit into his general scheme, and so infers that he, too, is at least largely mythic, being related to both the Gilgamesh and the Jesus-John sagas. He discusses whether the Jesus-story was first developed and then transferred to Paul, or whether the latter was a *Doppelgänger* or doublet that grew up independently from the older source. He concludes that the Pauline epistles were written not by the Paul of Acts but by some gifted man who held the Pauline ideas, but whose very nationality is

unknown. The parallels, based chiefly on Paul's early persecution of the Jews, his conversion and his missionary trips, while interesting and ingenious, are hardly convincing. There is little in common, e. g., between the flood, the voyages of Gilgamesh, Paul's missionary journey, and Jesus sailing in a boat, all of which he identifies. Moreover, does a series of such similarities in the lives of different individuals indicate that the latter are not real?

Now, in evaluating Jensen's views, we should not forget that he has done a great work in collecting, editing, and bringing into more or less unity these antique inscriptions, thus restoring to the world a great epic of high cultural significance, which sheds much new light upon the Old Testament, in the composition of parts of which it must have had great influence. Of the value of this work only experts can speak, and even those who reject his mythic theories, as nearly all of them do, have high praise for this. I can, however, find no one of them who admits without very important reservations that Jensen has really succeeded in reducing the main events of Jesus' life to the congeries of incidents recorded on the Nineveh tablets.

On the other hand, to be just to Jensen we must realize that one chief function of a great epos, whether racial or national, when it becomes a kind of ethnic Bible, is to provide a repertory of tropes, images, and thought-forms by which to apprehend the world of human events. Such an epos gives unity and sympathetic *rapport* between all the individuals of the social group, however large. Especially is this true if, as Jensen assures us is the case with the "Gilgamesh Epos," it was indigenous and grew up within the folk-soul, and was not itself either historic or imported from an alien race. The characters and their doings in such an epos would constitute a common core for both religious rites and modes of apprehending the universe, and they would pervade all of life, their unity, or lack of it, rather exactly reflecting that of the people within the sphere of their influence.

Under these conditions there would be an ineluctable tendency to use the chief features of the epos as apperception organs by means of which to grasp, and its very phrases as the readiest and most effective vehicles of describing, current incidents and contemporary leaders, which would thus seem to be attracted into a similarity with its standards in speech, thought, and even sentiment, of each of which such a canon would furnish a convenient and ready-made collection. Thus

ancient gods were the norms for the apotheosis of great men, and thus, too, in later times the Puritans of, e. g., Cromwell's day, used biblical and especially Old Testament events and passages to interpret occurrences of their own time, almost as if the latter had been pre-written. Thus history in the making tends to be cast into old moulds, which may themselves be mythical although the events are real enough, and ancient story may come to be a kind of dictionary of thought-forms and patterns which it is most convenient to use to interpret later events. A French student of the drama has lately told us that there are only thirty-six fundamental dramatic situations and motifs, and that each of these has recurred over and over again, not only in comparative literature but in life. But if I do however many things myth has symbolized or more exactly described, I do not thereby become myself a myth. Indeed, human life consists of diversified variations on a very few themes. Not only would the real deeds of heroes tend to fall into preëxisting grooves, but those who describe them and their doers would be predisposed to push similarities with mythic and ideal personages to the uttermost, and this would be especially the case if their characterizations were poetic rather than bald chronicle, for poetry in its very nature is archaic, appealing to the oldest emotional strata of the soul. This tendency would be all the stronger the loftier the theme, or the greater the men and deeds, and the more sacred and current the canon it describes. Thus it is the apexes of human life and achievement which more strongly tend to conform, when conserved in folk-lore or literature, to old models, and indeed to conserve and reincarnate the past. If real persons really do the selfsame things that mythic beings did, they do not thereby themselves become mythic. To take an extreme case, Max Müller tells us that the germinal phrase "Selene loves Endymion" means etymologically that the moon loves the setting sun, and that this phrase is the point of departure of all the love tales amplified in ancient lore concerning these two. But it is conceivable that a real woman bearing the first might love a man bearing the second name without either of them thereby paling into myth. Indeed, no one can avoid saying and doing things, perhaps every day, that mythic characters are supposed to have said and done; and eulogists and biographers in primitive time, with their paucity of tropes and images, could hardly help using these in characterizations and descriptions.

There have been in modern times two chief groups of theories for

the explanation of myth. The first is that it originated in descriptions of the phenomena of nature, as many of them certainly did. But much that is historic can also be told in terms of solar phenomena. The sun rises, sets, determines light and darkness, storm or clearness, shoots rays afar, fights with cloud monsters, presides over rain, snow, hail, lightning, summer's heat and winter's cold. Many of the most typical things in any human life can be told in such terms. Stimulated, perhaps, by Whately's "Historic Doubts Relative to Napoleon Bonaparte" (1819), who tries to turn a point of Hume and other critics for evidence of the existence of Jesus and of miracles, Pérès (1861) attempted to expose a grand erratum in his "The Non-Existence of Napoleon Proved," which is a clever and effective satire on the mythic solar theory, then in its heyday. He reminds us that the word Apollo means exterminator, and the prefex "ne" or "n" is intensive. Napoleon was the scourge of Europe as the arrows of the angry Apollo were of the army of Agamemnon. Apollo, who all agree is a solar hero, kills by heat. The word "Bonaparte" of course means the good or light part of the day, as opposed to the *mala* part, which would be the night, so both names are solar. Apollo was born at Delos, an island in every way related to Greece much as Corsica was to France. Pausanias says the Egyptians worshipped Apollo. This is confirmed because their descendants thought Napoleon supernatural. His mother's name was Letitia, and Apollo's mother's was Leto, both meaning "joy." The modern Apollo's four brothers were the four seasons that reigned by grace of the sun. Napoleon had two wives, evidently the moon and the earth, and like his classical paradigm he had a son by only one of his wives. He was born March twentieth, as we should expect, the period of the vernal equinox. Napoleon is said to have ended the scourge of the French revolution, that darkest of hours, precisely as Hercules slew the hydra and Apollo the python, the very word "revolution" suggesting snaky coils. Napoleon had twelve marshals like the twelve signs of the zodiac, heads of the celestial host. His armies triumphed in the South but were defeated in the cold North. Napoleon rose in the East, i. e., was born in Corsica, achieved his fame in Egypt, and when his day was done, he set in the Western isle of Elba in the sea. His battles were those of the sun with clouds, etc.

The other method of myth interpretation, just now in vogue in certain quarters, has a well-developed set of symbols by which it can

resolve about all the phenomena of life into sex. As in the day of the solar theory everything straight was a sunbeam, so now it is male, and as then everything curved was the disc of the sun or moon, now all but straight lines are female. By other symbols any series of events in any life can be resolved into sex phenomena. Even the death and Resurrection of Jesus, it has been thought, could be explained as an elaborated and highly sublimated sex story.

It is chiefly the later incidents in his career, or the Jesus who died and rose (which appears to be about all Paul knew that Jesus did), which fails to fit into Jensen's antique pattern. It might be urged, too, that Jesus first brought the answer to Gilgamesh's quest for immortality, and so supplements and completes rather than parallels it. Admitting, as we may, many, if not most, of the parallels between Jesus' life and Old Testament incidents, and possibly some slight homogeneity of plan between the early part of Jesus' career and that of his putative prototype, such parallels become fewer and less significant as the Gospel narrative proceeds, and its finale is most of all without antique analogy, so that nearly all of Jensen's suggestions appear to be a tissue of over-clever fancies. I doubt whether any poised lay mind, comparing his version of the Babylonian epic with the Gospels, would be convinced that there is a single point in which the influence of the ancient tale upon the Jesus-story has more than a faint degree of probability. As to Jesus' life as a whole, Jensen admits that many Gospel events fall in the hiatuses in his epic. In others the correlation is strained or requires variation or supplementation of what is actually recorded in one or the other story or often in both. Again, he has little to say about the relative importance of the different incidents, to which he gives no perspective, and some of these happenings are trivial in themselves and others non-essential to the record (e. g., both went up a hill into a boat, into a city, met a woman, etc.). There are many essentials in the one narrative that are either barely touched upon or else entirely omitted in the other. With the same ingenuity a system of correspondence, we believe even more striking, could be made out between the careers of Jesus and Hercules, Apollo, Mithra, and perhaps even Æneas, King Arthur, and others. It has been said that clever apologists can reason anything into or out of the Bible, in which even contemporary inventions are said to have been foreshown. Mythology is still more slippery, and its method of treatment has often been still

more fantastic. Here almost anything on Jensen's view can be or mean anything else. Jesus must be something less spectral than the ghost of a hero, himself only fabled, stalking through Galilee at a period midway between the day of Gilgamesh and our own.

Yet more fatal to his theory is Jensen's failure to account for the sayings of Jesus. These he leaves impersonal and anonymous. In the mouth of his heroes they would be utterly out of character and impossible, nor do they belong to a being made so much in the image of Gilgamesh as is Jensen's Jesus. Thus the problem of how the sayings came to be ascribed to the Gospel-Jesus is both new and unsolvable, and if the historic Jesus did not utter them, then who did? Whoever did must have been a remarkable personage and what has become of him? If the words assigned to our Gospel-Jesus were not spoken by him because there never was such a person, and if they are not words direct from heaven, might or should we now go to work to attempt a psychological or other reconstruction with a view to discover, or invent if we cannot discover, another personage fitter to say such things, in order to fill the vast gap made by the mythification of the one who has been supposed to have uttered them? If so, how must our new author differ from the old? Or shall we rest in the agnostic position concerning him, which seems to content Jensen? Could art perhaps give us the Jesus that the sayings require? Have we here a new and vaster problem like the Baconian authorship of the plays we thought written by the deer-poaching bard of Avon? The Christian world has always been impressed by the great disparity between the different sayings of Jesus on different occasions, which are sometimes hard to reconcile. If, therefore, we have to find or make a new author of them, might we not do well to devise either a dual personality or a Dioscurian pair of Jesuses, so that the aggressive teachings of the New Testament could be assigned to the one and the more passive utterances to the other? One of these might be made fitter to worship in war and the other in peace. Joint authorship, which is often alternative, would clear up some difficulties, and the redundant duplication of the second person of the Trinity would surely be better than to accept the vacancy Jensen would make in it.

Finally, even where myths cross geographic or even ethnic boundaries, names are very prone to persist, and are often, indeed, the chief means of identification, but from this large field of the etymology of

persons or places there is nothing in Jensen. Again, many of the similarities that Jensen stresses are sufficiently accounted for by the bottom identity of human nature, the basal theme of which we are all variations. Here, too, once more, history and saga do not necessarily exclude each other. Again, although great dissimilarities between two series of events do not always exclude intimate relationships, they certainly must be accounted for. This Jensen not only fails to do but confessedly disregards diversities and focusses solely on similarities.[1]

Suppose our Jesus should be really dissolved into symbol or volatilized into myth. Is Christianity thereby bankrupt? Would the Rock of Ages crumble into sand and faith be proven a delusion? By no means. It would signify rather that the Church and religion with all their treasures had completed their second cycle and were entering upon a third higher dispensation. It would mean a new era such as La Garde exhorted the world to strive for, when the artist should come to his rights as against scholars, theologians, philosophers, and even scientists; an era in which we must sensualize the intellectual and spiritual rather than the converse, on which latter, especially since the Renaissance, man has been so intent. Instead of making our thought processes abstract we must make them imaginal, as they surely were during the long ages before logic caught the teemingly exuberant creative imagination in its net and made it a tame, domestic beast of burden to fetch and carry at its behest.

All we know of psychogenesis impels us to believe that there was a time near the dawn of history when psychic activity was vastly more intense and thought more vivid; when the soul let itself go with abandon and with no regard to the awful repressions imposed by the ideal of consistency; when each individual had as many minds as he had moods; when mentation partook of many of the same traits we now see in the psychology of mobs; when individuals habitually thought, felt, and acted in masses; when imagination was the dominant function of the soul and was creating language, myth, religion, rites, mysteries,

---

[1] S. J. Case: "The Historicity of Jesus." 1912, 352 p. F. E. Conybeare: "The Historical Christ." 1914, 435 p. D. M. Kähler: "Gehört Jesus in das Evangelium." 1901, 38 p. J. Weiss: "Jesus von Nazareth, Mythus oder Geschichte." 1910, 171 p. O. Holtzmann: "Christus." 1907, 118 p. J. Weiss and Geo. Gutzmacher: "Die Geschichtlichkeit Jesu." 1910, 30 p. Best of all, although he has little to say specifically about Jesus, see, as the most general survey of the subject, Wendt's three volumes on Mythus und Religion in his "Völkerpsychologie." Bd. I, 1905, 617 p.; II, 1906, 481 p.; III, 1909, 792 p., particularly the last volume, p. 593 to the end. The keenest intellect in this general field, and perhaps the most original and productive, is J. G. Frazer, especially in the eleven volumes of "The Golden Bough," particularly the volumes entitled "The Dying God," "Taboo," "The Scapegoat." A. Dieterich: "Hat Jesus gelebt?" 1910, 93 p. H. Weinel: "Ist das liberale Jesusbild wiederlegt?" 1910, 111 p. F. Steudel: "Im Kampf um die Christusmythe." 1910, 119 p. Zimmern; "Zum Streit um die Christusmythe." 1910. G. R. S. Mead: "Did Jesus Live 100 years B. C.?" 1903, 440 p. See also H. G. Voigt: "Die Geschichte Jesu und die Astrologie." 1911, 225 p. H. Weinel: "Jesus im 19ten Jahrhundert." 1904, 315 p. A. Jülicher: "Hat Jesus gelebt?" 1910, 37 p.

and the cardinal social institutions; when man was evolving tools and weapons, was just subduing or even exterminating the great carnivora that disputed his dominion of the globe, was fashioning tribal deities, and creating the whole transcendent world of souls, heavens, hells, and gods. Thought was in pictures; metaphors were as real as things. History, however, when its age came later, made man self-conscious, and then culture, laws, morals, industrialism, oppressed his spirit and he became afraid chiefly of what was within himself, until now he is so domesticated by civilization that there remain only vestiges of his original creativeness, and the old, gamy flavour of the wild can hardly be detected in his life. No wonder, therefore, that man has long felt himself fallen from a higher estate. He has come naturally to feel his present life dull, colourless, drab, without great incentives to great deeds, without supreme hopes or mortal fears.

In religion especially, man has grown passive, almost to the point of masochism. Dogma fetters his mind, convention his heart and life, and if he is saved it is done for him by an alien, outside power. Protestantism has stripped religion of all its beauty, while Puritanism robbed it of its joy. In secular life we seek to forget it, while science, its own child, is estranged from if not actively hostile toward it. Its cheerfulness is chipper and falsetto. Its creeds are clung to by an arbitrary will to believe, with penalties for failure to do so, and religious feeling, if cultivated at all, is as an exotic if not as an artifact. God and another life are a far cry. The clergy are rhapsodists and sentimentalists, or else sophists. They are never abreast of scholarship in their own field, and hence are timid and half-hearted in their faith, or else they preach with paralyzing reservations. Their education is handicapped with more limitations and inferiorities than that which qualifies for any other calling.

But now comes a new tocsin. Religion and all that it has and is, its God, Bible, churches, creeds, are not from without but from within. All its commands are the exhortations from out of the depths of the soul of the race to the individual to better himself and his estate. All its interdictions are man's own self-restriction which he has imposed upon his impulses. The deities he worships are his own creation, not he theirs. His soul in its positive creative era was more fecund and originative than he has ever dared to dream. It had a dynamic, magic power that it has quite forgotten. The inspiration of the situation

that, if these things are true, now supervenes, is that if faith has lost its objects, it can re-create them by resuming again the lost power it once had. If it made a great synthesis at the dawn of our era and then translated it into a drama so matchless, so moving, and with such compelling verity, it can revive this energy and exercise it again. If indeed Christianity is the aesthetic masterpiece of the individual and collective soul working together for generations, we can realize that it was the glory of that age that it could make history out of myth rather than *vice versa*. We must turn about and do what that age of great artists did in the highest of all fields. Original spontaneity must come again in the world. The essence of religion is active and constructive, and not merely receptive. Painting, sculpture, poetry, statuary, architecture, story, pageantry, drama, have all been inspired by the Christian story. But the fact that it itself is simply a product of the work of geniuses of a higher order is only now being grasped. How well these great creators and fashioners of yore did their work we see in the manifold secondary inspirations that have during all these centuries emanated from it. All that went before converged to a focus in it and all since has diverged from this same point. Now it needs a new infusion of blood from the forces of modern paganism and secularity just as the latter in olden times were made to contribute the best that was in them to the faith of the Church. A cross-fertilization between religious and lay life is the tonic that both now sorely need. Each will have to save the other if there be salvation for either. To this end we need new masters of appeal to the imagination. Religion ought to supply not only energy, but inspiration and even pageantry, to social, civic, political, industrial reforms. It should teach us how to invest peace with some of the fascinating glories of war, and make great causes and movements for race betterment militant; give them slogans, ideals, escutcheons, music, processions, enthusiasms, and infect them with *esprit de corps* and ambitions to win the admiration of the world. It should consolidate all the powers that make for righteousness which in our communities are now too often detached from religion and from each other. Its rhythm should throb through them all, and the ideal of the superman should be definitized and made real again as the patron and inspirer of all. The ideal languishes if it is not fitly tenanted in forms of art, and the art of all arts is the apotheosis of true human nature; for this art really dominates ethics, education,

hygiene, science itself, and indeed every form of culture and every type of service.

In the golden natal age of Christianity, Jews, Greeks, barbarians, and those of the most diverse ethnic stocks fell into cadenced step, and not only every nation but every cult—Mithra, Attis, Dionysus, and the rest—contributed their own partial components to a complex of symbols solemnly set forth in more and more impressive forms, celebrating the supreme themes of life, death, and revival. When nations fell, Christianity remained the tie that bound the most heterogeneous elements together. Our age supremely needs a new and revised version of the meaning of life, service, and death as a bond of solidarity, also to cadence the soul of man anew in its march onward to a new kingdom of man. We need a re-statement of the doctrine of human nature, destiny, good and evil, pleasure and pain; a new touch with the heart of the cosmos; a new loyalty to it; a transvaluation of worths, with a truer perspective. We need to feel again the sympathy of all religions with each other as well as with every form of culture. We need a revised Bible or Classic of classics, containing the best that the Divine has ever said to man or done through him, a grand synthesis of the countless, morselized spontaneities that have lost sight of each other; not only a science of sciences, as philosophy once aspired to be; not merely a synthesis of departments such as a university and academy have sought to be; not merely an association of all charities and corrections, or a clearing-house of civic, political, social reform, or bureaus of industry—yet all these may hearten us as steps toward the new age.

But to expect any such unity as the Church once aspired to, despite the many trends in this direction, is vain and can never occur again. The highest unity man can ever evolve, the most perfect synthesis of all the diverse elements of culture, always has and always will have to be the concept of a type personality, rightly oriented in all these fields, which, whether consciously or unconsciously, profoundly concerns and touches every life. Our superman must be eugenic, euthenic, an ideal *socius*, wise, free, intuitive, responding aright not only to all the emergencies of life, but to those experiences that are common to all. In a word, he illustrates how the *genus homo* enters life, learns, grows, acts, strives, feels, thinks, meets joy and sorrow and even death ideally; and his story will also show us how Mansoul would respond to the spectacle of such a life. Art, fiction, poetry, drama, edu-

cation, morals, politics, social organizations, and every department of human culture and industry should idealize its processes and its products. As ancient life had its deities and muses, and its games and festivals were always forms of service to some god; as the Middle Ages had their patron saint for every age, each sex, each great crisis or typical event in life, which presided over it, to which appeal could be made and from which help could be expected, so every step now toward idealizing each situation and vocation is a step toward the slow redintegration and regeneration of religion. The genus of which all these ideals are the species will be the Christ of the new age. How much this new incarnation of the human spirit will differ from the old we can only conjecture. Even if the forms of the symbols change, the fundamental meaning can never be very different. That the true overman will be much on the same general pattern as the old is as certain as that the human soul is fundamentally the same in all times and places. It is certain, too, that such a reborn and regenerated God-man must be one personality and not, like Brahma, Zeus, Thor, etc., metamorphosed into different forms, each expressive of a different attribute. He must be at the same time more unified and more polymorphic in character, with a wide range of moods from sad to joyous, from tenderness and fear to anger. He must be active and passive, each to a high degree, and his soul will have to be a battle-ground between light and darkness, good and evil, with the former always triumphant. This will make him seem to be invested with the maximal degree of reality. He will appear more human than any individual man has ever yet been. He will be at all times intensely conscious, but for the most part will live by spontaneous unconscious impulsions which will seem like a higher, alien and parental power; and so, because each essential trait of man in him may break forth in turn with abandon in his life-history, he will seem generally half possessed or ecstatic, and to future generations he will come to seem a baffling paradox until it is understood that personality means a synthesis of elements too manifold and diverse ever to be completely harmonized.

Thus, just as in the first chapter we suggested to the artist, in the absence of authentic portraits of Jesus, certain ideals that should always be normative in the portrayal of his physical personality, so we can now suggest to the future Christologist certain specifications which in the growing uncertainty of Jesus' historic reality should characterize

the inevitable reconstructions of the psyche of the totemic overman as follows:

(1) He must live from within outward, by autistic impulsion. He must express the species more than the individual, the generic or typical rather than the specific, and stand for the eternal nature of man. As Helmholtz was the first to show that we thrill most before a work of art that reveals the least trace of conscious purpose, which springs irresistibly from the subconscious depths of the soul, and thus makes us realize that basal humanity is sound to the core, so the new-old Jesus should represent the impulsion of the race that still drives us onward and upward by the same everlasting nisus that has made man out of the troglodyte or even the amphioxus.

(2) His life-history should typify at every essential point the eternal moral struggle in the soul between the excelsior motivations and the baser animal propensities that tend to arrest and regression, and should show forth representative phases of the conflicts of altruism with egoism. To make this completely objective the power of evil should also be personified, for without devils as their counterfoil the moral deities tend to fade. This antithesis is best described in the literature of the preceding chapter (2).

(3) Such a personality must be complex and composite to a degree which our present narrow conceptions of selfhood as a finished unity can never grasp. Every ego is a congeries or at best a symbiosis of many subordinate egoes, a system in which the constitutive elements always tend to break from their orbit, or a republic or monarchy in which the units ever tend to revolt and set up for themselves, as is illustrated all the way from henotheism to multiple personality. In an ideal person, however, this is at once with utter abandon to the exigencies of the present situation, mood, or idea, and also with a healthful power of ambivalent rebound or compensative response to the opposite incitement. Thus only are the inhibitions that repress our lives escaped. The heart and the unconscious are beyond logical consistency. Thus there must be extremes of pleasure alternating with those of pain, with immunity from the danger of being permanently dominated by either. There are boundless aggressiveness and self-assertion, as if the momentum of all creative evolution were behind and giving authority to acts and words; but this must freely alternate with a humility and utter passivity, no less unreserved, which may

take the form of a sense of inferiority, incompleteness, and limitation, and which make for docility and resignation to fate or the will of the universe. Thus there must be a unity of *das ewige Männliche* and *das ewige Weibliche*, both a consenting unto death and a regal affirmation of the will to live. Such a unipersonal synthesis of opposites gives assurance that there is in us the power of resiliency from depression, of atonement or regeneration from every psychic trauma.

(4) Such a life must explore and illustrate in all directions the higher powers of man. It must always be and seem more or less impassioned, erethic, inspired, and more intense, vital, potentialized, than ordinary levels of humanity know. Every appeal of the here and now incites the maximal response. Every occasion is met and its possibilities exhausted. Every object and event is sublimated to its highest symbolic meaning and stands forth, while the commonest things are interpreted on the highest plane and are made into parable or symbol of something behind and above, unseen save by the eye illuminated by the spirit. Every typical experience is treated as if it were oracular and had a muse presiding over it. This means vision, a touch, but not too much, of ecstasy, a tiptoe attitude of expectation and growing hope which, though profiting by the past, is yet more intent upon a far vaster future. It means also hypnotic sensibility balanced with ineluctable certainty of conviction or a compulsion by dictates from within.

(5) A Jesus evolved by the artistic projection of the religious soul of man would be perennially in his prime. The mature world cares less for childhood or senescence than it does for human nature in the acme of its power, when the burden and the mystery of the great *autos* have been profoundly felt, and the age for grappling with its problems with plenitude of manly energy has fully come, before there is any trace of waning. There must be a balancing and overlapping of the best enthusiasms, intuitions, and energies of youth with the highest wisdom of age, a unique fusion of adolescence and senescence. This is the glory of man's estate and the apex of the trajectory we call life, where past and future most typically celebrate their union.

(6) Such a life must realize as far as possible all ideals, so that in accepting it the wishes of man's childhood will be realized. The old formula for this is the union of the divine and human. When we say the transcendent became immanent we mean that old dreams of what

occurred in the remote past or in the childhood of myth, which are its day-dreams, must and do come true in the palpitating here and now. It is an epoch to feel that what was thought above is in fact within us. As departure from the *devoir présent* is often the chief characteristic of psychoneurosis, so the intensification of concentration on the present is the highest sanity. The resumption of gods back into the soul of man from which they, their cults and Bibles, sprang, and from which they have been alienated, is the central psychological fact of which all tales and doctrines of incarnation are only symbols, and of which the philosophy of idealism, which teaches the subjectivization of the objective, and which has commonly but wrongly been thought since Berkeley to apply primarily to the outer physical world, is really valid. It is only in the realm of religion that we can truly say of all its objects that their *esse est percipi*. But it is precisely this that the doctrine that the divine took the form of flesh and became man really means. If incarnation is not a kenosis, its work of resumption is unfinished; mankind still lacks its *goru*, totem, or supreme culture-hero. In that case the Christology of the theanthropic soul is not yet fully understood, and the new Jesus is not yet accomplishing his saving work.

Ritschl proposed and Sabatier adopted the term "symbo-feidism," urging that all religious doctrines were figurative. Ritschl's pupils, Kaftan and Hermann, went much further and almost reduced theology to epistemology, and thought that even science could not give us the highest knowledge. The latter is really and only moral, and is thus above history, being more true and real than any factual happenings. Thus here we must always distinguish form and content, *nomina* from *noumena*, the cosmic from the moral order. Piety, they said, is the cult of what ought to be. Wellshausen thought the first sin was forbidden knowledge or rather desiring a kind of knowledge that could subsist without doing. Höffding conceives religion as concerned with the conservation of values, as science is a study of conservation of energies. For him we can never truly know these two "inseities" but must always feel them or else suffer "athumia." The fall was not an allegory but a working substitute for history, etc.

Whence comes this strange "feidism" to symbols, despite the fact that they are felt to be somewhat nominalistic and phenomenal (as, e. g., the Trinity and Incarnation), and in fact are so to the extent that man may be religious without holding to them in any pre-

scribed form? The answer to this question will be found in the further correlation of the results of archaeological excavations and critical and antiquarian research that have restored so much that had escaped history with the psychic excavations that are now revealing the unconscious subsoil of the human soul. J. C. Todd, in "Politics and Religion of Ancient Israel" (1904), says suppose that by, e. g., 5000 A. D., all the literature and history of England were lost, and its very existence known only by Scottish allusions, the latter country being known. Suddenly England is unearthed and its literature restored. There would be parties, new insights, and a vast and larger perspective. Substitute now our Bible for Scotland and Assyria for England, and we have the rival claims of Bible and Babel, to use Delitzsch's catchy phrase. So, too, Sayce, e. g., in both his Gifford and Hibbert Lectures, shows in the same way that both Judaism and Christianity rest upon a vaster and older Egyptian background (first outlined by Maspero). He urges that centuries before Abraham both Assyria and Egypt were full of scribes, libraries, and teachers, and even calls the age of Abraham "almost as literary an age as our own." J. C. Oman ("Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India," 1903) shows the prevalence and intensity of religious cults, asceticism, penance, the earliest and most universal expression of true ethical religion, in India and Aryan lands. He tells us of gods who practised self-torture to exalt themselves, and how by self-immolation a man may rise to deity; of devotees who cut off, cook, and eat their own flesh in a frenzy inspired by the passion for greater purity. Thus, indeed, man may rise even above the gods, despite their jealousy.

Now psychogenesis postulates that as Scotland in Todd's simile above would be related to and explained by the rediscovery of lost England, so ancient Assyria, Egypt, and India, are related to the immeasurable prehistoric period that has lately been revealed to scholars. That is, back of these new vistas into antiquity we glimpse a far greater age almost as unknown to scholarship to-day as the days that preceded classical and biblical antiquity were a century ago. It is here that the keys of their cults are found. The records of this vast submerged probationary age of man are not material, save the lithic and skeletal remains, but psychoneural. They are found in interests, *Einstellungen*, attitudes, and affectivities which became objectified in myths, rites, and customs that were old when Nineveh and Memphis were fishing

villages. They survive in us as ethnic determining tendencies that compel *Stellungsnahmen* and make indifference to everything in this field impossible. It is vestiges of these sunken ages in us that still keep alive preposterous myths as if they were precious and veritable history. Some of them are old as the Glacial Age, are psychic petrifactions that go back to our forbears in the cave and perhaps the trees. No doubt woofs of fact were woven into the warp of fancy, but in the main only those factors of this submerged age were conserved that were so assimilated that they became integral parts of our own subjectivity. They were registered in the memory organs of our neurons as feeling patterns, emotional proclivities to belief, conduct norms and impulsions which predetermine association, facilitate the directions of attention, and predetermine even the interpretation of sensation. In evaluating these psychic antiquities from the hoary days of eld when they were being slowly laid down, stratum upon stratum, all the way from the time when our ancestors left brutehood and became man down to the first faint dawn of history, we must have a new criterion of what historicity is and means. The realest things in experience are those that are so vital that they are indelibly recorded in our psychophysic organism, so assimilated that they are transmitted by heredity independently of any form of inculcation, so that they are in no sense carried by the ego but become part of its own spontaneity.

Next come those psychic inclinations which are in the form of *Anlagen*, which need some outer incitement to evoke their proper response. Primal myths are such reminders or stimuli, which make the soul remember its past, not so much in the form of events as by way of recapitulation of its general lessons, so that when rightly interpreted and understood myth may be truer than history. The same principle of course holds with religious rites, customs, litanies, and even dogma. These are truer than history if they really set forth what man ought to do, feel, and know.

But the power of responsive *Einfühlung* may be inadequate or perverted, and this is especially the case in the moral sphere. Through all these silent ages men have chiefly striven for purification. It is on this theme that rites and traditions most abound, and to their incitements man has most lost the power to react aright. From these long, dark days of psychogenesis man has therefore inherited a fateful propensity to react more intensively and surely to the incitements of sin,

for these have often proven themselves stronger in their power to evoke response than have incitements to righteousness. To use a medical simile, man's organism has lost the power to generate the anti-bodies that give him immunity to the infection of evil, so that as, e. g., we have to have recourse to the horse to produce an anti-diphtheritic serum, so we have to seek immunity from sin by appealing to an alien and vicarious source outside our own personality. Following another medical metaphor, religion comes to man like hormones (Biedl, Sajous, S. Vincent, etc.), which have two functions, augmentory and inhibitory. The agent that stimulates good and checks bad tendencies in us lacks strength to perform its full function, as inner secretions are often deficient in quality or quantity. But to push further this crude figure, these agents can only be developed in the blood of the *theanthropos* and thence transfused into our own veins. As both these processes, viz., the pathogenic organisms that stimulate the formation of anti-bodies, and the exciting and depressing agency of hormones, are in the domain of physiological chemistry, and act independently of the nervous system, so man's moral therapy was supposed to be accomplished, in Ritschl's phrase, thymically, that is, the saving feidism might act autistically.

Thus Jesus incorporates all the good tendencies in man. He is the embodiment of all his resistances to evil through the ages. In the contemplation of his character, achievements, and teachings man remembers his better, unfallen self, and by seeing the true ideal of his race incarnated even the most formal recognition of this enfleshed ideal does something to evoke power to resist evil within and without and gives some incentive to reapproximate his unfallen self, and indeed may start subliminal agencies that will issue in a regenerate life, bring a new sense of duty, a new passion for service, and give man a new self-reverence, self-knowledge, and self-control. All these things together constitute the true psychological essence of Christianity. Here lie its depth, mystery, and wonder. If pragmatic is higher than either historic or theoretic certainty and reality, we have here the very truth of truth. There are incitations within us, as deep as the taxies and tropisms, which give us psychic orientation to Jesus, and even if his historical existence were disproven, we should have to postulate some such personality at about this time, place, and circumstance. Thus, if even the Church should ever have to dispense with the historicity of its founder,

which neither now is nor seems likely to be the case, it would make far less difference than either orthodoxy or those who deny him suppose. Why, indeed, should it make any more practical difference than it does to physics and chemistry whether atoms and ions are material bodies or immaterial centres of energy, or than it makes to the Swiss peasant whether William Tell was a person or a solar myth?[1]

[1]See E. Brenner: "Das Symbolische in der religiösen Erkenntnistheorie." 1914, 136 p. See, too, J. M. Tyler: "The Place of the Church in Evolution." 1914, 200 p. Also E. Tröltsch: "Die Zukunftsmöglichkeiten des Christentums." *Logos*, Bd. I, Heft 2, 1910, p. 165 *et seq.* The latter would reconstruct Christianity and unify all its branches, with (a) a great personality at the centre as against pantheism; (b) his teaching must harmonize with literature and culture, with a new synthesis representing every type of humanism in the large new sense of the movement that the journal *Logos* represents; (c) his teachings must square with science; and (d) must rally devotees of culture everywhere about an idealized development of the Hebrew Christian religion into its full flower. This new movement would be "a cult of the logos or personal reason concerning the cosmos," and the author invites all to unite and thinks the core of truth will be the postulates of Kant's pragmatic reason. Mérejkowsky, "Christ and Antichrist, a trilogy" (1907), thinks that the religion of the future will be a synthesis of Christianity with all faiths that preceded it from fetishism up. As now understood, Christianity is Buddhistic and tends to detach man from earth. Its God is not power, but love, and its devotees desire not freedom, but slavery. This interpretation of it, however, is an anachronism. The world has moved in the exact opposite direction and has become positivistic, material, and essentially irreligious, and under this influence society in Europe and America is fast becoming Mongolized, that is, for it there are no gods, higher powers than man, or future. Science, however, has meanwhile created an atmosphere and built a foundation for a great new dispensation of the religious sentiment, and when this comes it will be neither treasonable to earth nor forgetful of heaven. Our present divinization of the individual would give way to that of society. The true Church universal is humanity, and great ideas and inspiring ideals must replace sordid, mean, selfish interests. Cf. also Renan's ideas of a third dispensation to us, of the Spirit. Also Ibsen's third Kingdom in the dramas described in Chapter II.

"Die Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie," a monthly journal founded in 1907, edited by Dr. J. Bresler and W. G. Vorbrodt, sought to combine psychiatry and theology, and has published many articles, especially on pathological aspects of religion, treating such subjects as psychology of occultism, sanctification, the relations between sin and disease, the sexual element in religion, psychology of guilt, conversion, doubt, transfiguration, the sense of reality, and the belief in the transcendental, possession, religion of criminals, etc. See also P. Kneib: "Moderne Leben-Jesu-Forschung unter dem Einflusse der Psychiatrie," Mainz, 1908. Also "Jesus Christus vom Standpunkte des Psychiaters," Hamburg, 1905; E. Horneneffer: "Religion und Deutschtum," 1909; "Siegfried oder Christus," Anon, 1910; J. Naumann: "Die verschiedenen Auffassungen Jesu in der evangelischen Kirche"; P. Pflüger: "Die Religion der Modernen"; F. Martius: "Eros und Christus," Leipzig, 1907; T. Kappstein; "Psychologie der Frömmigkeit," 1908, 242 p.; G. Tyrrell: "Between Scylla and Charybdis, or the old and the new theology," 1909; E. Wacker: "Wiedergeburt und Bekehrung in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhaltnis nach der heiligen Schrift"; G. Runze: "Religion und Geschlectsliebe"; G. Lomer: "Krankes Christentum," 1911, 109 p.; A. Lehmann: "Aberglaube und Zauberei," 1910; F. Moerchen: "Die Psychologie der Heiligkeit"; J. Bresler: "Religionshygiene"; T. Flournoy: "Le génie religieux," 1910; M. Guhlke: "Religion und Volksseele"; T. Achels: "Die Ekstasie."

My own Am. Journal of Religious Psychology founded in 1904, while it has reviewed or at least noticed most of the current literature on the subject, has dealt but little with pathological phenomena within the pale of Christianity.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NATIVITY

Discrepancies in the accounts of the annunciation—Virgin births among the pagans and their meaning—The phallic background—How low-born children come to think themselves of superior parentage—Relations between the Immaculate Conception and the doctrine of the Resurrection—Psychoanalysis of the belief in the divine parenthood—The psychogenesis of the belief in the transcendental or another higher world of which faith was the organ—The cause and effect of dual consciousness here—The psychology of pregnancy—Jesus as a first child, as a mother's child—The charges of illegitimacy—The virgin birth not a fact but a precious symbol.

IN ITS final canonical form the Gospel story opens with a marvellous revival of procreative energy in senescence. Like the Baptist, Isaac, Joseph, Samson, Samuel, and other Old Testament heroes had been born of one or both superannuated or else barren parents, whose reproductive energy seemed to be miraculously restored. Here Gabriel appears amidst the incense of the altar to an aged priest who is made aphasic before the people as a sign that his venerable and sterile wife shall bear a wondrous son. Nowhere was the passion for children, which Ploss[1] has shown to be so strong and universal among lower races, more intense than among the ancient Hebrews. So here as incredulity yielded to certainty there was joy in the souls of this decrepit pair. Deities participate in many ways and degrees in the parenthood of great men, as Rank[2] has shown. John is only the herald, so that as a supernal reinforcement is given to his parents equal to the best in the Old Testament dispensation, it is already apparent that Jesus must be given a yet better one. Not to restore gerontic energy but to exercise this himself would be Yahveh's next step. There is a moving verisimilitude about the narrative of Luke, the physician-evangelist. Not only does modern psychoanalysis afford unnumbered cases of sex potency

[1] "Das Kind." 3d ed., Leipsic, 1911. Bd. 1, S. 1-24.

[2] "Der Mythus von der Geburt des Helden." Leipsic, 1909, 93 p. English translation by F. Robbins and S. E. Jelliffe, New York, 1914. This is here traced in some detail in eleven cases.

lost and won at all ages by suggestion (religious impressions being most effective among believers), but the literature concerning senescence shows often an "Indian summer" of restoration of this function. The curve of decline, too, is normally broken by repeated rises and falls before extinction is final. From the call of Abraham on, Yahveh often appears in a eugenic rôle if not as a master stirpiculturist, and he exercises a unique control in this domain over his favourites. Moreover, as has often been conjectured from Nietzsche to Metchnikoff, possibly the complete or ideal overman will, like animals, be generative until he dies, and senescence, the dark counterpart of adolescence, will be done away. Now, however, the partial paralysis (here dumbness) such as may befall other functions in cases of the recrudescence of sex activity in the old, precedes instead of follows it. Zacharias' speechlessness, however, was only functional and temporary for this power was restored at the naming of the child. Perhaps the obnubilation of the linguistic faculty was symbolic or a counterpart of the hyperfunction of his son's future work of proclamation, as if more of this power than of others in the parent went over to the child. We are distinctly told, however, that there was no asemia. All we know of John, too, is true to the law that precocity is often a characteristic trait of those born of post-mature parents. Though but six months older than Jesus, he preceded him by a much longer period in his ministry. Again, age of parents and precocity tend to monoideism and perfervid dogmatic and perhaps narrow affirmations. Third, this power is subject to early decay and although John heralded a new era, he realized before Jesus came on the scene that he could not effect its consummation, so that we have clear notes not only of subordination but of waning power and of anxiety lest his pioneering was to be left without an adequate sequel. Fourth, he was stern, uncompromising, and incapable of wielding the method of love, as Jesus could with his far greater strength of sentiment, which is characteristic of children of younger parents.

Thus the third synoptist makes here a real contribution, not only well befitting his theme but peculiarly consonant with the best ideas of his age and race. In this domain he may have known some of those rare facts such as often suggest still rarer and choicer fictions. Thus at the outset we must understand that there is a sense in which real art is always truer than history. We have here a worthy proem to the world's grandest epos. We see how always and especially in this

circle and in these days of fervid Messianic hope, parents yearned often unutterably for offspring, and how religious ecstasy may unseal the closed springs of life. A child thus conceived was from the Lord and of course must be a prophet. If the angel was a vision, the question whether the account is all fact or fiction, natural or supernatural, is therefore in each item only one of degree.

Six months later the same angel appeared to the betrothed Virgin Mary, announcing that the Holy Spirit should come over her, that she should bear a son to be called the Son of God, calming her fear and felicitating her upon what Jesus was to be and do. Thereafter she was found with child. Joseph, finding her condition, was minded to put her away privately, but obeyed a dream-angel who commanded him to take her to wife and told him that the child was conceived of the Holy Ghost and would be Jesus, man's saviour from sins. He obeyed, but "knew her not." Even if the angelic visit was not a veiled account of the conception itself, as the Church and art have always assumed it to be, but only preparatory to it, this by no means opens the way to such baseless conceptions as that of Storfer[1] that Mary was or became a temple *hetera* or vestal, and was rescued by Joseph; for there is no scintilla of evidence that there was any such custom then and there. Nor is it meant to be a record of true parthenogenesis. The unequivocal meaning is that Yahveh himself for this one time became a father by an earthly bride, chosen out from among all women, as he had chosen the Hebrews from all races. As his only love she was the unique point of contact between heaven and earth; she was not only the crown of womanhood but the most sacrosanct of all human beings, the supreme embodiment of "*das ewige Weibliche*," combining like no other all the charms of virginity and maternity. Thus it was not strange that belief in the divine paternity of Jesus was generally current in the Church of Ignatius early in the second century down. Tradition, independent of Scripture, and more paramount over it in authority the farther back we go, soon came to regard it as a miracle in some sense complementing the Resurrection. It appeared in the baptismal formula from which the first creed developed. Apocryphal literature amplified it, and even ascribed to Mary herself a supernatural birth. Duns Scotus affirmed that she must have been especially sanctified in the womb, and finally in 1854 Pope Pius IX

[1] "Marias jungfräuliche Mutterschaft." Berlin, 1914, 204 p.

promulgated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary herself, all this by a not only natural but inevitable psychogenetic sequence. Thus the Holy Mother, although she bore children later to her human husband, was made semi-divine, and so Jesus' humanity was reduced from one half to one fourth.

Although we know nothing of Mary's line of descent, we are strangely given two pedigrees of Joseph, one ascendent and one descendent, in order to show that through him Jesus was a true son of David, as prophecy had declared the Messiah must be. Matthew gives three symmetrical series of fourteen generations each, back to Abraham. This was meant primarily for Jewish Christians. Luke's genealogy of Joseph contains five times fourteen plus seven generations and goes back to Adam, the "Son of God," the father of all men, and was calculated to appeal to gentiles. It agrees with Matthew in fifteen names, but departs from him in forty. The one register has fourteen generations more between Jesus and David than the other. The compiler of both these lists of forbears obviously held that Jesus was the son of Joseph. In both there are but few generations back to Adam the fiat son of God by creation, and the prototype of Jesus, God's Son by generation. The inclusion of these tables in the two Gospels that also record Jesus' divine paternity suggests that they took shape at a time when both the natural and the supernatural views of Jesus' origin were permissible.

Pagan legends more than Jewish abound in virgin births to divine fathers. Queen Maya, the mother of Buddha, was impregnated in a dream. Protagoras and Plato, and later Scipio and Augustus, were sons of Apollo, and Alexander the Great of Zeus. All the kings of Egypt, to the last of the Ptolemies, were divine incarnations, with at least one celestial parent, and throughout antiquity and among all primitive people legends of demigods abound.[1] The folk-soul is always and everywhere disposed to ascribe supernatural parenthood to great men. Especially in pre-cultural times eminence was more readily conceived as born rather than made. Some great deities, like Demeter, bore not only children but grain, trees, and fruit. Fertilization may be caused by the sun or wind, by eating various things, by shadow, a

[1] See among the copious literature on this subject Pfleiderer: "Early Christian Conception of Jesus." London, 1905, p. 1-48. Also his fuller "Urchristentum, seine Schriften und Lehrer." 1902, 2d ed. Also translated into English, London, 1906-11, by W. Montgomery. Also J. M. Robertson: "Christianity and Mythology," 1910, especially p. 292 *et seq.*

breath or a wish, by standing on a holy spot, etc. Fatherlessness is sometimes suggestive of matriarchal ideas, a form of primitive feminism. Often, too, the father alone brought forth motherless *Wunderkinder*. Of old it was not known that geniuses are nearly as liable to be born as sports in one stratum of society as in another. Thus the doctrine of Jesus' divine fatherhood was far more prepared for and more readily received among the gentiles than among the Jews. Luke's story is the most simple and chastened as well as the most clearly motivated, perhaps, of all the mass of mythological material upon this theme, and hence has most verisimilitude. Thus it is easier to accept his highly typified rendering of this theme than any other, and this itself means much.

Here it must be premised that the psychology of Jesus is not chiefly concerned with questions of historicity. Its prime problem is *how man came to believe* the things of Christianity. If we grant that all the facts occurred literally as reported, the problem of psychology is to explain why man accepted and clung so tenaciously to them, surds though they seemed. If they did not occur, our problem is only how man came to invent as well as develop the will to believe and so fondly cherish them. In the latter case the psychic motivation is the same as in the former, only stronger. No student of religion to-day would reject all not proven to be fact as worthless or as *eo ipso* of inferior value to history, as Strauss and his followers did before genetic and analytic psychology and the work and ways of the folk-soul were known. There is a sense in which, just as art improves on and brings out the inner meaning of nature and life, and is thus truer than they, so religion transfigures events by showing forth their moral soul. The effort to show this forth should therefore appeal to those of all creeds as well as of none. It is a characteristic of religious happenings that they have a higher symbolic value above and beyond the historic actuality with which criticism and diplomatology deal. It is therefore no sophistication of mysteries to say that there are many things so eternally true that sometimes the question whether they did occur here or there is a matter of relative indifference. This must constantly be borne in mind, in considering the entire story of Jesus from the psychological point of view, and thus its psychology is at all points constructive and not destructive.

If the annunciation was not a veiled account of the conception

itself but only predictive of it, then the latter must have been a spiritual and not a spermatic quickening of the ovum, and the act of fertilization was not by the ordinary channels. Thus its biological significance is lost and its historic value impaired. In the closest of all pagan parallels, the Mithraic ritual on the walls of the Temple of Luxor, the Isis-headed Toth, logos and messenger of the gods, first announces to the maiden queen, Mautmes, that she will bear a son. In the next scene the holy spirit or the Egyptian paraclete, Knopf, holds to her mouth the *crux ansata*, symbol of life, and thus she is spiritually impregnated by the god Amun-ra; then come the birth, the adoration, etc. On this view the actual infare or epithalamium in Mary's case is left to the imagination, perhaps as too secretly sacred for record, so that we have here a hiatus. To ask, as some have done, whether there were really spermatozoa, is idle as a medical (important though it be as a theological) question, for otherwise the divine paternity remains more or less symbolic with some impairment of the whole process of incarnation.

Back of and reinforcing all such cases of the mating of divine and human beings lies a deep and rank phallic stratum, bottoming on cosmogonies wherein Mother Earth or the primal abyss is impregnated by rain, lightning, wind, or heaven itself personified, for celestial powers are masculine. Unions of above and below often typify those of the transcendent and immanent, and sometimes later of the conscious and the unconscious or the soul of the race and the individual, all of which unions are often typified by conjugation. There was a time when sex fashioned the apperceptive organs for most of the phenomena of nature and when ritual copulation between pairs, one of which represented a high and the other a lower power,was thought to quicken all the fertilizing and germinant energies of nature and to be true sympathetic magic. Thus gods came to earth and left seed with the daughters of men, and rain, clouds, and wind had special inseminating efficiency. That psychic vestiges of this long but slowly suppressed cult and type of folk-thought persisted as unconscious attitudes and predispositions to believe the chastened story of Jesus' origin, no psychogeneticist or analyst can doubt, or that the often otherwise unaccountable rancour of modern skepticism against the "conceived by the Holy Ghost" phrase of the creed is reinforced by the momentum of efforts of ages to repress phallicism.

Children and pubescents very often, especially if they are of

humble parentage and feel themselves gifted, wonder whether, with their amazing uprush of youthful insights and aspirations, they can really be the offspring of their prosaic parents. They at least daydream that they are supposititious and perhaps of royal descent. Sometimes this propensity prompts aversion to the real parents, and such children may leave home in quest of surroundings more befitting what they have conceived for themselves, or to find the social *milieu* to which their lineage entitles them. On this topic we have quite a literature of both morbid and normal cases. When Jesus, at the age of twelve, eluded his parents and was found by them in the temple, and reproached his mother for not wotting that he must be about his Father's business, he could not have meant carpentering. This response was tantamount to a disavowal of Joseph's parenthood. From a consciousness of his precocious insight into Scripture and the elation that would come from his discussion with the scholars of the temple he was already on the way to a sense of divine sonship. That this was not complete is indicated by the eighteen further years of subjection and obscurity. Nowhere, however, in all his ministry is there any scintilla of anything that indicates filial respect to Joseph such as the Jews insisted on to parents. From this the inference is clear to the psychologist that early in life Jesus was averse to his putative father, not because of any envious Freudian wish to take his place in the mother's affection, but because he felt the characteristic sense, so common in ephebes, of being superior to at least one parent. He already felt himself to have been sired by a more exalted personage. Reveries of this kind and the reflections which they also cause concerning mothers have in many a modern instance motivated coolness to and aloofness from them, such as Jesus repeatedly is said to have given signs of. The point here is that such an experience in his own soul may have contributed thus early one factor to the complex that had already begun its evolution in his consciousness and that developed decades later among the early Christians, that no less than God himself was his father. Thus as a child he practically disowned Joseph. If the latter was not a myth, as many scholars now think (so numerous are the pagan parallels to his function here), and if he was really an old man, as tradition makes him, stern and unsympathetic with Jesus' youthful aspirations, the latter's conviction that he was really apart from and above the other members of his family may have thus early begun to pervade

Jesus' thought and conduct, and also to work suggestively in the minds of those who knew what was going on in his soul. This trend in the most intimate circle of the youthful Jesus helped to prepare the soil of tradition for the later full acceptance of the doctrine of complete sonship to God. Certainly Joseph nowhere appears as the father such a child should have.

During his public ministry Jesus seems, as we shall later see, to have gradually attained an ineluctable conviction that he was the only begotten of God. He showed elation when Peter declared him to be the Son of the living God, told his disciples that he was from above and they from beneath, that he came from and would return to his heavenly Father. His supreme achievement of rising from the dead, which years before any of the Gospels were written Paul made the chief thing he did, and the centre of all his own preaching, was what chiefly documented him as infallibly the true Son of the true God. At first he was thought to have achieved sonship or to have been raised to it by adoption or possibly, as among some of the heretical sects, by apotheosis. Another later more Alexandrian doctrine was that he preëxisted as Logos with God from the beginning. These two views were, however, very happily combined in the Lucan conception of a literal, physical generation. This later view, therefore, sought to reconcile the other two. Hence the doctrine of Jesus' supernatural conception met a very urgent doctrinal need, for something like it in the decades immediately following Jesus' death became a logical necessity. It gave a completeness to the whole theory of Jesus' nature and work which it would otherwise have lacked. It did not merely supplement reasoned thought like Plato's myths, but was in some sense the combining capstone of the theanthropic system. It materialized not merely a metaphor but an idea, and extended the divine strain of heredity back from Jesus' later public years to the very beginning or the amphimixis stage of his life, thereby also incidentally fertilizing the imagination of those within the pale of its influence to seek to fill out the entire unknown period of his career, particularly his infancy and childhood, with very many apocryphal fabrications which, had he been thought to have achieved sonship only in his later years, would have remained as unknown and uninteresting as they had been before this belief prevailed.

Besides the exigencies of theory, Jesusism began with a belief

in the death and Resurrection, the *punctum saliens* of all. Paul taught and seems to have known almost nothing of Jesus save that he died and rose, and has very little to say of his life or even his teachings. The conviction that he died as a propitiation for sin and rose and ascended, if it did not originate, chiefly promoted the interest in, his previous life and motivated the composition of the first three Gospels. All that was impressive in Jesus' personality, life, and doctrine thus came to supplement and increase the prime impressiveness of his ultimate fate. Together these two traits made a seiche or tidal wave that surged backward until it transfigured the very origin of his life. Belief in this marvel is a most eloquent monument of the impression which the Pauline plus the Petrine Jesus came to have in the early Christian consciousness. Belief in his supernal conception was a kind of *summa cum laude* degree which the Semitic folk-soul reserved for its supreme hero, a testimonial of what it thought and felt about him. So far as the Jews, breeders of flocks and herds as they were, realized the biological difficulties of such a belief, assent to it was a euphorious *credo quia absurdum*, a voluntary offering up of reason to faith, which is the assent of man's deeper, larger, and unconscious racial soul. What a hold it still has upon the heart, even in these days of science with its sense of the universality of law, is shown by the countless efforts of orthodoxy to conserve the vestiges of it whether by partial concessions to the *Zeitgeist*, by allegorical and symbolic explanations, or by affirming it as a postulate of practical reason pragmatically justifiable because it has worked so well, or by vociferating it as a mystery which the will must compel us to believe—all of which are far better than the smug complacency of religious half-culture which sees nothing in it but a worthless and outgrown superstition.

Again, Luke's story is an amazingly pure and sublimated account of the act of begetting, so prominent and often crass in the pentateuch. Still more is it in contrast with the gross phallic cults of the Canaanites and the sex corruption of the people among whom the new faith was first proclaimed. It was animated by the spirit of the then new celibacy at its best incipient moment, when chastity was beginning its great work of setting a back fire to the lewdness of the age. The salutation of hail, health, or wholeness invokes the condition precedent to all human achievement and is the universal form of greeting throughout the world. There is naturally virginal hesitation but no trace of the

modern parturition phobia. If degradation of this function to an orgy marks man as a sinful fallen creature, we have here its progressive long-circuiting till in the place of marital rights exercised by gods or their representatives in the *jus primae noctis*, it is exalted to a type of the union of the Church as the bride with the heavenly bridegroom. The erogenic impulse that serves the species is here spiritualized until instead of the hedonic narcosis there is only the desire to produce the type, totemic, heavenly man, the long-awaited Messiah, Redeemer, Saviour. If the ecstasy of love gives life a higher value because it first teaches what real pleasure is, and thus makes goodness understood, the passion for noble offspring makes it a sacrament in which each partner is in place of the divine to the other and every conception immaculate. But here there is no physical or even psychic ecstasy. Asceticism has suggested nothing colder, for the submission and consent are hardly more than mechanical. Some think, as we saw, that Luke designs in this scene to describe only a preparatory dream or trance, a kind of license to wedlock direct from heaven, superseding human ceremonials and certification, but perhaps justifiable by the prevailing Messianic expectation. It has been suggested that this hope pervaded the soul of every maiden in the circle from which Jesus sprang with a force inversely as her realization of the percentile number of chances that the lot of divine motherhood might fall to her, or directly as her sense of individual fitness for this function. Romantic love in any modern sense, deep and perennial though its well-springs have always been, had little literary development among the ancient Hebrews save so far as in their minds it was always religious. No race so fused love and piety, as we see in the Song of Solomon. As the Greeks and Romans idealized it in pastoral life and amid sylvan scenes with perhaps Pan, satyrs, and fauns, so the Semitic mind was prone to give it a celestial interpretation coloured with reminiscences of the ancient promise to Abraham. Even if it was first a legend doomed to pass into the service of dogma, it may have been lived out in Mary's subjective experience. Belief in it, whether as fact or fiction, may have been more or less euhemeristic, and its use for purposes of race pedagogy may have been at first with some consciousness of apocryphal fabrication. In any case the artist had a hard task. We do not know how much of the mythic material of his age was at his command, but especially among a race so pure the character of Mary must not only

be preserved from all possible suspicion but exalted. A race of herdsmen would not be predisposed to believe in a birth that eliminates human male parentage. Joseph, too, had to be made both content and continent, while Mary's consent would not only jeopardize her spouse's love but involve risks of aspersion and of humiliation.

Over against the above view that Jesus' life was so tremendously impressive that the inference of a supernatural birth was inevitable and irresistible, is the skeptic argument that his deeds and words were felt to be insufficient in themselves, and hence were in need of the glamour which this kind of accrediting gave; it was necessary to glorify a career that without it would have been more or less inglorious; it was an *ab extra* certification *ad majorem gloriam vitae Jesu.* This motive was involved in many of the pagan deifications, as in the case notoriously of the weaker and baser later Roman emperors. Christian apologists have used it to confirm lapsing faith in Jesus, so that belief in it has in many cases been a product of defect and not of excess of faith. This, however, is a question of history, and that it was not the case with Luke or the early Christians has been abundantly shown.[1]

With them it was a tribute to a great life, a choice of the less of two miracles, divinitization at some later point of his life, or else at its very source. Conception by the spirit of truth was less miraculous than any other explanation of the wondrous light that broke forth from him in maturity. It had to be believed quite apart from its objective reality. Had the birth legend contravened a less universal law, its cogency as an argument and its value as a tribute to Jesus' greatness would have been less than as it now stands. If we can conceive it as an actual fact, proved or provable by all the tests that modern science could suggest, its significance is isolated and its worth impaired.

Again, had Jesus been what he was by nurture rather than by nature, had he been made rather than born great, the developmental schema of his life would have been less spontaneous, aboriginal, indigenous. By this token, his qualities were due to preformation rather than epigenesis. Had he been a great pundit or rabbi, his mind charged with the ideas of others instead of filled with his own (as Plato re-

---

[1]See best of all Allan Hoben's compilation of data and authorities of the anti-Nicene period. Lobstein "The Virgin Birth of Christ." trans., New York. 1903, only shows in a ponderously judicial way that this belief was "a myth created by popular devotion," that it "ceases to remain a real fact but stands out as a characteristic creation of the faith of the church," that it is a symbol we must lay bare, etc.

proached Aristotle with getting his thoughts through reading rather than from inspiration by inner oracles), he would have been less divine; for acquired possessions are less assimilated, or less a part of ourselves, than those that are innate. His trust in his own originality was so great that he yielded to its suggestions with abandon, and this from-within-outward trait of supreme genius points to a hereditary source.

So, too, does the fact of his uniquely orthogenic life. Conversions involve drastic upheavals, storm and stress, a new direction, and therefore loss of more or less of the original momentum, as we see in cases of the Paul or Augustine type. Regeneration involves some break with the past, the graft of a new stock upon an old one, a fresh start with abandonment of some lines or acquisitions. It is not a mere acceleration such as we see at normal adolescence, but there is more or less of a rupture that suggests the invasion of an alien principle or a sudden irruption of God into the soul. Saving though this be, it involves the loss of impulsion, for something old must be sloughed off and life must be built over again more or less and on a new plan. Had Jesus been a converted sinner, as Schrempf and others have urged, and especially had the change come over him just before his public ministry, his life would have lacked unity, his evolution would not have been rectilinear. Had he served a long apprenticeship to learning, his birth and heredity would have tended to shrivel toward insignificance, because instead of his origin his regeneration by learning would have been the point of cardinal interest, and what had preceded might have been left to oblivion. God would thus have been in some sense the father of his subsequent life only. But for a type of life which all outer biographic incidents cannot explain, and where the primordial impulsion is all, the problem of its source becomes urgent just in proportion as the mature life and its effects unfold into ever greater significance. The record indicates that Jesus never referred to any early pivotal experience, nor did he contrast his early with his later life. His own reticence and that of those who knew him best concerning the first three decades of his life are singular. Perhaps he lacked autobiographic interest because he was so intent upon his Father's business here and now that he had not time or energy to be reminiscent, which would be flight from reality in the sense of Janet and Freud. Perhaps he had so completely digested his past that all its lessons had been made over into forms of impulsion to advance his

mission. Perhaps he had grown so fast that he felt the past life far behind. His early experience had consisted in pressing rapidly upward through all the characteristic experiences of humanity, and only when he emerged above the common lot of man into Desjardin's "phenomena of altitude" did his life have unique superhuman meaning. On this view the years of apprenticeship did not count but only those above the range of common humanity. Perhaps others had gone as far as he had before the advent of John, and he may have felt that had he died then he would have added nothing intrinsically new or valuable to the world. Many thus hold that at this point he transcended and became superman in a unique sense. He looked toward the future even more intensely than toward the past because what was to come would eclipse all that had gone before. His present personality had a value, and told. Had he attained old age he might have fallen into its habit of reminiscence. Thus, without touching here the mooted question whether Jesus passed through distinct developmental stages in his public ministry, his consciousness must have been penetrated to a unique degree with the sense of rapid development. The child does recapitulate the history of the race by leaps and bounds, living as it were millennia in hours and minutes. If we assume that Jesus' psychic development was exceptionally rapid in this sense, the inference to an exceptional divine initial momentum must have been inevitable.

There is no indication that Jesus was always consciously working over and interpreting on an ever higher plane the experiences of his childhood and youth, like Goethe; but the trajectory of his life was so steep, and he conserved so uniquely the naïveté and rate of growth (rapidest in infants but which in others is progressively slowed down, as Minot has shown), that he never departed so far from the primitive *nisus generativus* as others do. This must have contributed its own quota of impulses to the construction and acceptance of the psychopedagogic masterpiece of the Lucan tale. If infancy is Wordsworthian, or if we accept Freud's conception of the all-dominance of childish wishes, and if these influences were less abated in Jesus, whether or not he was conscious of their source or date, then he was peculiarly heaven-born in all that this metaphor can mean.

Thus, in fine, if we could psychoanalyze the faith of those who at first or now affirm this belief, perhaps no Christian would be found to hold to it in the sense that orthodoxy assumes, and certainly belief

in its literalness would not meet the criteria a modern psychology would test it by. Nevertheless, its truth so far transcends historicity that the psychologist of the folk-soul can say, summating all the above trends, with a fulness of conviction that criticism can never give, and that the old faith never knew, that Jesus was veritably "conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary."

This belief shows forth the dual nature of Jesus as God and man, and therefore as fit to be a mediator between the two. Even if with Feuerbach we interpret God as humanity generally, as over against the individual; or if we regard God as the phylogenetic and the individual as the ontogenetic element in the human species; or God as the unconscious and man as the conscious component, all is not lost, but a new and pregnant suggestiveness is brought to light. This doctrine, too, when supplemented by the exaltation of Mary as "Mother of God," expressed the sinlessness ascribed to Jesus, rectifying the fall of man through Eve, and made him the founder of a new race higher than the sons of the first Adam. Even Sanday,[1] obsessed as he is by the classic credal view, falteringly suggests that the divine element in Jesus' theanthropic soul may have been not unlike the subliminal self. Who that is intuitive, ingenuous, and spontaneous, in bringing himself to bear with all his resources upon some theme or cause, has not had the experience of feeling himself caught up or swept along (or occasionally restrained like Socrates) by a higher power which he felt to be not himself, but which we now interpret as the soul of the race breaking into that of the individual? This complex of submerged constellations, which man has always been prone to conceive as superhuman, divine, or demonic possession, the afflatus or inspiration of a muse, or a revelation from on high, Jesus interpreted as his sonship. Holtzmann, Baumann, and other recent Christologists have emphasized as a chief trait in Jesus' life and character that instead of being occasionally dominated by this higher self he was almost continuously so; that, in a word, he was nearly always a trifle ecstatic, exalted, erethic, or in a state of spiritual second breath. It was thus that he introduced a new, more normal type of consciousness, viz., one in which this generic, social, or racial element preponderated over and subordinated the ordinary hypertrophied selfish individuality. This it was that brought in a higher, saner unity of the soul, made it less

[1] "Christologies, Ancient and Modern." New York, 1910. 244 p.

liable to bifurcation or discord and more immune from wasteful disharmonies and obsessions by the haunting sense of inferiority (Adler), which we now know to be so prolific of psychic disorders, so that the dangers of schizophrenia or the splitting up of the total soul of the individual into multiple personalities are vastly reduced. Every individual should be the organ, agent, manifestation, son of the species. He should incarnate it, come out from it, and having done his appointed work, return whence he came. Jesus alone did this ideally because he was the totemic man, and more than any other the typical embodiment of the race, the best unipersonal exemplar of the race idea, the true superman, the entelechy of what is best in the human phylum. Thus if we think of Jesus as race-man instead of God-man, the symbol-myth of his divine impregnation still has pneumatic meaning. If there were two wills in Jesus instead of one, as the Monothelites affirmed, the individual was completely subjected to the racial will, which was the core of his nature. The unique authoritativeness of Jesus' teaching ("It hath been said but verily I say unto you") and the breaks with current custom and opinion also mark the apartness, solitariness, loftiness of his genius, and suggest creative energy revealing itself in the depths of his nature from a source as primordial as the beginning of life. In the comment of his friends about his parents, in the reproach that nothing good could come out of his early home, and in his remark that a prophet is not without honour save in his own country, is recognized the proneness to seek in heredity the causes of all unwonted variations. His own saying also shows that he was on the way to a conviction (that Galton has shown to be false) that real greatness cannot have a humble origin.

Again, in the act of impregnation the race-soul evicts and takes possession of that of the individual, and that is why these experiences stand out with such a dazzling transcendent light that there is a rupture of continuity with the before and after of experience, and a sense that we have something here that can never be expressed in its terms. This explains the fact that the hedonic narcosis is really indescribable, so that amorists can only bode forth its raptures by inadequate tropes and symbols. It also explains why sometimes both man and woman, especially if neurotic, have often conceived that the partner's place was momentarily taken by some higher spiritual personage, be it angel, demon, or deity, or have been in a twilight stage of conscious-

ness most favourable to idealization. For describing the processes of the race-soul or the superenergized life generally, we still have only crude phrases, metaphors, and allegories. Here man is paraphasic. Nearly all our thought-forms concerning it are still borrowed either from sex or religion, which are always in such sympathetic *rapport* with each other. Of old in the pinnacle moments of supreme affirmation of the will to live there often lurked in the background of the soul vestiges of the time when marital rights were thought to be exercised by the gods, as the reins of consciousness were handed over to the sympathetic system if not to the very biophores in the biological rejuvenation of fertilization. No individual editorship can thus ever adequately express the collective experience of man in any, and least of all in this, domain. It has suffused the world with a new joy, and is the eternal basis not only of optimism but of the entire ideal and transcendental worlds.

This brings us to the most fundamental of the many formative forces that shaped the Nativity concept and gave it such a hold upon Christendom. To understand this we must pause for a cursory glance at what might perhaps be called the psychogenesis of the transcendent, belief in which, though by no means identical with religion, is closely bound up with it. It springs from several roots; and the first of these, with which it really begins, is animism, that ascribes psychic states more or less like our own to inanimate things and processes. This, as all know, attributes rudimentary sentiency to stones, weapons, and every object, and postulates something that survives their destruction. More developed, it extends to forces of nature, streams, clouds, heavenly bodies. By its impulsion we assign souls to flowers, trees, and animals, and in a word become anthropomorphic. This is, of course, quite distinct from idolatry, which it always precedes, for this regards special objects as abodes or embodiments of spiritual beings. This propensity in the human soul prompts to nature worship and may issue in pantheism, but the main point is that it made dualism.

A second root of the religious consciousness is found in the difficulty the soul feels in accepting the great fact of death. Primitive man saw his friends born, grow to maturity, and then in an instant become transformed into a decomposing corpse, so that the momentum of habit impelled to the belief that something invisible survived independently of the body. Of course these early concepts of self were

fantastic. It was named breath, wind, echo, shadow, image, cloud, eye, heart, butterfly, etc. The first ghosts were very tenuous, pallid, weak, unreal, and led a flitting existence, perhaps under the earth amid tombs or battlefields, frequenting their old haunts by night or hovering about their relatives, occasionally seen and heard and in a limbo state, neither very sad nor joyous, neither very good nor bad, so that the life of the poorest man was preferable to theirs. Their number was sometimes pictured like that of the autumn leaves. They were perhaps herded by some stronger soul, living or dead, or drifted aimlessly, thickly populating some parts of space, seeking perhaps to revive their fading memories, or save themselves from being resolved back into nothingness by reincarnation. So strong is the impulse to believe in them that the opinion has been set forth with great learning that one of the chief objects of funeral rites was to bring home to the minds of survivors that their friends were really and completely dead, body and soul, that is, to lay their ghosts beyond the possibility of reveniance and free man from the bogs of crass spiritism and necromancing.[1]

It was of course a great epoch when the chaotic ghost world first began to be ordered and systematized. One of the most important stages in this development was the idea of associating pleasant posthumous states with previous merit, and painful ones with ill desert, thus giving man a universe in which virtue and happiness on the one hand, and wickedness and pain on the other, got together as they do not in the world we know. The growth of the conception of posthumous rewards and penalties was an immense gain for virtue, wherever the latter was rightly conceived. The transcendental ghost-world was idealized and was introduced as a great factor into human conduct, and then, of course, conceptions of hell and heaven were more and more elaborated.

When this transcendentalized motive is at its acme there are uncounted legions or cycles of archangels, heavenly hosts, or the great dead conversing on high themes at least in some boathouse on the Styx, or guardian spirits guiding their favourites, or others that inspire, heal, obsess, or blight man. There are embodied ideals of duty, wisdom, strength; gods become highly personified and heroes of mythopeic biographies, loaded down with symbolisms, always superior to man, but made on the same pattern, and so an immense culture

[1] See this point amplified in my article, "Thanatophobia and Immortality." *Am. Jour. Psychol.*, Oct., 1915.

power in the world. Especially the Hebrew, Greek, and Teutonic mind definitized these deities and demigods which more or less filled the orders of existence from man upward; but the Oriental mind, which is prone to revel in temporal rather than in spatial expansion, preferred the doctrine of transmigration and even karma, a law to which all the worlds and Brahma himself are subject, according to which the soul of each individual is living out a single stage in a series of many, perhaps an infinite, number of lives. The ethical element is of course effective, for each reincarnation is up or down the scale of being according as the previous life was lived. Thus each man, animal, or god has been his own creator, and souls do not choose their own lives freely beforehand, as in Platonic myth, but are subject to the iron judgment of desert.[1]

Now it is very hard for us to realize the immense significance of that great movement of the human spirit that at last culminated in the more evolved forms of polytheism or in monotheism. The latter particularly brought order into the chaos that had hitherto reigned in the domain of the Beyond and placed at the head of the universe, not an Olympian who had won his throne by evicting an earlier dynasty of gods and was always in danger of attack, but one Supreme Being to whom all other powers and persons in the whole transcendental world were subordinated. This gave loftiness of soul and unity of mind, so that the noumenal world was never so real and its ethical power never so great.

In the above I have only sought to indicate in rough phrases the new standpoint of the genetic origin of the other-world concept as if in all its forms it is in fact a product, eject, projection of the racial soul, working slowly and in the main unconsciously. There is of course no assumption whatever concerning the objective reality of God, heaven, souls, etc., but there is only insistence that quite apart from the prob-

---

[1] Bastian in his various works would correlate this trend with conceptions of temporal extension of the life of superior elect ones who led an existence extraordinarily prolonged but continuous and not broken by the links of generations, as in karma. The adept is more than a patriarch and must perfect his soul by labours, introversion, alchemy, or what-not till his life is more or less subtilized and rejuvenated, and he approaches the Mahatma stage in which he has gained all knowledge, can pass through space, leads a kind of charmed, magic, supernal existence, not longing for death like the wandering Jew nor translated like Enoch, but residing in obscure places and teaching the few *élite* who seek and are able to find him. Sometimes in these views, too, there are hints of both pre- and post-existence. This great concept has its penates and its euhemerism and, indeed, this point and those above described may borrow features from one another.

Again, the transcendency motif in a more generic form but in the same sense may crop out in the philosophemes of successive cycles or epochs. At the end of the world here all things return as they were. Perhaps everything is obliterated and a new start made, and every item of the preceding era repeated, or, as other Stoics who were fond of this view thought, nothing is repeated. While the conception of infinite past time requires that every possible combination of the cosmic elements should have been exhausted, the idea of an infinite number of parts requires that they should never be exhausted and that everything that happens every moment should be absolutely new. The transcendence here is in the mechanism which controls this eternal recurrence or makes it impossible.

lem of their existence is another and very distinct one, viz., that of the genesis of the conceptions of them. No matter whether their *esse* is their *percipi* or not. It is only the latter that is here involved. It is even superfluous to raise the question whether back of this argument lies a fond unconscious hope or belief that the folk-soul is so fecund that it would have engendered and extradited from itself this counter-world in just its present form, even if it had no existence save in human thought.

Now the organ with which this supernal world is known is called faith, the evidence of things not seen, if not their very substance and reality. Into such forms the mighty energy of man's soul unfolds through the ages, so that there will always be a sense in which the divine is the noblest creation of the soul of man, because to accept a belief and to make or to create it are only different degrees of the same energy. This idealization of another world and the development of a life here that consists of other-world conduct, such as forms of worship, are of a realm of existence that supplements and is the counterpart of this, especially if it is one of which all the ordinary content of experience seems a promise and potency. This explains why such beliefs lie so close and warm about the human heart, and why they are often so clung to against evidence and even against interest. It is because they are necessary for the totalization of the soul and exactly fit the imagination that is the totalizing faculty by which man transcends his own limitations of time, space, and personality toward the dimensions of the race, thereby becoming a citizen of the universe which is henceforth no longer a chaos but a cosmos.

This objectivization of man's racial soul first makes possible the supreme human tragedy of the amphibole between faith and sight, idealism and positivism, the spiritual and the material views of the world. The true adjustment of the relations between the transcendent and the immanent subordinate neither to the other, and to use both aright is perhaps the supremest of all the problems of higher race pedagogy or statesmanship such as the Semitic mind so persistently ascribed to Yahveh. In both the race and the individual we see the reciprocal relations between these two elements, and each tends to be inversely as the other. When, for instance, the Jews were led captive or lost their fatherland, they remembered God, recalled the promises, gathered and studied their sacred literature; but in prosperity

they forgot Yahveh. When Rome was declining it seemed that the hope of the world, that had centred for generations about its marvellous political organization, was failing, and men slew themselves from a despair which perhaps, but for Christianity, would have become absolute. Thus the rankest superstitions sprang up, were accepted, and cherished. Such excessive other-worldliness always prompts mystic cults of many kinds, a gasping longing for modes of higher knowledge, a theo- and *parousia*-mania, ecstasy, trance, as we see in the Alexandrian philosophies, a longing for visions, revelations from on high. Or the subordination may express itself in asceticism, self-abnegation, strenuous efforts at exiguous liturgical purity, and in every means of realizing and apprehending the supernal or penetrating the veil, everywhere, too, with the assumption that the other world is inversely as this, that the blessing is for the poor in spirit, and the suffering, and that all sorrows and even tortures will be compensated by heavenly joys. If the old Jerusalem is destroyed the new one comes down from heaven. When the Greco-Roman civilization collapsed the heavenly kingdom of the Church appears in Christendom in Augustine's City of God, which is the transfiguration of the antique state idea. Sacrifice is the way of salvation.

Thus man is at once a citizen of two countries of very different constitutions. The religious consciousness has generally worked apart from the secular by different categories and with other rubrics. There are everywhere dual characters in which religion is separated by a watertight compartment from daily life. Their pathetic souls are torn by the conflict between faith and reason, or feel with Jacobi that there is a light in the heart that goes out when we carry it into the head. Among the English it was Hobbes who chiefly set the fashion, so conspicuously followed in England, of keeping religion and rational activities entirely apart, and Newton and scores of more modern English and American thinkers have thus partitioned their souls.

It is still more pathetic to unduly subject one to the other, and to force reason to capitulate to faith or to Rome by some immolating *credo quia absurdum*, positively bolting doctrines and cults as a way out of skepticism or postulating some extreme solipsistic idealism to escape agnosticism, putting documents where ideas should be, or conversely attempting to expel faith and idealism and to plant the feet solidly upon the earth of positivism or even materialism.

Now, against one and all of these forms of double housekeeping the theanthropic consciousness, of which Jesus' conception symbolizes the beginning, is at once a standing protest and a way of deliverance. This great and new insight is nevertheless very simple. The quintessence of genius is to posit its own inmost thought as the truest thing in the world for all men. The great religious geniuses, like all the greatest reformers, have but two words in their vocabulary, *now* and *here*. So, too, science proclaims that all that ever was or will be is now. Prophecy is fulfilled, ideals are realized, not merely in some remote time and place but in our day, land, and souls. That was the note struck by the preaching of the Baptist, which acted like an alarum, and it is also the key to all the work of Jesus. God, the Kingdom, judgment, are here and now. The transcendent is no longer to remain where Jewish formalism, tradition, or later patristic metaphysics tended to banish it, at some remote point. All promises are fulfilled now, so that human consciousness can again become homogeneous and unitary. The transcendent world never drifted so far from the immanent as in Jesus' day and to reunite them was his great achievement. The divine siring of a God-man could not have occurred in any such sense where pantheism prevailed, because then divine incarnations come to consciousness in all souls. Nor could it have occurred in the domain of polytheism, because heroes, leaders, and gods have others beside them. But in Jesus and his circle the Jewish monotheistic idea had culminated, and his great work was the realization that the one Supreme God is also, in all we can ever hope to know of him, realized in the highest and most human of souls. Henceforth this reciprocal relation between transcendence and immanence is at an end, and in Jesus' nature, way back and down to his birth as well as in his adult consciousness, there was perfect harmony and atonement, and the plain and solid establishment of both the basis and method of complete unity between all that the most romantic faith and the most rigorous science can ever attain.

Still further, as the Semitic and Hellenic cultures, independent at first, mingled later in the way Hatch, Zeller, and others have shown, fertilizing each other, from their union arose the new religious consciousness, which was so radically different from either of them but which later came to wield the accumulated resources of Christendom. It would be wrong to represent the Jewish mind with its theocratic

principle as the full type of the transcendent, or the Greeks with their love of the sense world and their worship of beauty as a complete type of the immanent mind. It is sufficient to note in them the predominance of these tendencies respectively. We must therefore postulate something like a native Greek element in the mind of Jesus, and realize that into his consciousness entered the best of each of these ethnic cultures.

Also, just as the fertilized ovum becomes not only quick and growing instead of inert as before, but is a more complex and complete unity, so the union of the hither and yonder world in the new sense of immanent deity, which Christianity brought, was the *punctum saliens* of all. It was not only mediation but atonement and salvation. Thus again we see that it was a sound and most genial instinct that placed the germ of this new standpoint in the impregnation itself, so that this consummate religious genius in whose life is found the vital node of the highest religion, is given by Luke a *point de repère* which places him and his wondrous postulate in just the right position between God and man at the start as more born than made. In him the Socratic sentiment that no evil could befall a good man, living or dead, which Leo Haas and Doctor Gompers have made the basis of a neo-Socratic ethics and even of an ideal community of *paidia* or free joyous activity, to be attained by three distinct paths, developed into a sense of trust in a heavenly parent. By just so many parts as Jesus felt himself divine the transcendent became immanent and the immanent became transcendent, so that the chasm yawning between things earthly and things extramundane was bridged and a new set of apperceptive centres given, around which were to be readjusted all the facts and interests of human life.

This union left two residual forms of ethnic consciousness behind, out of which it took the life, so that they were deciduous. As their later history shows, their ultimate fate was like that of the polar globules or chromosomes which, after the union of the sperm and germ cell, are extruded from the impregnated ovum. On the one hand the Jewish mind went on to ever greater refinements of literalism, textual symbolism, allegorical exegesis, extending to the numbers, forms, positions of letters in Talmud, Targum, and Masoretic rules, and in liturgical and ceremonial purity, the one as exiguous as the other was tortuous. On the other hand, Greek thought in Philo, Plotinus, and Proclus

lost itself in striving to retrace the steps by which the soul emanated down through the triple triads from some supersensible source. The real world was felt to be in a low, almost dungy state of alienation, estrangement, or heterization. Although *nous* was the very first emanation, an ectype of the divine, the lapse had gone so far that it was desperately hard to get from the world of common experience to a divine reality or from it to us. Thus the only mediation the Alexandrians knew was for the soul as product to turn again to its origin and seek mystic absorption as in trancoidal states or the navel-gazing in silentiaries.

In view of all the above, have not both the Church and the higher critics laid too much stress upon the literal historicity of the divine sonship of Jesus? Suppose faith in it as a biological marvel wanes. We can conserve its essential truth by conceiving Luke as an inspired creative genius who felt the various trends and verities characterized above, and as the inspired oracle of them invented his narrative, which will forever remain a psychopedagogic marvel of the *bien trouvé*. But for him there would have been a lost chord, an unfinished window in the Aladdin palace of the system of Jesusism.

In all times, places, and ranks, pregnancy has had special social and hygienic treatment and regard. Gravid women are prescient and often prophetesses, and their very whims and picae are perhaps commands. They are often isolated or subjected to perverted regimens, exempted from many usual duties. There are endless superstitions concerning the effects of diet and the susceptibility of both mother and unborn child. There are many magic rites as well as horoscopes, presents, visits, and predictions. In this field Luke ventures to give us only a brief sketch of the old and the young mother together in high converse in a hill country. The feature he stresses is exultation, and save for the possible interpolation of Elizabeth's query, "Why the mother of my Lord should come to me," and the phrase in Mary's magnificat, "Henceforth all generations shall call me blessed," his sketch is artistically well tempered and proportioned. For the rest the seclusion is so effective as to reveal nothing even to the scholar. The deep hunger of soul of both expectant mothers is satisfied, and the loftiest possible conception of the future of both children is freely indulged in. It is all the work of the Lord, to whom praise and thanksgiving are rendered. The salutation of Mary brings the first "quickening" of

the unborn in the senescent woman, an experience which is the focus of much folk-lore and custom, but is here prelusive of John's later relation to Jesus. The heart of Mary overflows with a euphorious sense of triumph and gratitude for God's power and goodness as manifested in her condition. Although herself of low estate, she exults that she is chosen to bring boundless blessing to her people. Strange to say, we have even to-day no intensive study of the unique psychic state of normal women during the incubation period, but Luke's depiction of it as exultant and focussed on the career of the future child is an ideal paradigm of what it should be, as delicate as it is bold and creative. The prenatal stage of life is now recognized as too significant to be omitted from any complete biography. If there was none of Ferenczi's sense of *Allmacht* in the embryo, unless in the case of the leaping John, it finds ecstatic expression in Mary. The narrative of the poet physician-evangelist almost suggests the Hippocratic sentence, "Godlike is the physician who is also a philosopher." Genial as this is, there is nothing marvellous or impossible about it. Its perpetual moral to modern mothers is: "Retire with an older woman in the same condition into the country. Give your imagination free scope to abandon itself to day-dreams of what you hope your offspring will be and do in the world, for possibly your crudest wish will not be without prenatal influence." We cannot be too thankful that our author did not indulge in any of the weird or monstrous fancies of the Oriental or even of the Greek polytheistic mind in treating this period of their heroes or demi-gods. Luke seems to have had no dogmatic purpose, but sought merely to show that Jesus' prenatal stage was passed under the most favourable conditions and perhaps, also, that his own clairvoyance later was presaged by the state of his mother, for Jesus' whole career was in a sense a magnificat of the Lord. At John's birth the relatives come with festive awe. The father ratified the mother's wish that the child should not bear his name, and having written this, on the eighth day at the circumcision, Zacharias' tongue was loosed. He was filled with the Spirit and glorified God who had accomplished his prophecies to Israel, and apostrophized the child as bringing light and salvation, all in eloquent rhapsodic terms. It was a fulfilment of the old covenant of redemption from enemies, a more complete service, and the promulgation from on high of a new way of peace. It was the beatitude of a venerable priest wreaking his soul in expressing its sentiments

at the moment of being suddenly freed by a great joy from the repression of nine months of mutism, and all this was a most natural if exceptional ebullition. Primitive races prescribe jubilation, offerings, set speeches of recognition and welcome to the newcomer, and precautions against the evil eye, demons, and other malefic influences (Ploss: "Das Kind," Bd. 1, S. 49-145). Here the dominant note, in which all others are merged, is grateful joy.

Six months later Joseph had to journey with his gravid wife to Bethlehem to be taxed, and there, because the inn was full, she bore her child and used a manger for its cradle. By night shepherds near by saw the glory of the Lord like that which appeared of old when the tabernacle was builded in the wilderness, and an angel announced the Saviour's birth and told them how to find him, and a *gloria* by a heavenly choir followed. They came, adored, proclaimed the glad tidings, and glorified God. Jesus on the eighth day was named, circumcised, and brought to Jerusalem, where a poor man's sacrifice of turtle doves and pigeons was offered.

The Nativity, which has hallowed all the Christmas season, the association with which of the Resurrection at Easter is the chief other Christian festival, singularly barren of details as the record is, has been extravagantly amplified in apocryphal legend and has always been a favourite theme of art and pious meditation. Its setting is pastoral and bucolic, and makes Jesus in a sense homeless. Critics have thought that the journey is insufficiently motivated and even inconsiderate of Mary's condition, and have suspected its veracity because the note of fulfilling prophecy was too dominant. But if the symbolism of the place and circumstances of the birth itself is meagre (and Luke here falls far below the possibilities that his theme should inspire), he has not failed to stress the cardinal point that at the Nativity heaven and earth came together. This he represents in the apparition to the shepherds, to whom is first supernaturally revealed all the Gospel that there then was, viz., that at last a Divine Child was born. Not the great or the rulers even of the synagogue, but humble herdsmen, first heard this gladdest of all glad tidings, as if in token that the lowly should be exalted. It is idle to attempt to explain this vision upon natural or psychological grounds, for it was collective. It seems more like an individual invention of poetic license than a legend, is doubtless more allegory than history, and suggests that Luke may

here have been touched by the old-fashioned afflatus of the prophets. Mary brought forth among the kine; the herdsmen first knew and acclaimed the future Lord. There was no accoucheur or nurse save nature, and none was needed. There was no concourse of friends or relatives, as at John's birth. Its very simplicity and secrecy were perhaps meant to enhance the impression of its sacredness. Parents and child—they three were alone with God and his dumb, domesticated creatures; but the high heavens knew it and responded with a marvellous effulgence, celestial music, and angelic apparition, showing how the world above was now in new and sympathetic *rapport* with earth and its children. As Mary's psychophysic organism was the best *nidus* for the unique life that was to realize all the higher possibilities of humanity, so earth itself was beatified and crepitated with rapture as in the old days when heaven itself was procreative on Mother Earth, which here rejoices to receive its celestial Lord. To explain how the shepherds knew, expositors and apologists have evoked telepathy and kinship, secret but undiscovered sources of information, and tense expectancy ready to pass at a touch of fancy or of any fancied stimulation from a state of hope to one of belief. An aurora in the cold Christmas sky and a subjective aura involving optical and aural centres with a flush of suffusing transport, have been conjectured, but the whole narrative is really more suggestive of dream-life or even of literary imagination than of any well-known laws of meteorology. But the psychic atmosphere at least was tense to the discharging point.

Only Luke, the paidologist of the New Testament, gives us the idyll of Simeon, very aged, devout, expectant, waiting for some visible embodiment of the hope and promise of his heart, and dying content with the newborn infant. This embodied symbol of the great expectation is another cradle song of moving pathos. Greek and especially Platonic friendship at its best was between mature men and adolescent boys, but here extreme age and infancy are brought into contact, and death is given perhaps its most natural consolation by the sight of a new life with which it has just time to make contact and to which blessing may be transmitted. Thus souls full of grandparenthood normally wait with joy and expectancy for an object which the soul that strains with tension into the future can clasp. Thus, too, the infant is made to inherit the hope of a venerable saint in Israel who, facing death, rejoices at the glimpse of a new life in which all his own unfulfilled

expectations as well as those of his forbears are to be realized, and all of which therefore seem much nearer. No crucifix, ceremonial, rite, song, or act of worship is more satisfying to dying eyes than that object which is more worthy of love, reverence, and service than any other in the world, a newborn child.

The prophetess Anna, at the age of eighty-four, who had fasted and prayed in the temple ever since she was left a young widow, saw the babe by chance in her ministrations and gave thanks and spoke of him to all who awaited consolation. The irradiation also widened toward the East and Oriental wisdom, impersonated by the Magi, followed a new star such as many a myth describes as appearing at the birth of those destined for greatness. Some think we have here in adumbrated form some hint of how Luke's story came to be attracted into so many points of resemblance to that of the early life of Buddha.[1]

Warned again by a dream, Joseph fled with mother and child to Egypt to escape the machinations of Herod, who soon after slew all the children of two and under in and near Bethlehem. This wholesale slaughter destroyed those who would naturally have been Jesus' playmates had that been his boyhood home, and made him more solitary and unique, for his mates would be either older or younger than himself, or perhaps girls. The assumption that this cruel monarch was in a state of superstitious terror of an infant accomplished five things: viz., it represented the Messianic expectation as so prevalent and strong that this alien ruler shared it and trembled for his crown before a possible usurper; accepting the vaticination of sages, it gave a sense that Jesus was especially cared for by heaven; it gave Matthew the opportunity to apply prophecy to Jesus as he has such a passion for doing, although often as here without appositeness; it provided for Jesus a sojourn in Egypt, brief though it was, and thus brought his

[1] In the Lalita Vistara the life of Buddha is said to have begun in heaven, where he is described as instructing the other gods and telling them he proposes to descend and be born of a virgin as a man. Despite the protests of his fellow deities, having appointed and installed a successor he proceeded to earth. In the Clementine Homilies the heavenly Jesus first became man in Adam, then in Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses; and other incarnations are to be expected. This gnostic view is very Oriental. So Buddha had experienced many incarnations, but his passion for this one was that it was to be the last. His mother, Queen Maya, withdrew from her husband to be, for a time, an ascetic, and when in a dream she saw a white elephant enter her body, she knew that she would bear a son who would be mighty, perfect, and a saviour. When he was born, he cried with the voice of a lion, "I am the noblest and best thing in the world. This is my last birth. I will put an end to birth, old age, sickness, and death." Then the earth quaked, heavenly music was heard, supernal light filled all the worlds. All creation was in ecstasy, pain ceased, the poor became rich, the bond free, the sick well, etc. Then came hosts of heavenly deities and offered homage and gifts of spices, garments, and song. There then lived a great seer, Asita, who saw the signs in heaven, and coming to the city, entered the palace and saw the infant Buddha with all the thirty-two signs of greatness. He then sighed and wept because he was old and feeble and therefore could not profit by the teachings of the new sage. A parallel is also found to Jesus' visit to the temple when he was twelve. When Buddha entered school he knew all the sixty-four Hindu writings, astonished and confused his teachers, fell into an ecstasy of pious meditation, and lingered a whole day until, at night, when his father discovered him, Buddha first blamed his lack of spiritual insight, but returned home and dwelt with him accommodating himself to the customs of the world, and busied with endeavours to become more pure and perfect.

life into some analogy with the children of Israel who dwelt there from Jacob to Moses; it gave an added motive to the deep if repressed aversion of Jesus' circle and the Jews generally to the Romans who were the agents of Jesus' execution, although Pilate was more just than Herod. Dread of the latter's successor impelled Jesus' parents upon their return from Egypt to settle not in Judea but in Galilee, although by means of this fear Yahveh was at the same time accomplishing a prediction that Jesus was to be Nazarene and also "called out" of Egypt, for prophecy was inexorable like the Greek fates. To fulfil it is represented by the synoptics not as a conscious purpose of Jesus but as God's way of controlling the destiny of his son from first to last.

With this ends the meagre canonical record of the infancy which was to be so copiously amplified by tradition later. The latter made Jesus a wondrous infant, far more so than the holy *bambino* suggests. The light that streamed from his body and the halo about his head express the natural charm that attaches to infancy raised to its highest potency, for he was not only a *Liebeskind* but a *Wunderkind*, and although far more is said about his being adored than about his being loved, in the history of child study we have few times, places, and people wherein childhood has been even more worshipped than loved. The newborn child comes in a sense direct from God or out of the heart and soul of nature, and it is easy for parents to abandon themselves till they find a charm in every feature, contour, and act, and enmesh the infant in superstitions and credulities, some of which are cherished for each child only in the heart of its mother. In the case of Jesus the rudeness of the stable environment gives a good background for maternal tenderness, makes it more necessary, and brings it out in bolder relief by way of contrast. Even if supernal beings and happenings are not an integral part of the psychic furniture of parents' minds, what mother has not at least flittingly thought of some kinship of her offspring with deity? It is, however, a strange note that this conviction, despite all we are told, did not take deep or permanent possession of Mary's mind, as is apparent in the signs of her incredulity concerning her son's mission.

Jesus was a *first-born child*. Modern science inclines us to think that the endowments of heredity for the eldest child are at least in some slight degree inversely as in most ages his superior rights of inheritance have been. The record distinctly eliminates (Matt. i:25)

the perfervour of the first stages of married life, to which some assign the cause for the inferiority which is often considered a handicap on the future life of eldest children. The record more directly seeks to intimate that there were no accidents of *prima paru* to cause any stigmata. Thus it seems as though nature and instinct did their perfect work and that prenatal influences, which now in the ebb of the wave of Weismannism are being more and more credited, were, despite the journey and the untoward environment, on the whole ideally favourable to the best that nature could do, so that the child entered the world with the full and maximal momentum of a favourable heredity, the first-fruit of parents whose average age might not have been very far from that which modern statistics of greatest viability in the offspring designate as the most favourable for parenthood. At least there is no reason to doubt that both were at the zenith of their mental and physical development or near the apex of maturity, which gives greatest completeness of all reproductive energies.

We can at least conjecture that Jesus was especially a *mother's child*. Fatherhood, whatever we make of the record, is more in the background. Tradition makes Mary fairest among women, and her beauty may have been transmitted to her son, despite the ugliness of the earliest portraits of Jesus, whose form and figure do small credit to his mother's or father's good looks. The Holy Mother is most beloved, and is represented as devoted to her son to the end of his life, long after the death of Joseph. There is much reason to believe that sons tend to produce the psychic superiorities of their mother and girls of their father, while boys inherit from the latter chiefly their physical traits. At any rate, there are principles of cross inheritance. The closest association between mother and son is involved in the entire development of Mariolatry, and the trait of meekness and subjection to the divine will, a note first so strongly struck in Mary's attitude at the annunciation, is also cardinal in the teachings of Jesus, a point that Harnack has pointed out. Moreover, the beautiful soul of Jesus was very rarely endowed with intuitive powers, which also suggests maternal predominance or prepotency.

Fascinating, especially to celibacy, in all ages is the rare union in one person of the charms of virginity and maternity. Maidenhood has charms all its own, with its delicacy, unsullied purity, reserve, idealization, intuitive penetration, and these in many a chapter of

history and literature have achieved great things for the individual and for the race. Motherhood beams with a very different light. The bud has blossomed and borne fruit. The tree of knowledge of good and evil, and also the tree of life, have been tasted. The intuitions are larger, the quality of innocence loftier. These two sides of womanhood here blended have evoked love and adoration in the world second only to that which Jesus himself has called forth. Religious sentiment here idealizes woman as she is conceived to have come from the hand of God, and many a Protestant envies his Catholic friends their attitude toward the Blessed Virgin. No one has ever asked whether she knew Egyptian, Chaldean, or even could read or write her own tongue. She cannot be conceived as bemoaning fancied limitations of her sex or wishing to make sex a sect, but she triumphs and glories in her womanhood and has been adored all these ages as its supreme type, more generic, nearer to the race, richer in love, unselfish devotion, and intuition than man, so that the Madonna idea which teaches that it is more holy to be woman than to have achieved eminence in any kind of superiority, should teach our own sex a corresponding lesson. The worship of Mary has been of potent influence in safeguarding womanhood from the growing danger that it will decline from its orbit, lose just confidence and due pride in its sex as such, till in lapsing toward mannish ways its original divinity becomes clouded.

But even if this occurred, we have another oracle most closely associated with "*das ewige Weibliche*" and to which we can always turn, viz., *das ewige Kindliche*. The oracles of the latter will never fail. However distracted we are in the mazes of new knowledges, skills, ideals, conflicts between old and new; unable though we may be to thrid all the mazes of our manifold modern cultures; we do know that there is one supreme source to which we can look for guidance and which alone can tell us what is really best worth knowing and doing, save us from misfits, perversions, the wastage of premature and belated knowledge, and that is the child in our midst that still leads us because it holds all the keys of the future, so that service to it is the best criterion of all values. It epitomizes the developmental stages of the race, human and prehuman, is the goal of all evolution, the highest object of that strange new love of the naïve, spontaneous, and unsophisticated in human nature, so that we might freely paraphrase the old prayer of the most ardent of all the church fathers, Tertullian:

"Stand forth, O heart and soul of childhood. Reveal thyself to us more fully. We want thee stark naked, unclothed of all disguises, false tastes, bad habits, partial theories, with the purity of that divinity in thee unshadowed just as thou camest forth into the world, fresh from the hand of the Heavenly Father. The norm of thy development is our only sure guide, our pillar of cloud by day and fire by night."

Thus in the combined mother-child worship we have a new orientation of the world toward the ingenuous, germinant, unconscious, instinctive elements of life.

Joseph was a dreamer. Four times his chief decisions were motivated by an angel in a dream, perhaps the same one that appeared in the collocation with Mary, each intervention being in the interest of the child as if Gabriel were perhaps its special guardian. Jesus does not seem to have inherited his oneiromantic tendency, even if Joseph was his father, unless in the far more generalized and lofty propensity to commune with spiritual powers, although the Johannin is more suggestive of some such paternal propensity than the Petrine Jesus. Still, if, as tradition has it, Joseph was old and Mary young; if age in the one parent would tend to precocity, while the youth of Mary would tend to the conservation in the offspring of the best traits of childhood, we have in Jesus' premature wisdom, on the one hand, and his naïveté and spontaneity on the other, traits that well comport with this combination of adolescence and senescence in the parents.

Finally, it would be cowardly to refuse to face certain ancient traditions and various heretics, skeptics, and schismatics since Cerinthus such as have appeared adown the Christian centuries, and a few contemporary writers who have intimated that Jesus was the natural child of both his parents, some of whom have gone so far as to insist that his conception was the result of love without wedlock. This view has never had any very able or scholarly presentation, and has always been extremely repugnant to the Christian consciousness. Many if not most Christologists now really hold with Keim that the story was all a sublime afterthought, that the idea of divine parentage owed its origin to motives that arose later, that Jesus and his parents lived and died with no suspicion on the part of their neighbours and friends of anything exceptional in his birth, and that there was no taint of calumny in this respect from his enemies. Every candid mind will admit that from the biological standpoint alone considered it would be hard

to demonstrate any necessary disadvantage in legal or technical illegitimacy *per se*. Not only have there been great and good bastards in history, but many authorities conclude that foundlings, who are usually illegitimate, are not inferior in health, strength, beauty, or intelligence, while some have even thought them superior to the average child, or at least to what the latter would be if reared under similar, usually disadvantageous, circumstances. They certainly excel in viability orphans, one or both of whose parents are usually less vital than the average. To assume that affection strong enough to defy social restraints is associated with an unusual degree of fecund energy, or that in the classes where such restraints are really felt, as they were intensely among the Jews, there is more probability of real affinity according to the complemental theories of Schopenhauer or Weininger or any other, would indeed in the present state of our knowledge upon these themes be probably unwarranted. There may be, however, some degree of comfort in reflecting that in case the higher or lower criticism should ever compel us to fall back to this position, all would not be lost, and we might even find some unexplored sources of consolation, perhaps in the ancient and long-drawn-out Stoic distinction between nature and convention, or between life on the one hand and man-made law and institutions on the other, which would suggest where the line of the new apologetics as to this point could best be reformed. If there be in the record or in contemporary tradition any suggestion of a cruder moral or social state where paternity is more uncertain than maternity, there is no less evidently a somewhat compensating intimation of the pristine power of the mother to tame and domesticate the father, while, even if complete capitulation were ever made to these fears, we may hope it will not be until the world is sufficiently enlightened and democratized to deeply feel, as we do in modern instances of those who come into the world handicapped by such a stigma, that a man is really what he is for all that. The most superficial pericope will show that granting even the literal truth of the record, there would have been contemporary gossips who doubted as Joseph himself did when "minded to put her away." She was passing fair; but beauty sometimes provokes envy and stirs malicious tongues, and the record does not intimate that these were silenced by any vision such as that which quieted the mind of Joseph. Everything we know of those days indicates that irregularity in this respect, even

in the humblest classes, would not escape censure, such was the rigour of the Hebrew conscience upon this point. Some have urged that if there was danger of a social taint or the suspicion of a *lapsus*, this would not ill comport with the prenatal trip to Bethlehem which might have had another cause than the desire to be honestly taxed, and with the nest-hiding intimation of birth in the stable, and even the foreign trip to Egypt just afterward. If this was in the slightest degree the case, detractors were met by the boldest of all possible poetic conceptions which must have been at the very least no less effective than it is in the Church now. Many women since, too, some mothers of historic significance as well as others of enfeebled minds, have yielded to a superstitious interpretation of the natural exaltation that comes to all normal and right womanhood at the moment when the consciousness of prospective maternity is implanted. Many of them have yielded to the fond illusion of impregnation from supernal personages. Some superstitious mind- and faith-curists of our own day are sincere in the conviction that if faith is strong enough this can occur without male agency, as if by recrudescence of the long-lost power of parthenogenesis. We must admit that the narrative as it stands, although a masterpiece of what might be called the higher psychopedagogical engineering or politics, and although, as we have tried to show, it is a key to perhaps the greatest culture question of early Christianity, will continue in the future, as it has been in the past, to be a stumbling-block to morosophs and skeptics of the coarser type.

Save only the Resurrection, nothing in the New Testament puts such a strain on faith as does the demand to accept the conception of Jesus by the Holy Ghost literally as a biological fact. It is especially hard on educated young people who have been brought up within the pale of the Church, while the reticence that veils such subjects makes the problem which we now approach all the harder. Hence *its pedagogy* presents one of the most difficult problems in the whole field of religious education. To merely protest that it is a physiological impossibility is both banal and tends to obliviousness to its higher symbolic meanings, which are of greatest culture value. Such a course tends to obscure still more our sense of what the mythopeic folk-soul is and does, and is thus not only anti-aesthetic but anti-religious. To discuss frankly in detail, as we have tried to do, the psychic core behind belief in it as a fact and its implications, is, we freely admit, not with-

out danger to the average lay believer (whom we are not addressing here) of encountering the resistance by which normal instinctive shame and modesty tend to veil sex, and also of arousing the old *odium theologicum* to the highest pitch now permitted to it. Analysis of this belief is the last thing the Church wants or that the clergy will permit or even undertake in their own souls. It is a holy mystery from which they as rigidly exclude reason and science as the Church of the past did where it felt its own precious values jeopardized.

For this attitude the modern geneticist has no longer censure, but seeks only to offer both appreciation and explanation. The middle way between both these extremes first recommended concerning this (and two or three other cardinal articles of ancient faith), is to ignore and allow it to lapse quietly to innocuous desuetude from the Christian consciousness, which has now other and more pressing themes. Its ritual iteration has been called now a mere form, a vague invention, an *auto da fé*, a protestation of loyalty not so much to the particular fact as to what the founders used so vitally to believe, or an expression of tenderness to the obsolete convictions of our forbears, a modern instance expressive of the old instinct that made Confucian ancestor-worship, etc. Another form of this tendency now appears in the call to all who are both cultured and Christian to strive to realize to the saturation point all the higher spiritual meanings of this dogma, till the inner conflict concerning its literal verisimilitude is forgotten, somewhat as we have tried to do above. Intense and many as are the storms of controversy that have raged throughout every Christian century about this point, it is happily no longer a storm centre, save only at a certain stage of development during the storm-and-stress period of youth. Here, perhaps, experienced academic teachers of religious thinking best of all realize how often ephebic doubt, which may in the end sweep away all ecclesiastical influences, begins with this to it veritable *caput mortuum*.

Now the psychological fact is that each of the above trends exists in every one intelligently interested in Christianity. Those at the extreme of assent and dissent and all those between differ only in the degree of prepotency of the one or the other of these dispositions and in the rigour with which they seek to repress the non-preferred and submerged inclinations in their own souls of the deeper unconscious tendencies of which even the expert psychologist still knows so little.

It is only a commonplace to note that many of the most vociferous denunciations of heresy in others are really often only attempts to exorcise the spectre of doubt in the minds of champions of the faith. What was it that inspired Omar, the friend and successor of Mohammed, just after seeing his master breathe his last, to go out of the tent and affirm with the most solemn oath that the founder of the Moslem faith still literally lived and to vow to decapitate any one who doubted or denied it? Why, when it was proven by every method of critical evidence, that William Tell was a solar hero and never really existed, did Swiss scholars who knew better deny it and excuse themselves for so doing because of the fear of its effects upon Swiss patriotism as well as upon the local prestige of Uri, which abounds with historical monuments commemorative of incidents in Tell's career? It is easy to say that in all such cases, in the phrases of Kant, the founder of the pragmatism that James, Schiller, Dewey, and especially Vaihinger, have elaborated, the postulates of the practical may suspend the pure reason and assert their native predominance over the understanding, or that the will or wish to believe becomes supreme, or that feeling, particularly the sentiment of conviction, transcends the intellect. This fertile trend of thought helps us very much and is in the right direction, but further explanation is necessary and is now to some extent possible here.

Deep down in every individual slumbers a racial soul which acts autistically and comes into the consciousness of the individual only in the most imperfect and fragmentary way as the writhings of the giant Enceladus were fabled to cause the occasional eruptions of Etna. To grasp another halting metaphor (for truth here has as yet no language save symbols, and these are but faintly suggestive), all strata of man's soul abound in fossils representing many long-past stages of culture history, only they are not dead fossils but forces still very active below the threshold of consciousness. The fundamental mechanism here involved first crassifies into material form the truths too volatile to be otherwise held. Such varieties are materialized and cached in myths and rites. A strong propensity to inertia inclines us to escape from the attempts to realize them in the here and now, but nevertheless to sacredly conserve them for the future benefit of the self or the race-soul. They are mummies, penates, idols of an unknown but not unknowable divinity, which transcends them. In this form

they are above fact and are a part of the larger history of the race which has not yet been written because it has not yet occurred. The affirmation of credence in this dogma, for such it is, in the face of modern science, suggests an iceberg broken from some ancient glacier and full of frozen or fossil remains of life, long since extinct, moving sometimes with crushing momentum directly against a strong wind, a phenomenon which would seem paradoxical to one who did not know that it was impelled by a deeper, stronger, denser undercurrent. The wind which carries all surface flotage in its own direction can only reduce the momentum of the iceberg since it is nine tenths under water, showing but one tenth of its bulk to the less dense element above. To those who do not know psychic undertows, there seems thus now a new miracle, viz., the fact that intelligent people protest belief in such a surd. Credence of Luke's story of the inception of Jesus' life itself is now a marvel, and indeed it would be so even had the conception actually occurred as recorded. We make it true because we want it to be so, and we wish it true because the feelings, which is a collective name for the blurred vestiges of ancestral experience in us, betone and animate it with their own creative vitality.

Thus at bottom man feels his own nature to be divine. He dimly senses, though he knows it not, that all deities are ejects, projects, ectypes, of his own being, objectified in the interests of his own better self-knowledge, self-reverence, and self-control. He does not venture to affirm all this of his own individuality, for he is too conscious of personal limitations and defects. He feels dimly vast and transcending possibilities in himself as if the entire *genus homo* were trying to come to the birth in him. He responds and even aspires to all that is best and greatest in life, history, art, religion, and tends more or less faintly to realize all his wildest ideals and ambitions for the good, beautiful, and true; but on the other hand he feels his own "excelsior" impulsions thwarted, repressed, checked, and gradually finds that he must renounce the fulfilment of most of his wishes and youthful day-dreams. Hence he comes to have a sense of inferiority, incompleteness, sin, ignorance, weakness, if not insignificance. His fond longings do not materialize, but on the contrary they fade so that there is always progressive disappointment, disillusion, a sense of shortage and unworthiness, which may culminate in despair. The experience is inevitable and universal, varying only in degree as we pass from the earlier

and more generic on toward the later and more specific stages of life.

When to man, torn with these antagonistic experiences, comes the suggestion that there is or was a member of his own species, in all points like him, who actualized all his fond might-have-beens (even though he had to give them another and better interpretation), an exemplar embodying the higher man idea which was in danger of being lost, who not only lived and died but was even conceived without taint of man's gravest sin, who lived himself out fully and with abandon, with no repression, and nevertheless was faultless, who was a complete man and also at the same time all that there was of essential divinity—this suggestion men seized upon with an avidity unprecedented. It was the gladdest possible gospel, evangel, good tidings. It appealed to the oldest, deepest things in the soul, which had been long overlaid. It brought salvage by reversion to the oldest, deepest, soundest elemental forces in human nature, before it was fabled to have fallen to a stage of less vitality, a pristine experience which old oracles typified as eviction from paradise. Man found consolation for a sense of his own defects by falling in love with the highest redaction of his old ideals of humanity that he could make. If the individual was frail and sinful, the type-man that slumbered deep within him incarnated all the best things that man in all his history had ever imagined. There will thus forever be a sense in which the full deification of Jesus means the potential deification of man. Thus in the story of Jesus' conception the folk-soul completed the apotheosis of man. Jesus coming down to earth is only the ambivalent form of saying that man was exalted to divine sonship. Each is the necessary truth and complement of the other. Our belief in it is a revived wish of the infancy of our race and helps it on toward re-realization.

All religions, particularly the Hebrew-Christian, bottom in a sense of loss and restitution, or departure from a norm and return to it. Something archetypal was lost and is found. The psychogenetic problem is what is typified by the reminiscence of paradise to which we hark back. To this problem I find an answer new and true in the cycle of thought represented by Durkheim and his school, which so far as it applies here may be succinctly stated as follows: There was once a stage, through which all races passed, which was marked by tribal solidarity of a kind and degree we have so far lost that it is hard for

us even to conceive it. The supreme, all-absorbing unity was the social group, clan, or tribe, in which the individual lived, moved, and had his being, or was as a cell in a large organism. All he was and did was in its service. Sometimes, as in corroborees, or in time of great public excitement or danger, all not only came together but acted, felt, thought, as one, and personal ends completely merged in those of the social group. Of this stage we have a survival, although a very aberrant one, in the psychology of the mob. Each felt strong, was angry, fearful, good or bad, with the strength, etc., of the whole, and so each was exalted, ecstatic, enlarged, potentialized as the spirit of the community entered, expanded, and swept through his soul, and all his always very strong gregarious instincts reached their acme upon such occasions. These experiences constituted inspiration, regeneration, for the incipient fragmentary isolated egoes that combined in them. Real life was experienced on these communal, festal occasions when each person's individuality was merged in the soul of his folk—at the same time swallowed up and vastated and reinforced. Perhaps, too, as this group of investigators opine, in this state the individual transcended even the species to which he belonged, and had an experience of unique unity and fusion between himself and the universe, becoming sympathetically one not only with his clan but with nature itself.

However that be, our point is that religious experiences to-day are reminiscent of this largely lost state of solidarity, and that our devotion to the type-man, Jesus, is reinforced by this atavistic element that had its source as indicated above. The "saved" soul's attitude toward Jesus has thus as one of its survival components what our ancient tribesmen forbears felt in their joint celebrations toward the sippe, stirp, or social whole of which each was a member. The devotion and loyalty, and even their direction, when we analyze from patent to latent, are the same in both, although their object is given a more definite, personal, artistic, and morally more perfect as well as a more portative embodiment; for Jesus typifies the human race, and not merely one aggregation of its units. The Conception myth means not that one individual of it, but the genus man was God-made, however we interpret God, even indeed if we identify him with nature.

When man slowly achieved the conquest of the great mammals between whom and himself the struggle for existence was so long and hard, glowed with the first flush of lordship over the brute creation,

and realized that there was nothing higher in the world than he; and when capping all this he developed a few strong human groups, perhaps themselves isolated when the globe was sparsely populated, but often meeting and subduing other weaker groups and amalgamating them into an ever larger aggregate (meanwhile anthropomorphizing nature in all its aspects); it is no wonder that he felt his type or *eidos* to be the consummate thing in all the cosmos, at the same time its crown and its key, and so often came to project images of his collective folk-self as gods, always made, if always unconsciously, in his own image. His deities of old tell us what man really thought of himself and his species. His pride often made him excite even the envy of the gods he had made, and he was always bending them to his will, while their very nature and doings were simply the objectivization of his own inmost collective soul. They were made of his own traits and ideals, and their degree of objective reality was exactly the inverse of man's lack of knowledge of his larger, social self and its theo-thetic activities. To bring them back, to re-subjectify them, is the perennial endeavour of religion.

To ascribe to them the power to generate men, however, always marks an important step in their subordination and rehumanization. Having begotten, gods reënter the domain of man and take the first step toward their own dedivinization. After Christ became God we hear no more of the sublime Yahveh of the prophets, inhabiting eternity, filling space, etc., for his absoluteness was gone and his twilight had begun. Whatever theory of kenosis or the degree in which God went over to his human Son in the incarnation we proffer, the conception of the latter was the knell of the old prophetic magnification of God's infinite attributes. He is no longer transcendental, independent, apart, or above, but is smalled down to the compass and dimensions of man from whom he sprang, on whom all ideas of the gods are first patterned. With Jesus' origin some virtue went out of Yahveh and certain of his more absolute traits were sloughed off, so that he and his Kingdom could be reidentified with man and his kingdom. We can thus already see that here, as everywhere, orthodoxy is only an effort to conserve the right intellectual conception of man's orthogenesis, and is always both truer and wiser than it knows.

Primitive Christianity thus meant race solipsism so far as pertained to religion, all of which was resolved back into man, as Berkeley and idealism by his slogan, *Esse est percipi*, reduced all the world back

into the individual, and as the idealism of Fichte resolved it back into an absolute will, as Hegel did into reason. These three thinkers were only doing over again, although far more consciously and methodically for nature, what Jesus, John, Paul, and the early Christians, had done more instinctively and unconsciously for God and all his *entourage*. In the first centuries of our era, in other words, theology began to be slowly resolved back to anthropology, as later epistemological idealism anthropomorphized nature in its way. Patristic literature was constantly applying the predicates of God not so much to man in general as to *redeemed* man, as mystics have always been fond of doing. Much that Feuerbach says along this line would have been truer had he not made the fatal mistake of relatively ignoring the difference between the redeemed and the wicked, because God and man become identical chiefly in the soul of saints and the elect. In them prayer is a dialogue between the individual and the racial or unconscious self within, misconceived as without, themselves. Thus there is a sense in which man's knowledge of God is progressive self-knowledge. Especially in becoming good man becomes God, participating more or less in his ipsissimal nature. This saving sense of kind was not absent from the souls of the wicked and vestiges of it were even in devils. It is thus man's better generic self outwardly projected that man has always and everywhere worshipped. Religion apotheosized man, purging away all individual sin and error. Than himself thus spiritualized there is no other God. Thus only a son of man can become son of God. First man strove so long and hard to exalt himself to deity that he overdid it, and so later had to struggle long and hard again to reduce Godhood back to humanity. Now universal man (as once it was only totemic, racial man) is the only criterion of truth as well as of all moral and other values. God is the soundest core and essence, the truest instinct of man. As known he is our own deepest self-knowledge and as unknown he is man's sub- or un-conscious nature, and hence his objectivity is always secondary and never primary. The antithesis between God and man is then really that between the individual and the *genus homo*, Comte's "*Le grand être*," Hobbe's "Leviathan" at its best, purified, sublimated, made free and invested with all the worthy attributes of the race. His goodness, justice, love, etc., are really man's and valid only to and in man. He is the truth, virtue, beauty of man. The real atheist is only he who denies these attributes

to man. To think meanly of one is to do so of the other. Thus man is not merely the measure of the religious world but the *fons et origo* of it all. In the stage of heterization, or the diastole of the folk-soul, it ascribes to God all that it wishes but has had to renounce for itself, so that, as objective, he is our relinquished self or its complement. The Pelagians said man, the Augustinians said God, is good, wise, great, etc. Both are true, and the truth of each lies in the reciprocal ambivalent truth of the other. This is the only sense in which God is the creation of man. Having been thus evolved in the slow saecular process of psychogenesis, he becomes himself invested with personality, turns back, makes man his object, and is said to reveal to man again the stored-up wisdom, goodness, etc., with which humanity has gradually endowed him. Thus man became the object of the subject he had made and to whom he had given power over himself. Then comes a third and final stage in which man himself, having been the victim of the creation of his own soul, to which he had long subjected and even humiliated himself, began to realize that his gods and religion are really made by his own deeper and always creative soul. As this process of realization advances, man feels himself immeasurably exalted and even rejuvenated, and this process and result is the essence of Christianity. Thus we have a reciprocity; now objectivity is very real and crass, and then subjectivity in its turn may go too far. We might thus add to the motto *vox populi, vox Dei*, and say the soul of the people is the very soul of God. This republics and democracies should feel even more than monarchies, which are in fact always less theocratic.

Now nothing in the culture history of the past has been so fecundating as these processes; especially when the analytic stage is passing into the synthetic, deities are slowly reducing themselves to human form and the bifurcation of *Diesseits* and *Jenseits* is being overcome. Thus some of the *obiter dicta* of Feuerbach may still be of service in bringing into clearer light a new philosophical appreciation of the birth story of Jesus. It might be called the return of the not so much prodigal as ostracized God to his father, man. He had wandered into a far country and lived there long in splendour, but the lure of the fairest of earth's daughters only typifies his home-sickness for his fatherland, Mansoul. So there is a sense in which generic man or humanity is truly God's father and is recognized as such by the title Son of God, which Jesus gave to himself. Thus God's home-coming

commemorates man's coming to the glory and strength of his maturity, and Christianity is documented as the best and last of all religions, for it is all *ad majorem gloriam hominis*. Of this new début of God or of God's return into human life and of the prodigious advance which its ever deepening, widening processional down the Christian centuries caused, Luke's preluding galaxy of introductory incidents to this supreme human drama, is a fit and noble proem.

CHAPTER FIVE

BEGINNINGS OF THE SUPREME PEDAGOGY

Palestine in Jesus' day—Jesus' problem which began with a passion for common morality and purity—The Baptist and Fichte—Jesus' relations to the former—John as a moral presentifier—His ethical katharsis—The effects of the Baptism on Jesus—The psychology of the three temptations—The choice and training of the disciples.

PALESTINE in Jesus' time was extremely different from what it is now. It was a fat and fertile land, and intensively cultivated, for the ancient Hebrews had a passion for agriculture. Its diverse altitudes, which gave it a varied climate, also made it yield a vast variety of products. It was well watered and timbered and crossed by the great caravan routes between Africa and Asia. It was rather densely populated (one writer estimates five million inhabitants) although we have no reliable data on this point. It was indeed a land of plenty, flowing with milk and honey. It was beautiful, and its people were very industrious. Of old it was the land promised to their fathers, and had been looked forward to through all the forty years in the wilderness. To see the Children of Israel established in it was the goal of Moses' endeavour, and under Joshua their blood had been poured out to take the land from the corrupt Canaanites. Throughout the *diaspora* and in all the captivities their soul had yearned for and idealized it. Here they had multiplied and prospered. It had been given them as a patrimony by their deity, and no fatherland has ever been more passionately loved. It had been hallowed by associations with the theocracy and the great prophets, and the memory of the splendid kingdom under David and Solomon. Thus few lands and races in history have been so closely mated.

Despite these great advantages the people at the dawn of our era were wretched, depressed, and miserable. Some three score years before, the Romans had feudalized the land and practically made the Hebrews captive in it. Liberty was gone. There were taxes on persons,

income, cattle, roads, bridges, movable property, and market sales, and, worst of all, these taxes were farmed out to the highest bidders, who often sublet them and extorted more in the form of forced presents, if not by more aggressive means. These resources went to sustain the Roman courts and armies. Thus the people were kept in bitter poverty in their own land of abundance. They were in perpetual dread of their creditors and of venal judges who could enslave debtors, sell their wives and children, and even put them to death. There was thus great economic as well as political tension, and there were occasional outbreaks of revolt, while the strong and long-repressed hope of a great deliverer, which had flamed up in the days of Judas Maccabeus (he of the mailed fist, who after ages of exile and captivity had thrown off the foreign yoke and given his people an all too brief but welcome taste of independence), had in the two centuries since this event almost died out. Not only was their kingdom lost, but their religion had reached perhaps its lowest ebb. No prophet of note had appeared for three centuries; for piety had been almost lost in the petty rivalries of sects, and righteousness had become a lifeless thing of rigid forms and ceremonies, some of which must have made life a burden to those who tried to conform to them. At this hour, on the whole perhaps the darkest the chosen race had ever seen, the dim but majestic figure of John the Baptist appeared.

In their reports concerning him the discrepancies of the four Gospels almost reach their climax. Legends, which are very loquacious about him, differ widely, and so do modern scholars. The well-known paragraphs of Josephus suggest no relation between John's agitation and the work of Jesus. He has played a not insignificant rôle in pagan nature saga.[1] On the other hand, those who deny the historicity of Jesus deny that of John.[2] Thus divergencies, even in essentials, are far beyond the possibility of harmonization by the methods of critical scholarship. The Baptist's psychopheme, if we may thus call the collective rank and tangled mass of tradition and literature about him, however we interpret it, constitutes an integral element of Jesusism; for without it our conception of all the first part of Our Lord's career would have to be quite radically recast. It presents, however, a most challenging and stimulating problem to the

[1] Dähnhardt: "Natursagen." 1902. Bd. 2., *passim.*

[2] See, e. g., W. B. Smith: "Jesus and the Baptist." *Open Court*, 1914, p. 38 *et seq.*

psychologist. His problem, however, is not insoluble, and his first task is to rescue the Baptist from the rôle which has, from the first, been assigned to him, of being a mere *avant-coureur* of Jesus. Subsequent events made him this. The chief factors in his psychic diathesis may be characterized with much confidence somewhat as follows:

(1) The prime motivation of his life was a passion for common, everyday personal morality. He was an inflamed conscience, and he was also ahungered and athirst for righteousness. His *vox clamantis in deserto* was that of the categorical imperative, although, unlike Kant's formulation of it as pure oughtness, John applied its momentum to specific duties of individuals and vocations, telling publicans, soldiers, etc., what to do. His prescriptions were not merely negative, like those of the decalogue, nor did they merely gently dissuade from wrong courses like the daimon of Socrates, but they were essentially positive as well as specific: "Share your food and raiment, do no violence, accuse no one falsely, be content with your wages. Your boasted Abrahamic descent is of no avail. Your leaders are a generation of vipers." Unlike many of the prophets of old, he had no word of commiseration for his countrymen because of their subjection to an alien power. He enumerated no formidable list of their sins, made no awful indictment of general depravity, did not attempt to hearten the people by any predictions of good times coming, nor did he inveigh against the temple or its services. His tocsin was addressed to each individual, assuming that he best knew his own sins, to change his life for the better. John was essentially an ethical revivalist, which is very different from being a cold ethical culturist. His appeal for moral reformation was direct, concise, and personal. His method, too, was contagious, because the soul of the ancient Hebrews was so soaked with an inveterate sense, deeply graven in it by all their laws and prophets and racial history as they interpreted them, that all outer hardships and calamities were sent as penalties for wrong-doing, and on the other hand, that prosperity was a reward of merit. Hence, their present low estate must be a measure of their sin and an index of Yahveh's displeasure. The eternal Jew gave the world the feeling which he to-day finds it hard to escape, that prosperity and happiness not only belong to but express virtue, although the obverse conviction that failure and pain are the outer expression of sin, as the Book of Job describes it, is hard to realize. This, Kant thought, proved a

transcendental world where virtue and happiness and also sin and pain get together, as they must somewhere, or else the deep instinctive sense of justice in the human soul is a lie and this is not a moral world. Such, then, was the "Word" which came to John in the desert, and which he proclaimed, "Be good as you have never striven to be before; examine and reform your lives."

To this end he insisted it was necessary to envisage, objectify, and thus realize what is wrong in heart and conduct, and pass judgment upon it. The lips of the oracle in the soul, always present if often mute, which distinguishes between right and wrong, must be unsealed. The three great words are, repent, confess, forsake. The Nietzschean supermoralist never regrets, still less confesses, but psychoanalysis has abundantly shown the transcendent power of just this moral therapy and has even justified much in the theory and practice of the confessional. To bring a submerged complex up into consciousness is the essential first step toward evicting it from the soul. John demanded of each a moral autodiagnosis. Not only must faults of character and conduct be realized within as such, but they must be still further alienated by telling them to one or more others, partly because the act of doing so makes them less a part of our own selfhood, and partly because the knowledge that others know our defects constitutes a potent reinforcement of our own efforts for self-betterment.

Now this moulting of the bad is typified by the old rite of baptism, a washing of the body, symbolic of inner cleansing, as if sin were impurity that had accumulated from without, or an eruption or exudation. Modern hygiene has shown many new associations between cleanliness and virtue; but John here struck a note that had been dominant through the whole of Hebrew story and cult, viz., that of purity. Ablutions almost without number; the fire of the altar, and even the motive itself of the sacrifice; the regimen of the home, camp, and temple; food prescriptions and taboos; permissible and nonpermissible marriages—all these and many more were shot through with the distinctions between clean and unclean. Everything was motivated by the desire for purity, of which baptism was the outer sign and virtue the inner substance. To have revived these old echoes in the Semite soul, and to have interpreted all in a purely personal and ethical sense; to have so profoundly impressed the masses that they came forward and publicly admitted their sin and committed

themselves before others to reform, was a prodigious achievement, and has its own moving lessons for our present faltering endeavours toward moral education and reform. The movement John started was far-reaching, in every sense, and was of the highest and most intrinsic significance.[1] Even in Paul's time we are told of John's disciples, ten in one group, who had never heard of Jesus and were preaching their master's protevangelicum. Just what dimensions the movement he inaugurated really did attain, and what it would have become had it not been superseded by Jesus, we can hardly hope to know, any more than we can what Socrates would have been without Plato. Socrates had his Xenophon, but John left us no spokesman; and we have no idea how much or little Jesus owed to him.[2]

(2) But this fanning of the flame of righteousness in the soul is always and everywhere the one and only sound psychopedagogic beginning of every genuine religious awakening. Without this basis piety is pathological. If religion be only morality touched with emotion, it adds to the former a sense of reinforcement from a higher power not ourselves, however we interpret it. This the popular consciousness needs in order to sustain its grail-quest for purity, which languishes without it. For the multitude, virtue for its own sake lacks and needs the sanctions which religion supplies. The individual needs to experience an eruption of the deeper, greater, ethnic soul of his folk. By just so much as John felt this he thereby realized that he had made only a right beginning and that a higher transcendental consummation was needed if his work was to grow, or even to last. From some such inner

[1] O. Holtzmann: "Leben Jesu." Tübingen, 1901, 428 p. Ch. v, "Johannes der Täufer."

[2] Harnack ("What is Christianity?" 2 ed. rev., New York, 1903., 322 p.) very briefly suggests a modern analogue to John in Fichte, which we must amplify. In 1806 the power of Prussia was shattered at a blow by the Battle of Jena. Its army, allies, industry, trade, were swept away, the country impoverished and exhausted, and its capital garrisoned by French soldiers. Its soil had never been fertile, nor its spirit practical, and its history showed more discord than unity. Its military situation, with strong nations on all sides, was the worst in history. The Teutonic stock had never known such humiliation, and its future had never seemed so dark; but the inspiration came in the "Addresses to the German Nation," given by Fichte in Berlin each Sunday evening through the winter to large crowds, with Napoleon's sentries at the door and his spies scattered through the hall. He said in substance: "We have still left our strong and healthy bodies, our language, all our own, not an agglomerate of many tongues like English, and a pure blood never mixed with other races. We have our grand traditions. We have wrought out the Reformation, one of the greatest tasks the human spirit has ever achieved. Our ancestors from their tombs call to us not to let the work they died in doing be in vain. We carry the light and hope of the world. If we sink, freedom and humanity sink with us. There is one plain and only way for patriotic restoration. This is not primarily by armies or legislation, but by the slow process of national education we must begin at the bottom and rise like Bonal or in Pestalozzi's homely but most inspiring tale of the reconstruction of a decadent Swiss village: 'How Gertrude Teaches Her Children.' We must live for our children and train their bodies and minds as never was done in the world before. This has been our chief excellence in the past; our great thinkers have set the human spirit free, and have lived for and in ideas and ideals. Thus our duty of duties is to realize the Platonic republic, wherein the wisest ruled and racial education was the chief problem of statesmanship. Our policy and destiny must be to clarify our minds; our leaders must be priests of truth and in her pay, investigating fearlessly in all directions, and ready to do and suffer all in the world's holiest cause of science and learning. All classes must unite, else the real Fatherland long hoped for and long delayed can never come. If we can rise to this lofty duty men of a higher type than the world has yet known will appear." Thus Fichte, idealist and moral enthusiast, spoke and was heard, as no one else had spoken or been heard in his race, at least since Luther. Education to him was a new dispensation of religion itself. In accordance with this appeal, the University of Berlin was founded by far more practical men; education was made cardinal, the central item of national policy; Scharenhorst reconstructed the military system, almost on its present basis; Stein re-edited the land laws and the status of peasants; Jahn founded everywhere the patriotic *Turner* societies, and preached again the gospel of ancient Greece, that only strong muscles can make men great and nations free. It is the soul of Teutonism thus regenerated that is yet marching on.

sense in John's own soul may have originated the second note in his message, which the synoptists so stress, viz., that of subordination to a greater than he, who was soon to appear and finish what he had begun. Perhaps he felt that the very multitude of his followers, or at any rate the earnestness of their struggles to improve, must constitute an irresistible call to some mightier builder in the realm of soul to complete the structure, the foundations of which he had so well laid. Great men appear when they are greatly needed, and John had made this need a crying one. With the folk a new morality is liable to abort without a new religion. Individual impulses to reform need to be supplemented and reinforced by the energies that slumber in the depths of the unconscious, generic soul of humanity, to work effectively on which is the specialty of religious genius. True, some passages in John's pronouncements may give a slight colour to the view that he really expected the Lord himself to come to carry on his work; that his baptism of fire was an eschatalogical finale. But so far as his belief that he was only an inceptor of a greater movement focussed in any real or imagined personality, it was doubtless directed toward a human and not a divine being. John probably thus did share the Messianic expectations of those about him, although we do not know how definite they were and just how much his sense, if he had it, that he was only a herald, annunciator, or way-preparer, was an afterthought. If John was enacting a foreordained rôle which was only a prologue to the Jesus-drama, or if there was collusion between him and Jesus, then John's character loses something of its primordial inner moral spontaneity; for if he had known nothing of Jesus before he appeared as a stranger at the baptism, his own personality would seem enhanced. Unlike Jesus, John was uncouth, laconic, with a simpler and more incessantly repeated message. John did no healing, Jesus no baptizing. If both were independent as well as contemporary products of the *Zeitgeist*, especially as some of the disciples of John became those of Jesus, while others remained true to their master in prison, and even after his death, it follows that it was almost inevitable that the work of these two leaders must be correlated. The fact of John's early departure from the scene would naturally suggest that heaven ordained him as a fit messenger, and so by the time the Gospels were composed he had become only the morning star ushering in the Lord of Day. Mark, the earliest Gospel, has least, Matthew more, and Luke still more to say of subordination, while in

the Fourth Gospel John does little save to designate Jesus as the Son of God, earth's Redeemer, who is fated to increase as he to decrease, so that he does little more than pronounce his *morituras saluto*. Surely, too, those who heard him would not have been so moved if they had thought him merely an advance agent of another. They must have regarded him as a prophet in his own right, and their response was to his own appeal. But however great he was, his reduction to an introducer was really inevitable with the growth of the greater influence of Jesus. It is, however, time that his dynamic moralism be more or less rescued from its twilight and restored to just appreciation. Again, conversely, if his cogent lesson was taught until all interested knew it by heart; if his bow was shot, his power exhausted, and his untimely taking-off invented to mask the waning of his power, it was also an ingenious device to lay his fictive execution as another indictment against the weak and hated Herod, acting on the whim of a spiteful woman.

Very successfully launched on his career, Jesus was interviewed by a messenger from the imprisoned John, to ask if he were really the Christ. Perhaps John had not heard all that Jesus was doing, or he may have expected still greater things. Perhaps, too, there is intimation that even though Jesus be not the Christ, his faith that there must be some other somewhere was undaunted. John's question, which was characteristically direct, Jesus did not answer, as John probably wanted, by a specific yes or no. Perhaps he was not yet sufficiently sure of himself, or not yet ready to proclaim his Christhood openly. So his response was immediately to set about healing "many" sick, plague-stricken, possessed, and blind, and to tell John's messengers to report to their master that they had also seen the deaf and lepers cured, the dead raised, and the Gospel preached to the poor. Perhaps Jesus thought these therapeutic marvels would most impress John, who was not a healer, as John's specialty of baptism had most impressed Jesus, and that from this report he would infer the answer to his question. When the emissaries of John had gone, he catechized his circle as to why they had been drawn to John, pronounced him the greatest yet born of woman, although less than the least in the new Kingdom. While it is hard to find in this episode, as some have sought to do, any trace of pique on Jesus' part at John's uncertainty about him, there are phrases in the narrative and after-comments that sug-

gest a perhaps studied ambiguity. It has been said that Jesus thought John would understand reports of cures as symbols of a healing of the soul more effective than John's cleansing baptism had been, although this acted answer hardly suggests a baptism of fire. There is certainly now a tendency to reverse the traditional view that John recognized the new therapeut as the one he had predicted, and died happy. Rather, the consensus of scholarly opinion stresses the probability that John died oppressed with doubt. Jesus is represented as being moved and seeking solitude when he heard of John's imprisonment and death. If he had regarded John as an important coadjutor, he realized now that he was alone. We are also told that he was perhaps in danger of John's fate, since Herod thought him John come back to life.

Our ignorance of John is increasingly baffling and almost exasperating. Perhaps his mission, once thought to be very short, was far longer and his work far greater than has been supposed, and perhaps Jesus was far more influenced and inspired by John than we have known. Perhaps, had John not died, his disciples would never have gone over to Jesus. Perhaps, if one of John's disciples, who had never known Jesus, had written an account of the Baptist, Jesus would have been robbed of some of his chief superiorities, and the contrasts that the Gospels so subtly suggest would be lost. If we may infer from Luke's tale of John's birth that his parents were very old, he must have been early orphaned and had to nurse his fiery spirit alone in the wilderness. The few who doubt John's existence stress the fancied symbolism of his meeting death at the hands of the Roman soldiery, and regard it as a distinct prefiguring of the way Jesus was to die; while the ruggedness of John's person and method brings out other contrasting effects, so that he is an admirable counterfoil of Jesus. The main point, however, at this historic distance, to those of real spiritual culture, is that a composite portrait of all the records and traditions concerning John has a most impressive verisimilitude. It is so good and true to human nature that we cannot help wishing it to be historically true, and because we do so it will, for all the intents and purposes of faith, always be so.

Finally, John is for us a classic paradigm of the moral presentifier. Everything worth while is or must be realized here and now, and also in the individual. What is afar in time, or place, and also what is racial, was outside his ken. The history, lineage, blood, rites, in

which worths and values had come to centre, were decreed nugatory and bankrupt. Everything is true and real only in so far as it can be utilized for personal, inner betterment. All else is vanity, dross, refuse, chaff. Modern biological ethics only reaffirms; and, indeed, we can never get beyond or outside this. The energized will absorbs intellect and feeling in its intentness on the present duty, and the present sucks into itself the virtue of the past and the future, as in the Bergsonian *durée réelle*. Thus man is at his highest and his best. There is no other time and place, but the present is all in all. This is the universal formula of the potentialization of the individual, and one of its chief attainments is unification of soul against all dispersive and schizophrenic influences. Our scattered powers, attainments, and experiences are harmonized and consolidated, and all the partial components of selfhood are brought to bear for all they are worth, and focalized upon the end in view. Just as shocks of anger and fear may wake dormant powers, summate them, and dynamogenize us, leaving us better, stronger, and more safeguarded against every danger of fission of the ego, so a sudden sense of personal sin arouses every moral resource of our nature to better our lives, and to bring a new diathesis of higher moral tension. This is self-salvation, moral autotherapy.

But if this is the greatest theme in the world, the personal duty of duties, it is also the hardest of them all, and human life is in no small part made up of devising ways of distraction or diversion from it. The passion to do the other thing is inveterate. The soul is full of schemes of procrastinations, of resolutions that abort, of truths that we put into the cold storage of symbols, of obligations that we seek to satisfy by ceremonies, of flabby reasonings and day-dreams that vicariate for achievement. Whenever the present is too hard for us, we fly for refuge to the past or to memory, or find reversion in amusement, which is abandonment to the impulsions of childhood. We place the form for the substance, the sign for the thing it means, easy convention for hard virtue. In our very research we are prone to accumulate notes and protocol data without the incessant mental *Bearbeitung* and interpretation which they need, and lacking which they become mere learned rubbish. The intensive resistance to moral self-knowledge, self-control, and improvement is the most inveterate of all. Things that ought to be done, instead of leaping to accomplishment, are stored up in the shadowy limbo of hopes deferred. The times or conditions

are never fully ripe, and the psychological moment never strikes. Neither the self as a whole, nor any element in it, is trusted with abandon. The god of things as they are is an unknown god. Wishes and imagination grow pale and falsetto instead of being installed into living actualities. Thus the present is emptied of all meaning and value, rather than filled with them to repletion. How readily all these coward refugees from reality may become pathological in all spheres of life, psychoanalysis has abundantly shown. All these above traits of degeneration John found rife all about him, and hence the Gospel that was needed and that he preached was that of presentification. Doctrines, traditions, punctilious ceremonies, are at best mere types and symbols of the one thing needful—righteousness. What is implicit in them must be made explicit. Though they seem *bewusstseinsunfähig*, they are not. They must and can be made conscious, because consciousness is essentially remedial. Awareness is always and everywhere ancillary to activity, and is incomplete without it. It is thus reorientation in the interests of better adaptation or reeducation, and this is the method of change and transformation.

Thus while John could ring up the dispersed components available for reform in the individual, he must have come to feel the need of another and greater presentifier who could summate the deeper and larger resources of the racial soul; for without the consummating work of the religious poet-artist, who is master in this field, the work of the best reformer of individual lives is prone to lapse. If John's more superficial work upon the personal consciousness consisted in taking the first step toward racializing the individual, the larger, converse work of individualizing the racial yet remained for Jesus. Self-consciousness, touched and inspired by the larger life of the race, is always expanded and swings into conformity with it in the moral life, and this is much. It needs, however, to be completely saturated and possessed by it, in order that the soul be definitively saved. Hence a greater presentifier of the racial soul must come, who can do in its domain a work analogous to that which John did for the individuals whom he transformed. Personal life experience is too limited in its resources to fully convert itself, unless the larger reserves that slumber beneath the threshold in the life of the kind or species can be rung up and turned on to advance individual initiative to a higher potential or to bring its inceptions to completeness. The new self-improvement

morality must feel itself caught up and borne on as if by a larger heteronomous power. Self-reform is foetal and old conceptions actually make Jesus an *accoucheur* of John's endeavours, symbolizing the new birth of the individual into the larger life of humanity. This presentification focusses the whole life of man into the transforming personal and universalized here and now. This was typified by John's trope of the baptism of fire, which tests precious metal and resolves all that is worthless to ash, dross, or smoke.[1]

Some have conjectured that the great *nabi* of ethical katharsis or purgation developed a protensive, expectant anxiety as his ministry proceeded, as he came to realize that he could not complete what he had begun, and that he watched the crowds that flocked to him with growing dread lest a fit successor should not appear, realizing that otherwise his work would be doomed to oblivion, and perhaps derision, like that of many mad prophets that these sad times had produced. Again, some who, in the wake of Drews, doubt that Jesus ever lived, have gone so far as to urge that John's prediction was never fulfilled at all, and that no greater than he ever appeared, and tell us that this explains the problem, hitherto baffling, why John's ministry was so brief and his design so incomplete. On this view the earliest and best of those we have been wont to call Jesus' disciples were really those of John only, and after the latter had been disheartened, discredited, and perhaps imprisoned and slain as an agitator, charged with raising hopes that showed no signs of possible fulfilment in fact, they set to work, perhaps rather deliberately, either with or without collusion, to create a person and give him a career that had he appeared would have been their idea of a realization of John's hopes. On this view, the whole career and life of Jesus were, as it were, made to order, shortly before our Gospels took form, to fit John's specifications. Thus with the first appearance of Jesus at his baptism, we leave the solid ground of history and fact and pass over to that of mythopœic or more or less half-conscious creation of a vivid imagination, loftily and pragmatically motivated. Yet others have conceived John as an invention, perhaps to give Jesus a precursor, such as his ancestor David had in Samuel.

[1]This fire-motif, so prominent later in Jesus' eschatology, is not for John the pyrophilic Heraclitic element from which all things arose and into which the *cosmos* will ultimately be resolved. Nor is water-baptism merely a token of quenching the fire of either God's wrath or of man's lust. The fire-thought here means only a more drastic purification, as of precious metal from dross. Nor have we here an outcrop of the pyrophobic tendency of a keenly awakened sense of sin and guilt as now explained by the new psychology of hell. C. F. Sparkman: "Satan and His Ancestors from a Psychological Standpoint," *Journal of Religious Psychology*, 1912, vol. 5, p. 52-85, 163-194. Nor is there here any intimation of the scortatory *motif* of hypereroticism, of which Freudians make fire always and everywhere the infallible symbol.

Schleiermacher objected that John's message was a veiled challenge or appeal to Jesus to get him out of prison, and that John was chagrined that he would not or could not do so. Skeptics have often raised the ominous question why, if Jesus was all he claimed to be, he let John die in prison. Following the record, however, it is no wonder, brief though the sketches of him are, that this unique figure fired the imagination, and is still so suggestive of sublime dramatic situations that the figure of the great fore-preacher has ever since not only attracted and inspired the propagators of the religious doctrine everywhere, but has left many a record on the history of art, literature, folk-tale, and even plant-lore.

One day, near the close of his career, possibly on its last day, among the throng came a stranger in the prime of life and of such impressive personality that even the aggressive John himself is made to shrink back in awe and at first to refuse to baptize him, but to feel rather impelled himself to be baptized by the hand of one so manifestly his superior. He did at length consent to confer his rite upon this important visitor, but only by way of submission to his command, and after him perhaps baptized no other. If so, his function here culminated, and his office was at an end. This event marks the advent of Jesus from an obscurity which scholarship may well despair of penetrating, into the very centre of the stage of history. There is almost no authentic knowledge, although tradition and conjecture are even more voluble concerning his antecedents than concerning those of John. John's baptism meant repentance for sins, so how could Jesus take it without the implication that he had been a sinner? Hence, many before and since Schrempf have held that he at this point had not been sinless, and needed and experienced repentance and remission, like others, even though in some different degree, or on a higher plane. Perhaps he came to John late because he had hesitated long. He would naturally want both to see John and to know at first hand the effects of his message and rite. His chroniclers must also have felt the need of some point of contact with John vital enough to make Jesus his heir. This dilemma was well met. The implication is clearly brought out that Jesus' natural personality was overwhelmingly impressive to John, or else the latter had wondrous discernment of inner character; or rather, both effects are secured along with another one, viz., the exhibition of Jesus in a most telling attitude of subordination

and humility, and at the same time of authority, compelling John to perform the rite despite his remonstrance.

Jesus entered into his part of the ceremony with a sympathetic *Einfühlung*, abandoning himself to the influence of the moment. To be a good experimental investigator of the work of John, he must become, for the moment at least, his proselyte, and this his genius enabled him to do, although it had to be to some degree as if by proxy, for how could a soul so pure sound the depths of the experience of the conviction of sin? Just this was, however, perhaps precisely what he wanted and did. It was at this point that his consciousness began the great work of bearing the sins of others in a vicarious way. Even if he had not sinned, he had to know how sin felt at its worst. Perhaps in his own soul here first arose something like the later theological distinction between *posse non peccare* and *non posse peccare*. If so, his baptismal experience was for others' sins, which he was to bear, and of which he perhaps here made inner confession. It also marked in his own soul a crisis such that while before he had been able not to sin, he was henceforth unable to sin, because realizing more fully what sin meant. Or else, perhaps, like Parsifal, who before meeting Gundry had been naïvely innocent, but was afterward consciously so, Jesus may have here passed over from instinctive to reasoned virtue.

The effect of the baptism on Jesus' own susceptible soul was profound, and marked perhaps the greatest epoch in his career. He had at any rate heard much of this great soul-purgator, and desired to meet him and feel his spell. Perhaps he had heard that he proclaimed a greater, and wondered who it was. Possibly he thought he might announce himself as John was about to retire. When the sacred office of symbolic cleansing was over and Jesus came up out of the river, his tense, impressionable soul had a vision. For his entranced imagination surcharged with the vivid imagery of the prophets, the heavens seemed to open, and out of their azure depths something very like a dove appeared to descend upon him. Along with this visual came also a compelling auditory impression, like the voice of God, saying, "Thou art my own beloved son." The secret and perhaps all unconscious dream-wish his soul had nourished now sprang into consciousness, as if it were a veritable realization. Assuming that this occurred to him alone and only, i. e., that the dove was entoptic and the voice entaural, he must have imparted this experience in some confidential way and

hour to some one, and have discussed its reality and meaning. If he had experienced one of those critical moments that the tame psychology of the modern toned-down mind calls illusory, it would be neither strange nor even abnormal; for imagination always, and especially in his age and land, made thought far more pictorial than now, and Oriental mentation, too, often works in great throbs and pulses when under great stresses. Whether it was all an objective miracle, an hallucination, a thought, or the revival of a long fondly and secretly cherished wish, the incident has great dramatic validity. The Ebionites thought that at this moment Jesus first became divine; the synoptists thought that he then received the Holy Ghost, perhaps prefigured by John's baptism of fire, and itself prefiguring Pentecost. The most psychological of modern Christologists, however, think it an endopsychic experience which consisted in Jesus' receiving his afflatus, or inspiration, or in being dowered with the enthusiasm of humanity that Renan, or in attaining the supernormal or erethic or ecstatic state that Holtzmann, makes such a leading trait of Jesus' life and character. On this view, from the rapt state into which his higher powers now deployed, he became always thereafter more predisposed toward, and at all moments nearer to, a more or less entranced state, which came to be habitual. In this experience his spirit assumed the erect posture which man's body did long ago, erecting himself above himself in a way no less epochal for the coming superman.

To meditate in solitude upon the stupendous problem thus sprung upon him, Jesus felt impelled to retire to the desert, whence John had come, to brood and think it out. Meditation and introversion of soul favoured by solitude, as the lives of hermits and anchorites show, has always been a great resource of great men, not recluses, on supreme occasions when they needed to orient themselves, to find poise after shock, or seek direction from within. When this exercise and discipline are combined with fasting, they tend to give a very peculiar and specific exaltation of mind. When alone, man abstracts from all the constraints of the outer world, and frees spontaneity and inner impulsion from inhibitions. This brings a state not without analogies to those that arise in the passivity that the procedure of psychoanalysis cultivates. Perhaps the infantile reveries and the pubescent day-dreams and vague foregleams that Jesus felt at the time of his temple experience, such as the Mother Church still

cultivates from the confirmation age on in the retreat, revived and came to the fore, throwing off the shades of the prison-house or the repressions of maturity with its prosaic realities, which often cause them to grow pale. Now the dual image of the dove and the voice revived the juvenile excelsior passion for supreme excellence in all its pristine force until it seemed indeed realizable. Jesus' tender years had been haunted by the Messianic ideals of his age, perhaps most potent in the little circle in which he grew up. These were uniquely fitted to give just the inspiration that fervid and pietistic youth craves and needs. All these experiences were both normal and typical in kind, but without precedent in degree. The Messianic idea was a hovering presence, marvellously calculated to appeal with tremendous energy to the inmost soul of ambitious and gifted young men. It had been Jesus' own most fondly cherished form of idealism, and from his earliest fancies had lain secretly very warm and close about his heart. Its sudden vivid recurrence in this most exalted moment of his complete manhood and in broad daylight could seem nothing else than an apparition of fate. Could he, should he, accept, or rather, dare he refuse it, and what were all the implications involved? To accept it meant a life such as no other dared to live; and if he was true to its rôle and lived out the life that his race thought ideal, which the prophets had so cherished and which the ancient and ardent hope of his people had made more or less definite and tangible, it meant not only supreme service and glory but possible death in the end. The call seemed indubitable and straight from the All-Father of his own soul, and so to refuse it would be cowardice and treason to the Most High. To succeed would be joy and salvation to himself and all who would accept him. The summons was authentically divine, and so he could not fail. But stronger and deeper yet came the feeling that it was no rôle, but that he was in very truth and fact Yahveh's only son, not by appointment or commission, but in his very inmost nature. He was not merely sent upon this mission and following a prescribed course of life with no outer constraint. He was born in very truth the Messiah. In this thought, indeed, he merely learned his own true identity like the real son of a king who has been reared in ignorance of who he is, yearning for some noble career and finding in maturity that a throne is his by right. Thus in solitude he discovered his real self, and inner oracles that could not be gainsaid awoke and spoke.

Other mortals galore had thought themselves divine, but with no such witness and with no such plenary assurance. Thus the great affirmation was made and sealed. Jesus knew himself for what he was, and accepted himself as veritable man-God. God did not merely come to consciousness in him but was his own ipsissimal noumenal self, and what a postulate! God is man and man is God. The transcendent is immanent. Jesus' own individual psychology is the true theology. God had been thought objective, but now is seen to be only the inmost subjectivity of man, individual and racial. The divine in nature as Father developed the divine in man as Son. Man is the only begotten son of the cosmos. Sounding all this profundity of insight, which a few mystics and seers before and since have dimly and partially intuited, Jesus reached that depth, or rather height, of insight beyond which religious psychologizing could not go. Eckhart, Boehme, Tauler, and in more rational ways, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and others, to say nothing of Oriental seers, have glimpsed aspects of what this epoch-making concept of a theanthropos or an incarnation idea really implied; but none who has thought it ever grasped it so completely, or ever dared to live it out, or even ventured to express the great secret without reservations. If uttered too plainly, as in a peculiar sense Feuerbach found out, to the world, which has always cried out at it and has clung to the need of an external God, the seer has been silenced, or discredited, or burned as heretic or atheist because he had become too God-intoxicated. This was the *aperçu* supreme, above all others, which Jesus penetrated to with fasting and prayer, alone in the desert (an environment symbolic of the soul solitude of all who attain these high altitudes of human experience, where few or none can follow or understand). This was the conviction in which his soul, after we know not what struggle and agony, at last found rest, peace, and immovable anchorage as on the Rock of Ages. It was like the discovery of a new continent of faith, or worship at the shrine of a new deity, viz., the Holy Ghost. Amidst these waste places Jesus gradually grew familiar and at home with this thought as he communed with his own inmost soul.

But now his thought must turn to the world of other men. What could be done with this great new insight so hard to grasp, so impossible to teach directly? It was far above and vastly too esoteric for the world and perhaps even for a chosen few. To utter it abruptly and

entirely would mean summary fiasco and ruination. Not one of all whom he knew or could think of could see or bear it. The faintest intimation that he thought himself divine would be deemed blasphemy or downright insanity. He knew his world, and best of all his immediate family and personal *entourage*. How the best type of Hebrew piety would be shocked by any abrupt avowal of his precious and unique insight! He knew how perilous it is to go too far toward the core of religion. He felt that all whom he knew stood or might be ranged, in varying degrees of remoteness from the great atonement that he had achieved of the spirit with the soul of the world. He became convinced that his only course was to inaugurate a campaign of education of a new and original type such as befitted the novelty of his teaching, and that he must be content if he could see in the hearts of those he could draw closest to himself a progressive approximation to his most precious newborn insight and conviction. He felt that perhaps his followers would never reach this true and ultimate goal of all religion which he had attained, but he saw that the degree in which they could be led to do so was measured on a scale of moral and religious values that reached from the nadir of blindness and sin up to the very zenith of true beatific knowledge and holiness. Thus he must probably always teach with reservations and with more or less veiled reticence, for to reveal all he had seen would spoil all. He must follow a program or curriculum, and must be a great teacher, for if others ever were to attain his state of mind or to get near it, and profit in proportion, it would never be by his method, viz., that of solitude, meditation, and prayer, but by objective demonstration. Those whom he approached would demand a sign. They could not be taught his supreme thought directly or at first, but must be shown what he could do which they could not, and thus he must arouse their curiosity as to whence his power was derived. A man conscious of his own essential divinity must give proof in object-lesson form of his superiority over others whose souls had not realized their own consubstantiality with God. There was, however, only one possible way in his day and age of documenting superhumanity, and that was by performing wonders or miracles, which were the standard criteria of superior power to control men and the world about us.

Just at this point a doubt arose in his own mind whether he could really do this. Just then, too, the pangs of hunger from his long

fasting and absorption in his theme became acute, and a thought so distinct that it seemed to him the very voice of the tempter without seemed to say, "If you are God's Son surely you have power to convert something in this wide waste into food rather than to die here like a beast. With all your new-found divinity you cannot make bread out of stones, and so you are a fool or insane in deeming yourself divine, for perish you surely must if you cannot eat." This, some think, was a special popular touchstone of Messianity, and was deemed one of the simplest supernatural acts, as it was only an acceleration of natural processes; and if he could not meet it, not only the people but he himself, might well doubt his call. Yahveh, who had fed the people with manna and quail, and later had fed Elijah, refused to feed him. But the countervalent thought was not long delayed, and the reply that formed itself, seemingly quite outside Jesus' soul but really in its unconscious depths, was "I must accept sustenance by the ways nature has already provided. The nourishment I need, famishing though my body is coming to be, is answers to my problems. It is for these solutions that my soul is vastly more hungry than for bread. To solve these problems would be meat and drink, indeed, and it is this greater, higher, and more insistent hunger that has made and still makes me relatively oblivious of nutriment for the flesh. I will not be diverted from my pursuit of the bread of life for the race to mere lust for eating and drinking."

Feeding and teaching, eating and learning, appetite and curiosity, satiety and certainty, food and knowledge, digestion and assimilation of knowledge—these are closely related for genetic psychology, and Jesus' later miracles of feeding are symbols of his work as soul-feeder. Freudians teach that *Wonnesaugen*, or the rapturous condition in which certain nurslings fall, presages ecstatic states later, and that the first of each of these experiences may pass into the second, voracity being sublimated into desire for knowledge, etc., while the latter may be converted downward into the former, as Satan in the first temptation sought to effect in Jesus. A faster, as many experiments, especially since Luciani, show, after the first few days feels no hunger and tends to introverted exaltation, and Jesus' long fast was both effect and cause of a diathesis that predisposed him to the exaltation that some, as we saw above, regard as so important a trait of his life. The Eastern cult of navel-gazing in quest of Nirvana is a symbol of the

fact that with detachment from the outer world always goes regression toward, or a revival of, juvenile or infantile states. So Jesus here resurrected his earlier reveries till, in his state of absorption he became henceforth completely dominated by them, and bodily needs, like ties of family and the *vita sexualis*, etc., paled before the new higher life that was henceforth to dominate all. From now on his life had one goal, sole, only and supreme. The ascetic Essene trend in his nature now asserted itself in the complete subjection of body to soul. Thus he here achieves immunity from every sarcous desire. In his Kingdom there must be no place for indulgence of sense. This was the first cardinal delimination and determination of his future life on earth as God-man.

In another day-dream, vivid perhaps to the point of hallucination, he seemed to be on the dizzy pinnacle of the temple and the tempter's voice challenged him to leap off into space and test Yahveh's fidelity by seeing whether he would suspend him in mid-air against the laws of gravity. Yahveh was aloft in the empyrean, above the mountains, and his angel messengers were unaffected by gravity. No nightmares are more common or painful than those of hovering and flying, and in hynagogic states we often fancy for some moments, while emerging into full wakefulness, that we can really float or fly, experiences that have various explanations which fall into three general groups, genetic, physiological, and symbolic. When children's fantasy dons the *Tarnkappe*, the power to fly, the weird fascination of which is now seen in birdmen and in those who feel the charm of watching them, is one of the most universal of fascinations and even wishes. As this revery experience phosphoresced up in Jesus' brain, anaemic from want of nourishment in the blood that fed it, the all-dominant *aperçu* that possessed his mind seized upon it as a possible test, but that he thought it diabolically suggested shows that he instinctively regarded it as unfit and absurd. If angels keep heaven's favourites from stumbling, much more will they sustain from a fatal plunge the son of Yahveh himself. Nothing was more natural in this pre-scientific age than that Jesus himself could crave some miracle such as had been vouchsafed to the prophets of old, not only to credit himself to the world, but far more to give to him complete self-assurance, especially as he was himself uncertain whether the dove and the voice were real or only subjective. To leap off would be an immediate appeal for divine

intervention, very unlike the slow process of starvation, and his inmost soul yearned for ineluctable certainty. In his eager quest of a yet more indubitable sign, he is true to the deepest instinct of humanity, which has always sought plenary certainty by the best tests that the age or race knew. Discretion, however, prevailed over impulse. He realized that gravity could not be suspended to save his life, and so came down from the pinnacle and took bread, wiser now by the great lesson that neither animate nor inanimate nature could be changed in his behalf, and that the laws of the physical universe are irreversible. Miracle-mongering, in the sense that these laws can be set aside, was to be no part of the program of the God-man. From this experience he perhaps acquired the reluctance he so often showed to do what people thought to be mighty works. From the beginning folk-thought had instinctively associated superhumanity and miracle-working, priesthood and thaumaturgy; but here, according to liberal interpretations, we have a new epoch-making stand. As before he had refused to recognize even hunger, save that of the soul, so now all the wonders he can legitimately perform are those in the domain of the soul. Here there are abundant powers waiting to be set free, and this master psychologist of the kingdom within would work his magic in this domain only. Even all his healing should be psychotherapy alone, and should be done chiefly as a symbol of a more inner psychic regeneration from the obsession of sin. His followers might not observe this suggestion, the people might clamour for physical wonders, and his closest adherents might be so penetrated with the old conviction that a superman must freely conjure with nature that they would misreport him; but his own conscience must be clear on that score and he would concede nothing to the superstition that he must be a magician to be divine. Thus his plan of life took further form.

It was indeed a great temptation that he here faced and definitively put aside, a temptation which the Church he founded never has been able to entirely escape in either practice or belief. He could use to the uttermost every superior insight, and work every miracle possible that was in fact only a natural phenomenon of a higher order. Here his already tried healing powers gave him assurance that he could produce all the awe and reverence which those greedy to see mighty works as credentials of his divinity would demand. But he would not and could not even try to make the sun stand still in the heavens, like

Joshua, or develop powers of levitation like Elijah or as his transfigured and ascending personality was afterward said to have done. Moving mountains, save symbolically by faith, opening a path through the sea and really walking on the water, and above all, raising the dead—these were not in his domain. This was an immense step toward anti-supernaturalism, and placed him far beyond a mass of current superstitions. Yahveh might still conjure majestically with the cosmos, but Jesus would or could not. It marked a transition from the material to the psychological standpoint. If later he seemed to others, or even to himself, to control the course of outer events, or to try to do so, it was only in a residual or reversionary way, or else this temptation did not purge away quite all the vestiges of this ancient charm, which had always invested and also tempted priestcraft, and to resist the imputation of which by the people requires unremitting effort to be effective. It would not be at all surprising nor any derogation to Jesus' humanity to assume that he did at periods in his life feel this old desire to be thought a magician, but the true Christian must fondly hope that seeming lapses from this standard are more likely to be due to the wonder-loving and sign-seeking recorders than to real infractions of his noble resolve on Jesus' own part. His break with magic, then, was here complete. If popular superstition had fixed on some attestation in the form of a feat of strength within reach of his own power, as perhaps in the case, e. g., of Theseus, Siegfried, or King Arthur, he might have conformed, but to this he could not if he would. It was his Canossa, or the tempter was like the flatterers of Canute before the rising sea. If he was ever later tempted to forget this, the memory of this desert experience must have murmured deterrently like the daimon of Socrates in his ear. The tempter was thus unmasked for what he really was. "Thou shalt not seek to mislead one who is divine Lord over thee." Jesus would and could not control clouds, thunder, rain or drought, earthquake or pestilence, though the Father, who called the universe into being, might do so. His field was man and his life and works, and his Kingdom was the city of Mansoul. Here he would fight and overcome the adversary and push on even to his own dominion and free his subjects from the might of Diabolus. Then even the physical world would bloom again like a new paradise, and the power of evil would be overthrown.

But there was a third and final problem, in some sense the most difficult to face. The people, as we saw, had never been so oppressed in their own land, and since Maccabeus, the ideal of a military leader who was also high priest and head of the Sanhedrin and perhaps of a new theocracy, was warming up again in the hearts of the populace, although the strength of the Roman yoke and the futility and disaster of revolts had been most impressively taught. Still, were Jesus really divine, perhaps even this emancipation, so yearned for, might be within his reach. With David's blood in his veins he would be no mere pretender to the kingship, and the memory of all that Yahveh had wrought in the past in confounding the enemies of his children suggested that to turn away would be abdication and cowardice. All men lust for power and splendour, and rulers and kings are prone to be drunk with this passion. Ireland has described monarchs who were simply mad with the sense of their might, and insanely greedy for more; while since Max Stirner many have depicted the trend in the soul to magnify to the very uttermost the egoistic instinct, till hyper-individuation becomes not only morbid but may make its victim an enemy of the human race. Jesus' symbolic vision here was a mountain-top so high that from it the kingdoms of the whole earth could be seen, while the arch-enemy whispered in his ear: "As God-man you can rule over all these realms as sole and absolute Lord, and not be content to be supreme merely over your own race. To do so your motivation must be self-aggrandizement. You have the gifts if you have the will to reign. You will have to be ruthless, perhaps unpitying, place might above right, splendour and magnificence above inner clarity and richness of psychic life. Revere me as the god of self, and all other things befitting your universal dominion will be yours, and you will be the first among all the children of men or demigods. You shall not serve but command all. Your throne shall be the most exalted, your realm the largest and richest, your dignity the highest, your dynasty the most lasting the world has ever seen. The glories of imperial Rome and still more those of the age of Solomon will fade beside yours. World empire is within your grasp, and you may realize the wildest dreams of human ambition if you will dedicate yourself to the infernal precept of winning at any price, using any means for your ends, and letting selfishness in you do its perfect work." But this extravaganza, this siren song of egotism with abandon, while it would

have more than realized the popular dream of political independence and a temporal kingdom to which so many Hebrew patriots, seers, and even fanatics had dedicated their lives, seemed impracticable to the sound common sense of Jesus, for the Roman hold on the country was too strong and the people were too weak. All these lower motivations he felt keenly, as is shown by the extreme splendour of the dominion depicted to his imagination, arousing uncensored infantile reveries. How much of his decision was worldly prudence, accepting the inevitable, making the best of a sad necessity, and how much was due to the insight of his religious genius, revealing a wealth of things still better, we do not know. Had temporal power been possible or his vision less, he might have listened to the political and military call. But probably any such program as this made no appeal to Jesus' temperament. He realized that when Hebrew nationality was at its best the people had fallen away from the true faith and such a grand installation of their dreams would rouse a fatal pride that would make them utterly forget Yahveh and his law, and exactly contravene and make nugatory all the teachings and even the spirit of all the prophets. A deeper insight thus impelled Jesus to the very opposite policy. Serve, not rule; be least, not greatest; last, not first; meek, not proud; poor, not rich; feel sinful, not righteous; weak, not strong; be pure in soul and not merely ceremonially correct; regard God who sees the heart, and not man who sees externals; found the Kingdom of God within and not without; let it develop secretly and slowly and not come suddenly with ostentation or by observation, and if need be let its citizens be recruited among gentiles and even outcasts. If you would see its tokens look into the souls of little children, whose naïveté is rest in God and who are closer to the Divine than are adults. Its corner-stones are laid in the unconscious more than in the conscious nature of man, in the realm of affectivity rather than that of intellect. The simple life with patience, and compassion, and brotherly love, which is broader and deeper even than the splendid old classic friendship, loyalty, and fidelity—these are the goals and aims.

Thus the mason-carpenter who went to John, eager, yet hesitant, and perhaps persuaded to do so by his friends at the last moment of opportunity, emerged from the desert a new being, conscious with a complete Stoic cataleptic certainty of his identity with God; devoted to the greatest cause ever undertaken by any son of man; with an orienta-

tion and an outline of method of procedure; ineluctably self-dedicated to a work vastly greater even than himself, great though he had so suddenly become, and panoplied as he now was with a few cardinal, if as yet only generic, resolutions; feeling himself reinforced as if with the whole momentum of creative evolution of the universe behind him, and borne along on the central tide that ever flows irresistibly on toward the fulfilment of human destiny. Of each alternative he had chosen the higher. He was wiser by abandonments of what would, could, and should not be done. His field was narrowed and also greatly enriched by every refusal. He was now face to face with a definite future. If others had been inspired he was now inspiration itself personified. If revelation had been vouchsafed to others, he had achieved it in and of himself, and found it in a deeper self-knowledge than any one else had ever attained. He was divine as none before or since has been because he had become the only complete and perfect man by the realization that man is God and that therefore God is man.

In attaining this *Ultima Thule* of self-knowledge he had, as it were, graduated from the school of life, and now he must become the first great and unique teacher in it, and must radically reconstruct its curriculum so as to guide all who were truly docile along the way that he had made to the truth he had found, and show to others the new world he had discovered. Perhaps the Christianity of the future will fittingly commemorate, as one of the greatest epochs not only in Jesus' career but in all Christendom with its 627 million adherents, this sojourn in and homecoming from the desert fully panoplied for his work. Had he not gone out to meet John; had he refused his baptism of water because he found no need of this symbol of cleansing from sin for himself; had the vision been withheld and his mentation been less imaginal; had he returned to his brick, mortar, stone and wood-work, this would have been a very different world. Perhaps this, and not even the events of Passion Week, was the crisis of the drama. But from now on all moved toward the *dénouement* of the last act as if with fated propulsion.

That something like this really occurred on the stage of Jesus' own soul, if we pass from the brief, bizarre, fragmentary records of the synoptists, which are like the confused manifest or patent content of a dream, which seems rather incoherent and meaningless back and

down to the underlying latent thought-content of it all, we must believe because in this deeper stratum below the symbols it is all so coherent, sequential, and true to the nature of man's higher psychic life. It must all have been historic in this inward sense, for no man or group of men, not even the great folk-soul, could devise anything with such compelling verisimilitude. We must believe, for the truest faith is belief, that all these many items which the religious consciousness has accepted so crassly and literally, although and sometimes actually because they seem absurd and preposterous, have a deeper and essentially real actuality behind and beneath the crude picture-writing of the synoptists. We shall find in them, if we can only read their meaning aright, things far too great to be comprehended by those who recorded them; and so, despite their obvious efforts to be sedulously faithful to facts as they had found them, they give us really only a distorted, sketchy, and often misleading *Zehrbild*. If we can thus read back we can restore to the Gospels their true import and harmony. It shows a striking and most happy higher power in the soul of man that, sprinkled as the record is with inconsistencies, and insignificant and perhaps affronting to modern intelligence as some of it is, the race has always felt a strange fascination in it all, a profound sense of value concealed in it, as in some weird talisman. Our task is to penetrate to these precious happenings, so largely made of soul-stuff, as they really occurred in this Mansoul. This indeed is the task of the psychology of Christianity now, to gird itself to a work not unlike that of late so often and so brilliantly done in other fields, but here inspired by the new hope that we may really resurrect the Jesus so long buried in the Gospels. Not till then shall we fully realize how vain and fatuous are the current theories of all such scholars as now teach that no such man ever lived, but that his personality was a deliberate invention of the earliest founders of the Church; or that Jesus' person was only a new version of a mythic hero of ancient Babylon; or that he was a wretched degenerate, or again, a commonplace man about whom, for reasons which lay outside himself, a vast body of legendary lore has been gathered. To the newer, more positive view, on the other hand, Jesus was a wondrous flesh-and-blood man who had the deepest and truest insight into the fundamental problems of life and mind, who solved the greatest of all questions by finding the true relation of identity between man and God, and who achieved by transcendent genius

and incredible spiritual labour in the highest field and with devotion unto death a reconstruction of religious faith and practice so significant that it made the chief epoch in history, morals, and society, and all this by starting his followers toward the same insight he had achieved. Thus at the same time the Christ is teacher, example, and inspirer of each to realize the very best and greatest that is within himself, and to understand all that is implied in the conviction that, as Hegel said, no true man can possibly think too highly of himself. When, on his return from the wilderness, he was waylaid by the sad intelligence that John was cast into prison, he realized all the more that henceforth the work must be his alone, and must begin at once.

Before following Jesus' public career, it should be noted that the Gospels give us for the most part only isolated incidents, often separated by we know not how great intervals of time from each other, and altogether accounting at the most for only a very few score of days; while of most of his ministry the text is silent. There is also the utmost diversity concerning the order of events. Some seem to be repetitions with variations. As to the length of Jesus' ministry, Clement of Alexandria thought it lasted but one year, "the acceptable year of the Lord." Keim and others who adopt this view base it largely on the fact that the synoptics mention only one Passover. The other extreme view is that of Irenaeus, who thought Jesus taught ten years and lived to be at least more than forty (John viii: 57, makes the Jews say, "Thou art not yet forty years old"). There is a tradition also to this effect, which was long ago espoused by Delff.[1] Gilbert[2] figures two years and four months between Jesus' baptism and his ascension, of which nearly twelve months were spent in Jerusalem and Judea.[3] He holds that this brief public career was a complete unit, governed by a single purpose which did not change and with no stages of development—an old and well entrenched view but transcended by critical studies, and utterly in the face of the many psychogenetic suggestions from the text.[4] Thus harmonists and critics have always differed hopelessly, and in the sequences here adopted we shall frankly follow in some respects another

[1] "Die Geschichte des Rabbi Jesus von Nazareth." 1889, p. 251.

[2] "Students' Life of Jesus." 1896, Ch. 6.

[3] According to this scheme, there were two months from the baptism to the first Passover, eight from the latter to December, four to the next Passover, six to the Feast of Tabernacles, three to that of dedication, three to the resurrection of Lazarus, three weeks to the crucifixion, forty days from the Resurrection to the Ascension.

[4] Birckenstaedt, in "Die vier Temperamente in der erziehenden Hand des Herrn," Westphalen, 1885, 70 p., characterizes Paul as choleric, Philip as phlegmatic, John as sanguine, Peter as nervous, and finds indications of these temperaments in other disciples from which he concludes that Jesus had great insight into practical ethology, chose his disciples with reference to these distinctions, and showed his power of both recognizing and controlling all types of men.

norm, viz., that of psychological probability based on stages of genetic development.

One of the most deplorable gaps is the deletion of the beginning of the public ministry. We do not know what followed Jesus' return from the temptations and the desert. Some conjecture that he was silent awhile, as Paul probably was for years after his conversion, in order to get his bearings, plan his career, and prepare for it. In the three synoptists he first appears in Galilee, after an interval of we know not how long, preaching exactly the same doctrine of repentance and the immanence of the Kingdom that the Baptist had done. Few scholars follow the order of the Fourth Gospel that he first called disciples, performed the Cana marriage miracle, and then went to Jerusalem and cleansed the temple. If we follow Luke, he did much healing and some preaching very early in his career at Capernaum, and it was during his mission here that we have the tale of his revisitation to the home of his boyhood. Nothing was truer to human nature than that he should be inclined to compare his new, higher life with that of his adolescent stages of fore-feeling, yearning, and germination. The tendency of great men often is to keep in closest contact with their youth, although we generally have an earlier stage, where fugue tendencies predominate. Thus the child seems to itself to have outgrown the narrow influences of home, and wishes to push into the life of grown-ups, sloughing off the stage of immaturity and moulting its memories—a trait exemplified in Jesus' temple visit at the age of twelve. Now this tide ebbs. The intolerableness of childish surroundings is past, and it is not wastrels, ne'er-do-wells, or failures that yield to this reversion impulse, to which Goethe said he owed much that was best in him. Such revivals of the child that is always in us and that constitutes the inmost core of our being, are themselves regenerative. Conformably to this *Anlage*, we have the idyllic scene of Jesus when his self-realization was near the point of consummation, returning to his boyhood home. The incident is itself an outcrop sufficiently dight with circumstance of the great law of progression by regression, or of the mutual *rapport* between genius and conserved childish attitudes, and shows us how the loftiest ideals of achievement are bound up with and reinforced by reawakening *das ewige Kindliche* in us. Musing about these early haunts in a receptive frame of mind (the very opposite of the strenuous endeavouring of the desert), habit

or inclination took him, on the Sabbath, to his place in the old synagogue, and just as, according to the Jewish custom of that day, he had done in his boyhood, he again stood up to take his turn, and from the scroll-book of Isaiah read: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, the recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that were bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord," and then sat down. As all gazed at him expectantly, he broke the silence merely to say, "Here to-day all that I have read is fulfilled to you." Then the hush grew greater. Not only the gracious words, but his personal charm, the magic of his voice, the impressiveness of his person, were enthralling. Then one or more recognized him as the grown-up boy they had known, son of the carpenter. They slowly understood that he was in a cryptic way posing to them as the One in whom the prophecy he had just read was realized, and it has even been suggested that some may have remembered youthful indiscretions on his part. The spell at least was broken. The impressive stranger, of whose great success at Capernaum they had probably heard, was discovered as a matured boy of their own disprized community, impressing the natives, affecting a great rôle, if not, indeed, masquerading as the coming Deliverer. Their very town was almost a byword of derision, and the old-time residents had not been unaffected, in this unconscious estimate of themselves, by the proverb that nothing good can come out of Nazareth. Knowing this revulsion of feeling, and anticipating its results, Jesus said in substance, "You think because I sprang from your degraded community that I need a great re-creation before I can be your teacher. Perhaps you want me to show my therapy, which you have heard of, and this might restore me to your favour. My cures of the body, however, are only symbols of those of sin-sick souls. The latter I chiefly care for, and only this will I offer you for here I am only a teacher." Doubtless he realized, being in this early stage of his career and so more in need of sympathy, that want of faith on their part, which was so essential a factor now, would lessen the chance of success. Healing, too, required great effort and took virtue out of him. He was here for rest and for inner edification, and not for mighty works. He certainly realized that no great man is accepted where he grew up and his family is known, but reminded his hearers

that of all the poor widows in the great three and a half years of famine, Elijah was sent to only one, and she a gentile, and that of all the Jewish lepers the great prophet cured only a Syrian, implying that in his own return here he was only conforming to this precedent, and perhaps already implying that if rejected by the Jews, he might turn to the gentiles. By reason of his comparing himself to Elijah, and intimating that they were poor widows and lepers, the wrath of his hearers flamed forth with blind fury, so that Sabbath and the synagogue were forgotten, and Jesus was seized and rushed to a precipice off the hill, to be thrown down to his death. Here, however, one of his ecstatic spells seems to have come upon him, so that, partly perhaps on account of his asserting his prodigious strength, and partly on account of the awe and majesty he inspired, capped, it may be, by an impressive dazed state, the crowd quailed, drew back, and he walked majestically through their midst and took his departure forever from his own home.

Thus with John in prison, himself celibate, abandoned by the friends and relatives of his youth, and in a peculiar sense homeless, a sense of the need of intimate companions of the new life, to carry on the great cause should anything happen to him, as had to John, must have arisen and grown strong. This was all the more the case because Jesus felt now so fully that he had a great mission and cause. The selection of a board of disciples as a device of propaganda is no less significant for his theme, plan, and race, than Plato's organization of the Academy, Aristotle's of the Lyceum, Zeno's of the Stoa, and Epicurus' of the Garden, the four great schools of antiquity, that persisted with more or less continuity for nearly a millennium. Founders of schools have a doctrine, and wish pupils with a certain gradation from novices to experts. Jesus not only had a doctrine, but, like Pythagoras and his circle, would regulate life in all its details on a new pattern and conformably to his own person, which since his attainment of the theanthropic consciousness was sacrosanct or twice consecrated, for it was this that constituted the transforming leaven of all. This God-likeness in his mind was now the cynosure of all his endeavour. He desired to make the consciousness of others as far as possible like his own. He needed a little band of devoted men, utterly abandoned to him and to his will, who should combine in themselves very diverse functions. They must be made so far and so fast as possible his own

esoteric pupils and companions, whom he could instruct and with whom he could perhaps try out his methods of exposition for a wider exoteric circle. Simple men of the people they must be, by converse with whom he could learn the difficulties of comprehension to be overcome in preaching to the masses. He may have hoped to feel in an intensive way with them the unique stimulus that comes from conversation, dialogue, and dialectic, a form often chosen since Plato for the presentation of new truths, although if this was the case he must have been grievously disappointed, save, perhaps, with John, to whom a very persistent tradition reserves this function. He also needed advertisers or pre-announcers of his advent to new towns in his peripatetic routes, while at the same time in some slight sense they were also, after their novitiate, to be, as John had been, forepreachers of his Gospels. He must have, too, repositories of all he was and stood for, in case he should be imprisoned like John, or otherwise snatched away prematurely by violence, men who could preach and organize as Peter seems to have been best fitted to do. He never appears to have foreseen in any way the need of a scholar, systematist, and church-founder among the gentiles such as Paul became, without whom the whole form and fate of Christianity would have been so very different that it is quite beyond the range of our possible conjecture what Jesus would have thought of Paul, or Paul of Jesus, had each known the other in flesh and blood. Some think they would have confronted each other with mutual aghastness and perhaps repulsion. Jesus seems, too, with Semitic sagacity, and despite the unworldliness of his calling, to have felt the need of a business manager or fiscal agent, such as Judas became, although here as in so many lesser enterprises, the failure of this agent brought eventual disaster. For these coadjutors twelve was a convenient number, besides being hallowed by many associations, and also it meant one for each tribe. He must keep his coadjutors perpetually conscious that their novitiate might end by violence at any time, and this would spur them to more insight and independence.

Thus in another rift in the darkness, we see Jesus walking by the inland sea of Galilee, where he espied two brothers, Simon Peter and Andrew, fishermen. He said: "Follow me and I will make you fishers of men," and on the instant they dropped their nets and obeyed. A little farther on, he saw another pair of brothers, mending their nets. These, too, he called, and they straightway left all. Thus the first

four disciples were recruited, apparently in a few moments, all, so far as we know, previously strangers to Jesus, and all apparently abandoning their callings with no other motive than Jesus' wish. In this bald narrative all four may have been very young, ready at the faintest suggestion of a passerby to desert all, as if on the sudden eruption of the old migratory instinct, so common in the early nubile age. The form of the narrative rather suggests hypnotization by the magisterial and staccato command, which they obeyed without full realization of what they did. Doubtless they had heard of Jesus, perhaps were fascinated by the phrase "fishers of men," for they were illiterate youth of the humblest class and most impressionable. Perhaps the immediate surrender of their lives at a word was the best available test of their quality of docility, and this may have been tried on others before with no response. Luke, writing later, doubtless felt some of these difficulties, and sought to obviate them in the slowly forming tradition and so says that Jesus had before stepped into Peter's boat to escape the pressure of the crowds, and had taught from it, thus giving token to the multitude and to the first four, before their summons, what manner of man he was. Fishers of men obviously meant captivating masses, as Jesus had just done in a figurative sense by the magic of his discourse, which prepared the way for deepening the effect his call was about to make upon them. As if to crassify still more the idea, Luke makes him indicate the place where the brothers netted such a draught of fishes that their own boat and that of the second pair of brothers nearly sank. Peter's impulsiveness is shown by the story of the first of various later ambivalent reversals of attitude. He at first hesitated to cast his net where Jesus commanded, and then when the nets nearly broke fell at Jesus' feet as a sinful man. The symbolic nature of this supposed miracle is obvious, but the chroniclers evidently mean to indicate another psychological miracle.

Jesus at first glance knew men and needed that none should testify of them. On first meeting Peter we are told that he saluted him, saying, "Thou art Simon, son of Jonah," as if, as Bengel well says, he had a supernatural acquaintance with a man previously unknown. Thus, too, he surprised the Samaritan woman by telling her how many husbands she had had. As Nathaniel first appeared, he said, "Behold an Israelite without guile," and when the latter asked with astonishment, "Whence knowest thou me?" he replied that he had seen him under the

fig-tree, as if when he thought himself alone he had been caught doing something which was a key to his character. Thus Elijah (2 Kings vi: 8-12) knew telepathically all that the King of Syria said in his private chamber, and also that Joram had sent out men to kill him. Jesus must never fall short, but always excel every analogous achievement in the Old Testament.

The same is true of the responses to his call. When Elijah called Elisha from the plough he left the oxen and ran, yet was allowed to go home and say good-bye. But Jesus does not permit any return, even to bury a father. Such alternations from the humblest to the highest callings, history and story always love to describe and even to create, as many instances that will readily occur to all illustrate. Not one, but at least five of Jesus' companions thus followed him permanently (not merely accepting an invitation to take a walk, as Paulus urged) so that this miracle is of the coercion of others' wills at a beck or word. His knowledge of character is thus made to seem immediate, clairvoyant, and infallible, and thus we see again the all-determining tendency to interpret every possible incident in Jesus' life and words in a way to make it conform to preëxisting Messianic tradition and expectation, and at every step to cap some Old Testament climax.

Of the call of Levi Matthew, the tax-collector, we are only told that at a command he rose from his seat at customs and became the fifth or perhaps sixth disciple (some think the first who had not been a disciple of the Baptist). Whether some or all of these were Jesus' travelling companions during the whole Galilean period (often divided into three tours) until the Twelve were finally sent out, we do not know, nor have we any circumstances of the call of the others in the synoptists. Among the seven disciples whom John names, several not mentioned by them occur. The synoptists agree except that in the place of Lebbeus Thaddeus, Luke names a second Judas, the brother of James. Simon was renamed Cephas or Peter; a second Simon was called Zelotes; James was renamed Boanerges; there was a second Canaanitic Simon and the two Jameses, one the son of Zebedee and the other of Alpheus. Peter's name is first in each list, and of him we hear most throughout the first three Gospels. Of several we know practically nothing. They may have died or been replaced, or Jesus may have been disappointed in them as he was in Judas. His judgment in making selections may have been more at fault than appears.

It has been asked why Jesus had not chosen Nathaniel, and some think he did and renamed him Bartholomew. He was called an Israelite indeed without guile, had hailed Jesus as Rabbi, Son of God, and King of Israel, a confession both as emphatic, explicit, though perhaps not quite so gratefully received by Jesus as was Peter's. It has been said that had he developed into a disciple he might have shown talents of a Pauline order. So Nicodemus, a Pharisee ruler, who came seeking by night, confessing that Jesus came from God, and who was told of the new birth, has been suggested as a better disciple than some of those chosen. The only answer to this is that possibly both these interviews, if stated in their true historic position, came too late after the Twelve had already been ordained. Of others who appeared later and have been suggested by various writers as fit for the sacred college, the one most often named by expositors is the Pharisaic lawyer who asked Jesus which was the greatest commandment, and was told that it was to "love the Lord with all thy heart, soul, mind, and strength, and thy neighbour as thyself," that all the law and the prophets hang on these. He replied this was true, for such love was more than all the burnt offerings and sacrifices. Jesus commended this answer as discreet, and declared that he was not far from the Kingdom of God. Another candidate was a rich youth who had kept all the commandments from childhood, but could not on the instant quite bring himself to resign his great wealth for the poor. Yet another was the eager Zaccheus, the rich publican, whom Jesus chose in the tree as his host, who gave half his goods to the poor, restored fourfold to those whom he had unwittingly wronged, and to whose house Jesus said salvation had this day come. Only he was a son of Abraham and not one of the lost whom he now felt it his mission to seek and save. Even Levi, who made a great feast for Jesus, Lazarus, and the "certain Greeks" who would see Jesus, reported by John, have been suggested. The board of disciples, although all but one were Galileans, was composed of men of very diverse types, and of some we know nothing, and even their identity is in dispute. One was to be Jesus' Xenophon and another his Plato, or rather, to stand for a Platonic circle to be heard from later. The most unstable of them all was called the rock, the most treacherous was the fiduciary agent. Renan believes Salome, Joanna, Mary Magdalene, and Susanna usually sojourned with the disciples and assisted in ministering to and for Jesus. Two or

three favourites constituted an inner coterie. All this would suggest great diversity of gifts, views, and character, and we should expect that in a group thus composed, there would be jealousies and rivalries, as well as very different degrees of comprehension. Still, they were loyal until the last scene, and his personality overtowered and dominated each and all. Volkmar sought to explain away Judas' treason as a fiction devised some time after Jesus' death, and intended to motivate the declaration of a vacancy in the apostolic college to make room for Paul and at the same time to create a character that should typify the treason of the Jews against Jesus, a view perhaps more ingenious than plausible. It is, of course, absurd to infer that some of the disciples were nonentities because we know so little about them. They were probably young (Keim thinks their average age not over twenty), chosen early in Jesus' ministry, the best of them coming over to him from an apprenticeship far longer and closer than his had been, to the Baptist, who some opine chose his followers with a more infallible sagacity than Jesus showed in those he added of his own selection. Realizing the necessity of extending his work by this proxy method, and perhaps planning brief periods of teaching alternating those of learning at his side, after a night of prayer, ordaining them to be his associates, he sent them out to heal and preach, realizing that the harvest was plenteous and the labourers few, and pitying the multitude, who were like sheep without a shepherd. Investing them with his therapeutic power, sending them not to the gentiles but to Israel, commissioning them to go provisionless, two by two, telling them what to wear, where to enter, when to withdraw with dignity, or with a threat to those who rejected them, he warned them of dangers, told them to be wise but harmless and what to do if persecuted and arrested. He told them to proclaim openly what he had taught them esoterically; to be fearless of torture or death; to be ready to lose in order to find their lives; to love him more than they did parents or children. He assured them that a cup of cold water given a child would have its reward, etc. Meek though their demeanour, their doctrine would not bring peace but a sword, would divide families and test worthiness. The sermon on the mount, which some critics think an aggregation of passages from the logia redacted by Matthew, was a discourse of consecration for their mission. Some hold that John never left Jesus, but that Peter was the chief propagandist. If all went there were six

circuits, while perhaps Jesus took another. They may have gone forth and returned several times at frequent intervals. Most place the death of John the Baptist and Jesus' peril from Herod during their absence, and these events doubtless accelerated his activity. Briggs[1] places the Johannin ministry to Jerusalem and Luke's Piræan ministry here. But the very framework of events is uncertain. The disciples surely were with Jesus long enough before they were sent out to be well imbued with his spirit and method.

Why, beside this method of personal promulgation, Jesus never wrote, is a question asked from the earliest days to our own, but never fully answered. In his time and place the scribal function was well developed, and it is hard to say why, burdened with a message so important, he should entrust it solely to novices of whose limitations he was often painfully reminded. Particularly toward the last, when his cause seemed waning and their faith faltering, why did he not appeal from the present to the future, from the Twelve or even the Seventy to his race, to say nothing of the larger gentile world? To remind us that print was not discovered, writing material costly, a book easily destroyed, the dialect he used limited in range, deeds more important than words, as has so often been done, is inadequate. Of course he should not have converted the disciples into a scribal college. Words printed and read are inferior to those spoken and heard. Still, why did he never suggest to any one the least secretarial function, or why did the making of a record apparently never occur to any of his followers for decades after his death? We surely cannot accept the hypothesis of illiteracy, although even were we driven to this, it should in no degree disparage our estimate of the value of the message, since there is a long line of great men, from Charlemagne down, who were not adept in the mere clerk's trick of writing. Socrates did not write, that we know of, perhaps could not, or even read. Especially we must remember that books, while they preserve, also devitalize and desiccate words. It is a vastly higher art to put things so they will live from ear to mouth, than to trust them to the long circuit from eye to hand. The scribbling mania, which spawns half-fledged ideas upon the printed page, has caused the world to lose much spontaneous diction, proverbial and apothegmic wisdom, because to say things that will live gives more vitality and momentum than is involved in writing. Of course

[1] "New Light on the Life of Jesus," p. 43. New York, 1904.

Jesus might have written, had he lived on to a reminiscent stage of life, but we really have no data for discussion.

Again, if those who knew him, including his parents, had the least intimation of his deity, why did they not treasure up some of the events, sayings, or miracles of his early life? The prophetic books, as well as the Psalms and the pentateuch, got themselves written; but now appears one greater, and yet we are left to infer that up to his thirtieth year he did or said nothing worthy of record, or else that he did so in an environment which contained no writer. That is, if plenary belief in his Messiahship and the ability, or at least the habit, of writing coexisted in any one person near him, it is strange that simple piety, or Jewish patriotism, or the love of mankind did not prompt to some kind of record. This is very different from the almost complete absence of any record concerning Jesus by non-believing contemporaries. We shall consider elsewhere the hypotheses that account for the lateness of our authentic records, but neither preoccupation with practical matters, nor the expectation of a speedy return of the Lord with an impending end, are adequate explanations. Love, enthusiasm, the pathos of a shameful death at the apex of his vitality, might suggest at least some threnody, *in memoriam*, or other vignette by the impulse that always prompts us, when our friends die, to say to our intimates how good, great, or dear the lost one was, to console the bereaved by eulogies, etc. It would seem that some of these motives, perhaps more Johannin than Pauline, would have evoked a method of keeping the recollection of him green, and ensuring its transmission from one generation to the next. The youth of the disciples may have obviated, for a time, the sense of any danger of oblivion. Some outline of his life and teaching would have been serviceable as a missionary device among the gentiles and wherever else the Jesus-cause went where its founder was not personally known. When the Seventy were sent out, and especially when the apostles scattered after Pentecost to preach to different races, it would seem as though some synopsis would have been necessary. That these motives did not operate is evidenced by such glimpses of reasons for the writing of our Gospels as we can divine. One of these was doubtless the fact of the accretion of legends, as we see in Luke's resolve to divide between fact and fiction; and the apocryphal Gospel shows us what a rank growth the mythic soil had produced. Another motive which prompted the writing of the

Gospels may have been, as the Tübingen school asserts, to wipe out the bitter controversy between the Pauline and the Petrine factions, which these scholars think raged for a long time and almost threatened to wreck the early Church, but was finally thus compounded. Both these motives would suggest a plain, unvarnished, and from the standpoint of the writer, a critical narrative, and a *sic-et-non* style. So, too, would the impulse to address doubt, skepticism, and unbelief most effectively.

The first records may have been the logia or sayings, with the aid of which one or more of our Gospels was written, but a biography that is written backward (in the sense that the authors were impelled to write up the early life of Jesus, because Paul had proven that his death and Resurrection were so important), must have been very untrustworthy. Indeed, the historic sense of these writers was weak, and all genetic insight was absent, and hence they strongly tend to reverse the order of things, putting the late early, and conversely. Most critics think that the sermon on the mount was never given as a symmetrical discourse to an audience, as Matthew represents, but was composed out of scattered utterances. The general effect of it is to spring upon the mind of the reader a type of consciousness which was not developed but which was ready-made from the first, as if evolutionary stages were inconsistent with incarnation theories. Hence the silence about Jesus' early manhood, adolescence, childhood, friends, occupations, special experiences, studies, longings, etc. In fact, few great lives, not even that of Buddha or of Socrates, are so utterly void of every genetic hint. For orthodoxy, if Jesus seems to show traces of development, he does so only in a Docetic sense. It is exasperating to think of the kind of life that might now be written in these days of mothers' records, photographs, anthropometry, and all the countless measurements and tests, to say nothing of the best methods of modern biography. In fact, from every point of view we have to conclude that if Jesus was in any sense or degree what Christendom believes he was, the synoptic Gospels, precious as they are, are wretchedly inadequate. In fact, the greater the man, the more valuable becomes the record of even a simple and Boswellian narrative. A great writer can make the humblest life throb with human interest.[1] Heroes, however, do not need inspiration in those who describe their lives.

[1]One of the most striking examples of this we see in both the lives of the semi-idiotic Kaspar Hauser, who became a psychological problem principally because of his sudden and unprepared appearance at the Nuremberg gate, with no clue of anything previous in his life.

The plainest, baldest, and most uninspired record is in fact the best. Possibly, therefore, we are on the whole rather better off than if Levi, Nathaniel, Philip, Bartholomew, or even Peter, had left us our best records. The more we realize, however, the stupendous sense in which the child is the father of the man, since childhood is the more generalized type from which maturity involves decay; how the very highest object of civilization is to keep mankind young, to prolong infancy; or how in the early stages of life the individual is far more nearly coextensive with the human race than he is later—the more we shall understand in what a pregnant sense Jesus, whatever else he be, is the consummate apotheosis and the world's type of adolescence, and the more hungry-hearted we become for the record of the lost stages of his development. Whether psychogenetic studies will ever be able, in any degree, to fill this gap by reconstructive work, antiquarian research, or historical criticism, which have together led to many ingenious restorations in art, literature, and architecture, to say nothing of hypothetical stages of ascent in animal evolution, we can hardly conjecture. But one thing is certain, and that is that the more we ponder and discern the faint lineaments and divine possibilities that loom up behind the entire Gospel record, the more absorbing become the intimations of a life vastly greater than the Gospels characterize or their writers could comprehend; the more we feel the poverty and superstition of their minds; and the more we are impelled to the conclusion that this sublimest of all lives has been very unworthily written, so that its insufficiency prompts in us the desire, as strong as if not stronger than any other motive, to rescue it from the inexpressible pathos of undervaluation, by making at least some fragment of it live again as it really was in our own hearts, wills, and minds.

CHAPTER SIX

MESSIANITY, SONSHIP, AND THE KINGDOM

I. Messianism among primitive people—Different views among the Hebrews—How Jesus came to believe himself the Messiah, and his original interpretation of the idea as he grew into the rôle—II. His achievement in coming to regard himself as the Son of God—The development of Yahveh and the kind of Deity he had grown to be in Jesus' day—The unique time and circumstance for the development of the theanthropic consciousness—Deity as ontological—Outcrops of this idea among children, primitive races, and its relation to Mana theories, and the development of a sense of fatherhood—In what respect sonship was involved in Messianity—How it transcended it—God as the race-soul—III. The Kingdom as the third great achievement of Jesus—Views of Kalthoff, Weisse, and others—Contradictions in Jesus' characterizations of the Kingdom and their explanation—In what sense it was of this earth and how far transcendent—The myths of primitive paradises—The Kingdom as inward—Stages by which Jesus came to realize that he must die—The value and proof of the idea of genetic stages—What it means psychologically to find God—Jesus' sociological ideas—Psychologic effects of the conviction that the end was at hand—The "second coming"—Kenosis.

I. *Messianity.* W. D. Wallis[1] in a very interesting study of the Messiahs of primitive people, shows us that in times of hardship from any source a great deliverer is expected. The claimant to this function must have qualities sometimes pretty carefully defined, and by fasting, vision, the interpretation of omens and oracles, he must demonstrate excessive spirituality. He must and does often heal the sick. If once accepted by the tribe, his soul becomes the embodiment of their collective soul, and he may acquire almost supreme authority. He can cause the tribe to migrate, to dispose of its goods, to perform very exceptional ceremonies, take great risks, undergo great sufferings; but if he fails he is at once discredited and often slain. In about every great crisis of history of the North American Indians some medicine

[1] "Individual Initiative and Social Compulsion." *Amer. Anthropol.*, Oct.-Dec., 1915. He has also allowed me to see a much fuller manuscript study of Messiahs.

man, and occasionally more than one, comes forward to rally his people to save themselves, to better the present customs or restore the old ones, to expel the oppressor, etc. The Messiahs interpret the old traditions as Jesus did prophecy. They point to an ideal state of restoration, and it is they that have caused nearly all the outbreaks so justly dreaded by their neighbours. Such Messiahs were Popé among the Tewas in 1675 and Tenskwatawa, a Shawnee warrior in 1805, who began his Messianic career in a trance and was thought to have brought his people a new revelation from the Master of life. He denounced the witchcraft and medicine of his tribe, the firewater of the whites, demanded more respect of parents and ancestors. Smohalla among the Nez Percé found the higher power and brought his tribe the sacred message that they should have strong and sudden help. Kanakuk among the Kickapoos was another mouthpiece of the Great Spirit to rescue his tribe. Flourishing tribes that do not feel the outside pressure of civilization have little need of redemption. The Navajos, e. g., rejected such gospel messengers. The Apaches, Delawares, Ojibways, Kiowas, have responded in some cases with intense vigour to such Messianic appeals. The first record we have in this country is in the seventeenth century when the Pueblos expelled the Spaniards. The Sioux were infected by the same fervour in the form of a ghost-dance. Among the aborigines of this country there are far more failures than successes, and the latter have greatly solidified the tribe. Similar phenomena have been found among the South American Indians, in South Africa, and among the Kalmucks. China so well knows these phenomena that it requires all incarnate gods in the empire to register, and "forbids the gods on the register to be reborn anywhere but in Tibet," fearing warlike results very much as Herod did. Among the Jews there have been various Messianic uprisings, not only against the foreign yoke but against the upper classes, and there are many features in the career of Jeanne d' Arc that illustrate the same principle. Some compare the relation between the Messianic religion and the national life with that between the brain and heart. The prophet very often cajoles his people with promises of an ideal state of things after a period of hardship and tribulation; buffalo will come back; game of all kinds will abound. The cry is generally to restore the old ways and customs, but perhaps in an idealized form. Some convince their followers that they perform mighty nature miracles. Occasionally a time is set for

the sudden and divine inauguration of a new state of things, generally to the disaster of the tribe when the prophet's direction is implicitly followed. In 1889-90 a wave of intense Messianic excitement swept through several Southern States among the negroes, and a number of self-announced Christs arose and wrought miracles. They received many gifts, predicted the day of the end, appointed a place to which many came on that date to await the great transformation. Such phenomena have a generic identity with the Messianism represented by Jesus, Mohammed, the Mahdi, and many others.

These phenomena raise the question which was first elevated to importance by the school of Durkheim, viz., as to whether in such phenomena the individual or the group leads. Very many phenomena connected with the various Mana theories now seem to indicate that the most primitive phenomenon is a sense of one great unifying principle which springs out of the collective soul when tribes celebrate together, in which case the soul of the individual is completely submerged in that of his community. Messianic phenomena, however, would seem to indicate that it is the individual that influences the group. He strives to take into himself the social mind of his community, and mould and guide it, for without him the group would be blind and dumb. The group makes the Messiah possible, but in him scattered rays, too dim to be otherwise effective, are focussed, and although his power is wholly psychic, it may become hardly less complete than that of the soul over the body. In Messianity we have, then, the most perfect of all paradigms of the relation between leader and led. Each creates and depends upon the other. In no psychologically essential aspect did Scriptural Messianity differ from that of a more primitive type. In the former, however, the phenomena are far more clearly wrought out and more adequately recorded, and especially the efforts of the Messiah are given a higher spiritual interpretation, which rises far above the material or political sphere in which the cruder forms of Messianism find their field of interpretation. Wallis sums up by saying, "The social seems merely a polarity or a dimension in which personality finds meaning and by which it is conditioned in its expression." Social influences are responsible for the ability of the leader to grasp their meaning, and each is equally creative of the other.

In addition to 456 passages in the Old Testament, Edersheim collected 558 in the Talmud and Targums referring to the Messiah.

Stanton collects 400 references in the New Testament to as many passages in the Old, which together he thinks define the entire career of the Messiah from his preëxistence in heaven to his resumption of a place in the Trinity at God's right hand after the Resurrection. Some of these are very explicit in detail. If the Old Testament passages are prescriptions they leave little room for freedom. His life had been written beforehand, and Jesus in assuming Messianity had simply to assemble the specifications from their many places and contexts and order his life with fidelity to these old oracles. From this point of view we should have to regard him as a studious compiler, diligently seeking cues and conscientiously following them as his rule of life. We might conceive that at some stage he realized how many circumstances in his past conformed to these rubrics, and from that point he took his life in hand to make the rest of it conform more perfectly. Thus many a savage ruler is moulded by prescriptions that define all his *Tun* and *Haben*, his *licet* and *non licet*, and later accepts for himself these taboos and exacting customs that may make a king's life a burden with constant fear of transgression. Some of these requirements happily are very generic, but they range from the most trivial points of etiquette to fundamentals.

On the other hand, we may conceive that all these correspondences between the new and the old dispensation hardly entered Jesus' mind. He may have lived out his life with little thought of what was or was not proper for a Messiah, and most of this texture of cross-references between his career and the sacred books of the Jews may have been woven later by dull dogmatic or Judaizing followers. Neither Paul nor the synoptists entirely ceased being Jews in becoming Christians, and they at least sought to keep every way open from the old to the new dispensation, as the patristic and even scholastic authors later sought to harmonize the classics with new Christian ideals. So the New Testament writers felt it necessary to amalgamate Jesus' *aperçus* with the prophets, psalmists, and historians. Thus we may conceive what occurred somewhat as follows: The original reporters of the New Testament story had been profoundly inspired by Jesus' reverence for the prophets and his luminous interpretation, which made them glow with novel meanings. They were loyal to him and to them, but realized how he sublimated their lessons till they almost transcended their own narrow ken. He had thus legitimized himself to them as a

re-revealer and transvaluator of the old writings. He was the Theseus who had drawn the sword of the spirit from the old sacred tree of knowledge, the Ulysses who had demonstrated his legitimacy by bending the bow of Hercules. So one of the chief impressions he made upon them was as *the* master of prophecy. He could bring out its ravishing music. It spoke to him as it spoke to no other. Its books had been more or less sealed but he became their great opener, as if he were the one to whom they had really been addressed across the centuries. As their latent content now shone forth, his hearers had been spellbound, overwhelmed with a deep sense that all the prophetic idealism would be realized and transferred from the realm of poetry to that of fact. They were thrilled by anticipating the early fruition of the old dreams of a long-deferred hope. *The* day had dawned, and expectation was on tiptoe as he talked.

But high meanings tend to fade, especially from minds on a lower level. To a mental vision that could see only dimly, these glorious insights were hazy and deformed, and as the years passed his followers became more incompetent to do full justice to them, so that a process of transvaluation downward into psychic equivalents of a lower order began. When at last the New Testament writers sought to set it all down we have the transformations characteristic under such circumstances, that are only now coming to be understood. Some phrases persisted and others were obliterated. Thoughts of Jesus lost their precision, for they had always been more felt than understood, and so the Evangelists had to strive to meet their task by a cy pres modification, if all unconsciously, of what Jesus exactly had said into the nearest psychokinetic equivalents possible to their minds. These took the form of general and specific, often very crass, correlations between the incidents of Jesus' life and teaching and prophecy, but on the lower plane of place and incident. The true interpretation of prophecy as here and now fulfilled, then came to expression in their representation of compulsion to conform to the vaticinations of old "that Scripture might be fulfilled." The tendency to find or make conformity was strong. It might be limited to trivialities like entering Jerusalem on an ass or dividing the garments by lot, or to larger matters like the virgin birth, Davidic pedigree, flight to Egypt, slaughter of the Innocents, appearance in the temple; but it warped the real historicity of all that pertained to Jesus. This apperception mass or complex in

the minds of the Evangelists would tend to make them more or less alert to all in their memories or in the traditions that conformed to this function, but negligent of all that diverged from it. This process began in the years immediately following Jesus' death, during which the *rapprochement* between the Messiah of the Old and the Jesus of the New Testament was growing toward a more complete identification. It is significant that the logia and also the primitive Mark and John show far less effort to unify the two than do the synoptists. If this be true, our problem is one of restoration, and is difficult.

The problem of Jesus' Messianity, although one of the most unique and difficult, is not unsolvable. Since Wellhausen's "History of Israel" (1878) it has been realized, as never before, that the most remarkable product of the Hebrew mind is found in the sixteen Books of the Prophets. The future was the stronghold of Jewish patriotism, the asylum of all its thwarted or delayed hopes, the ark of Israelitic expectation. The interpretation of the future was the chief field of whatever literature and social philosophy then existed. Poetry sang of it, history pointed to it, belief in a just God depended on it. It eclipsed not only the past but the present in interest. It was the refuge of defeated souls. Other races had believed in a golden age, and even placed it in the future, as Pfleiderer has shown. The Egyptians thought the great phoenix was to appear and change all. The Greeks realized that Pan was dead and a new world-power about to take the helm. The Roman augurs believed the present period drawing to a close. But it was the speciality of the Jews to establish a great national bank of the future and to make very heavy drafts upon it. From Amos to Obadiah they had expected another dispensation with such fervour that the present was made more or less provisional. It was, of course, variously interpreted; perhaps merely the present wrongs would be righted, or it was a poetic revelling in a land flowing with milk and honey where there was no war, sin, or sickness, and perennial spring, a new paradise, no labour or mourning. Again, it was expressed in measured denunciations and threats of a *dies irae*, as awful as human depravity had become hopeless, or yet again in mere penitential moods of humiliation. Some emphasized the judgment motive, and thought the new reign would be inaugurated by a great assize, meting out rewards and punishments. Some thought physical nature was to be remade. Others thought it would be heralded by worse tribulations

than any ever before known. Elijah would appear; the nations of the earth would war upon the chosen ones, who would only after unutterable suffering conquer, gather the dispersed, and rebuild Jerusalem under a greater ruler than David. Slowly, as Schürer has shown, some of these different interpretations were more or less curriculized in the popular consciousness and in sequent order, but the Hebrew mind grew protensive and from Abraham on lived more and more on promises, as they had done in Egypt and the wilderness, because they were Children of the Covenant. The idea of the new order of things was so inebriating that many feeble minds had become insane, and excitable ones expected a speedy catastrophe. Some wondered why it was so long delayed, but all who were dissatisfied looked for a restoration. There can be no doubt that the Messianic ideals of the people were very different from those of the prophets. But religious consciousness in this race was proleptic. Despite all the learning lavished upon this subject we do not know the extent of this faith among the Jews at the time of Christ, how many held it, with what intensity, when it was to come, how long it was to last, how it was to be ushered in, its ethnic or geographic extent. However this be, there are a few psychodynamic laws that apply to it, as follows:

1. It followed the law of inverse relation between the immanent and transcendent. When the kingdom of David and Solomon was at the height of its splendour, the faith in the spiritual Jerusalem grew dim. But when the national hearth became cold or when the people fell into captivity or under the Roman rule, it became more real as a refuge of irrepressible Semitic optimism. The Messianic belief was the form which national faith in God's justice and omnipotence took. It was an insurance policy, which if clung to would make up for all loss and deficit. This whiprow relation of reciprocity between the real and the ideal, which appears in a more adumbrated way in the history of other nations as well as in individuals, was also seen in the proclivity of the Jews to fall into idolatry in the days of prosperity, but when adversity came to turn to the living God. By this same principle sickness weans from earth and raises man's thoughts to heaven.

2. Ideas of historic continuity, developed in some directions, were in others strangely lacking among the Jews. Creation was epochal. A new period began with the Flood, another with Abraham, another

with the captivity, another with the exodus, another with the establishment in the promised land. Miracles like the destruction of Sodom and of the armies of Sennacherib and Pharaoh gave new turns to events, so the *status quo* was tentative like the short tenures of the year of jubilee. Thus the idea of dispensations, perhaps separated by transforming events, gave a catastrophic trait to the Hebrew consciousness, although some continued to believe that the reign of the Messiah would steal over the world unobserved, perhaps from some obscure quarter, and very gradually leaven the heart and transform life.

3. Characterological differences predisposed to different ideas of the Messianic rule; for the gross it would be sensual; for the refined spiritual; for the poor it would abound in gold and silver; for those hungry for God, knowledge of him would fill the earth; for those oppressed, compensation and retribution would be most prominent. Those of a spurty diathesis might interpret it as coming suddenly, while for others it would be a natural evolution. For visionaries it would stand forth with every detail with which the imagination can invest ideals, while for prosaic minds it remained a beautiful cloud-dream.

4. It might be very far or near. The competition with other national deities with whom Yahveh was brought into comparison by their conquerors tended to make him afar, because piety exalted him above them all. God had withdrawn, hid his face, his very name was secret. And although the Jews never gasped up into the inane by the Greek method of ecstasy, the Semitic fancy had long before peopled the hungry void between God and man with a series of intermediate beings, principalities, powers, angelic orders, and these also tended to keep God at a distance by themselves doing his work in the world. All the apocalyptic and eschatological conceptions were expressions of a consuming desire to bring God back to man, and such ethnic tension is a prayer which always answers itself.

5. The chief feature in the Messianic realm was ethical. God's justice was to be vindicated. The culmination of human affairs was not to be despair, nor was it formulated according to any program of pessimism save for the wicked. Nothing but good awaited the righteous. Thus optimism and pessimism were both true, one for the good and the other for the bad. The worse things were, the more radical would be the Messianic metamorphosis.

Precious concepts like these lay very close about the hearts of those Hebrews who were truest to the national ideal. Faith in some form of them was the essence of the highest religious life. They may have been held with peculiar intensity by a little circle of receptive waiting souls closest to Jesus. Perhaps the new realm might break out with dazzling brilliancy at the next Passover in Jerusalem. Any unusual event might be its signal to those conventicle brooders who kept themselves in a state of ideality. There can be little doubt that this was the chief culture atmosphere in which Jesus grew, and it is no wonder that it has suggested the most fruitful of all recent interpretations of Christology.

The most enlightened common sense now inclines to the view that Jesus lived out his early life completely under the influence of his environment, that his first conception of his Father's business was carpentering, that he had a completely natural development, and had known the Messianic ideals objectively long before he felt any special personal relation to them. We cannot agree with Lagarde that Jesus never thought himself the Messiah, nor with Holtzmann that it was merely a matter of ideality. But whenever he first conceived it with reference to himself it must have given him great pause. The modesty of one who does not yet know his genius would prompt him to hold back. Practical sagacity might suggest that the times were not ripe, or the difficulties were too great. It was not merely editing an old traditional story, as Goethe sought to embody the Faust legends or Sue those of the Wandering Jew. It was not assuming a title by performing some predetermined feat like that of Theseus or Siegfried. Nor was it merely playing a rôle to meet the popular expectations of the return of some great hero, nor a new sense of being an agent of fate or destiny. It was not working out a national task of reconstruction like those which Stein, Jahn, and Scharnhorst undertook for Germany after the Napoleonic wars, nor obeying the call of patriotism by harking back to ancient prophecy, as of a virgin deliverer in the days of Jeanne d'Arc. Neither was it the emergence of some great Mahatma from his obscurity, nor interpreting the mad ravings of the Pythian prophetess, or the whispering of the leaves of the Dodona oak. It has some analogues to all of these, but was vaster. It was impossible to fulfil any single interpretation of Messianity without disappointing others; and so lacking in coherence were even the canonical foregleams

of it that any detailed interpretation was sure to make more enemies than it could make friends. The great hope was not a prepared mould, like a Cinderella slipper, which the right individual would completely fit or fill. To realize it required the greatest perspicacity into the things of the soul, a genial creativeness, marking the advent of the successful artist or poet of poets in this domain, that should move in the midst of all this plastic material, like the spirit of God upon the pristine waters.

Of course we never shall exactly know how Jesus felt when he fully realized that the glorious nimbus of Messianity was within his reach. He was not intoxicated with it as many had been before, for it seems to have been a favourite form of paretic delusions of greatness. He did not put aside this thrice kingly crown because he saw dangers, for his pneumatic self perhaps urged him on by making him feel called to it. Perhaps he rather felt that he must justify not the assumption but the refusal of Messianity. Did he use it as a means for accomplishing other ends? Had he already grown so exactly into it that he would have been what he was apart from this conception, and merely found that it coincided with what he already was? Did it simply give him a higher form of self-knowledge because of the coincidence of objective ideal with subjective spontaneity? Was he more or less free, or was there a higher consciousness experienced or reflectively realized? Indeed, was there any distinct act of choice, resolve, decision, weighing results, or did the sense of Messianity grow in him unconsciously, even though the realization was sudden? Did all that was in him go up and out into Messianity and was his psychic legitimacy complete? Was this consciousness in its final form the exact expression of just what and all that he was by birth or heredity? Under the influence of this general expectancy did his nature expand further beyond the dimensions of mere prophethood than it would have done in another psychic environment, or was there any degree of accommodation?

All we can answer is that he did for the Old Testament Christology what, and more than, the higher criticism now seeks to do for Scripture, delivering its spirit from the bondage of its letter, not by scholarship but by a more vital psychological re-realization and revelation of its inner content. Perhaps Kähler is right, that what we really worship is not entirely the Jesus of the Gospels but the larger Christ of the whole Bible, of which Jesus gave us the germinal principle. Perhaps we

shall have to discuss with Nösgen whether the whole of Messianity found expression in Jesus so that the real kenosis is that this great ideal was in a sense self-pauperizing. If this be true, all those who advance the cause of Jesus are developing the hope of ancient Judea. Neither Buddha, Confucius, Mohammed, nor any other great religious creator had any such wealth of preformations or anticipations, and therefore no such culture momentum behind him. This prelusive ethnic hunger drew out the noblest aspirations, for it was a great ideal awaiting realization and beckoning to the heights of humanity. In this race, small, with limited notions of the great cosmos, and within a few years, a process of intensive greatness occurred which is the world's classic illustration of the power of the *religio pectoris* to supplement all defects of time, place, circumstance, and person by vision and idealism.

Jesus might have sought to realize Messianity in the high priesthood with its splendour and mediatorial function, with its great appeal to the imagination, but the priesthood was for Levites, and he was not of their tribe nor even a Pharisee but a layman. He was neither scholar nor theologian, and the atmosphere of legality repelled him. He might have chosen the prophetic rôle, usually at enmity with the hierarchy. The majestic figures of the prophets emerging from the desert, charged with spiritual messages like Zarathustra, especially at great crises, must have made a powerful appeal. Again, the rôle of the wonderworker was one of the most popular of all the attributes ascribed to the Messiah. The Jews never forgot what Yahveh did at Sinai, how Elijah drew down fire, and the sun obeyed Joshua. Nature was not yet tamed by laws, and all clamoured for a sign. This rôle was partly accepted by Jesus so far as he overcame man's greatest enemies, death and disease, although medicine was then exorcism and all nervous ailments were possession. Thus he fulfilled this type of expectation more than any of the others. The most insistent and common idea was that the Messiah should be a warrior king like Saul, and thus he had to be a son of David, so that his advent could be a royalist restoration. The dream of Jesus' age, as Holtzmann perhaps best puts it, was deliverance from an alien yoke and taxation, as Moses had delivered Israel from Pharaoh. This idea was most of all thwarted by Jesus, for his kingship was entirely inward.

What, then, was his interpretation? In a single word it was in wardness. The glorious triumphs of the Messiah must be realized in

the human soul. The new Jerusalem is the city of Mansoul. The law is all in the heart. This involution or subjectivization constituted the great work of Jesus in this domain. Never was anything done that assumed such depth, breadth, and capacity of the soul, or that was so calculated to magnify our timid narrow psychology. All the Messianic ideas have ample space for realization in the immanent domain of the human spirit. More than this, all history is worthless or valuable just in proportion as it is resolved into a typology of the processes that take place in that world which Kant taught us to call intelligible rather than empirical. Each man is prophet, priest, king, healer of himself. Compared to this inwardization Berkeley's subjectivization of the outer world is only a parody, as the magicians aped the miracles of Moses. As subject knows object only as a system of meanings, so Jewish history is transmuted into ethical and religious experience. Nothing ever implied such a high valuation of man's psychic power, and this greatly reinforced by transference the belief in immortality. Its echo is still heard in the ideals of the Church invisible, not made with hands, although all this an age like our own, so utterly absorbed in externals, is perhaps less able to comprehend than any other age.

This involved great transvaluation of values. Of this great reversal Buddha's renunciation is only the darker, sadder form. It is not easy to see how the poor are rich, or the rich poor, why the meek are proud, and the proud humble; how pain brings joy, the conquered conquer; how the vilest sinner may be purer than the perfect conventionalist. Only when we understand these things can we understand the sense in which Jesus realized Messianic hopes. This thesis of Jesus should appeal with peculiar force, but does not, to those psychologists who think meanly of the soul or deem it a mere epiphenomenon or mainly noetic, or nothing but a mirror or record of outer facts. Again, the great founder of the inner kingdom of faith gives us a culminating example of what every race should do for its history and ideals. He answers the question how races and ethnic stocks can remain perennially vital and growing, and escape the decay and death which have seemed to be the destiny of all the great nations of the past. Racial and national immortality are assured only by inwardly assimilating and interpreting on ever higher planes the earlier achievements and ideals of the race, by perpetually sublimating fact into meaning, using it as a symbol of higher future truths, ever trying to reproduce the his-

tory of the past but in a transfigured way, so that all that went before seems prophecy, and all that follows its fulfilment. Human records must have this incessant re-interpretation and re-revelation, just as human life is made more effective by it as we see, e. g., in Goethe. Either for lack of great minds or of incentives thereto this development has been arrested or there have been retrogression or so many dead and stagnant periods and so many dead nations. We have here a recipe of ever progressive growth and development for races.

Thus in realizing Messianity within, Jesus transcended individuality, and his soul became totemic of his race, the palladium of its ideals. In gathering this into himself he also diffused his self into the larger self of the gens and became its generalized type, so that his identity was expanded and merged into that of his people. All its good predicates became his. All that was significant in its history must be explained, at least symbolically, in his own life. But all this vastation of soul involved the beginning of a reversal of all the processes of incarnation. It was the doom of the body as the principle of individuation. As Plato conceived philosophy as love of death, so as Jesus' soul ceased to be individual and became racial, his body, which could not incorporate the race, must die, and the larger body, viz., the community—that is, the disciples, the elect, the Church—must take its place. The soul such as his had become needed a new and larger incarnation, not in one person but in a group. This reincarnation of soul he described figuratively as the Holy Spirit that could only come after his death, which was necessary to set it free, for the Spirit is only his soul freed from the body. Perhaps a better modern trope or simile of this process would be to call it a higher procreation which having borne and transmitted the immortal germ plasm, leaves the specialized soma to die because as an instrument it has done its work and so must be sloughed off like a husk which is of no further use and may become an encumbrance. Compared with the new, higher life his soul had kindled, his corporeity had become senescent and moribund. His psyche had outgrown his soma, and could not become a diffusive power in the disciples and their followers and successors while it was imprisoned in its sarcous tenement, so that in becoming the Messiah the thanatic processional had already begun. As others struggled to live, the struggle to die had now begun in the depths of his soul. Unique as this was, in him it is intelligible and not without analogies in human experience. The

sense of Messianity he described, not by calling himself the generic or ideal Jew or type-man, but by means of the more tropical and less exact phrase, Son of Man. He might have called himself the Father of Man, of a new type truest to the idea of humanity, or the best representative of the genus.

As Jesus grew into the Messianic idea his individual consciousness gradually passed into the larger consciousness of the group or race, and he eventually came to identify himself with it. He came to think, feel, and act in super-individual or genetic terms. He interpreted this supervening race-consciousness in himself ambiguously, partly as Godhead and partly as the Kingdom. Following the inveterate projective hypostatizing habit, he interpreted it on the one hand as his heavenly Father with whom he grew into unique oneness. This experience was the knell of his own personality, as distinct from and independent of the Father. Even his individuality, however perfect, could not express God, who as humanity itself transcends all limitations inherent in any single personality. On the other hand, the Johannin phrases expressing his relation to the Father, as we shall see, can be so arranged as to show every stage of progress from utter subordination to equality and identity until his individual ego, now entirely evacuated, marches on to death in order that the undiminished fulness of God may take its place. Thus he illustrates psychic euthanasia. God is Mansoul transcendentalized.[1]

II. *The Sonship.* A second great achievement was that Jesus grew to regard himself as Son of God. This was another experience not unique in kind but far transcending any other approximation to it in degree. This we must now consider.

Perhaps the most distinctive trait of Jesus' personality, the one that has always overtopped his teachings, is the fact that he believed himself to be and was thought by his followers to stand nearer than any other to God. This conviction was probably the most basal and deepest thing in his soul, and constituted his divine sonship. Harnack[2] declares that no psychology can ever tell us how Jesus attained this insight. Here, he says, research ceases, and this must forever remain a

[1] Of the voluminous literature on the subject see as convenient in English: V. H. Stanton: "The Jewish and Christian Messiah." 1886, 399 p. S. Mathews: "The Messianic Hope in the New Testament." New York, 1905, 338 p. E. Fiehm: "Messianic Prophecy." 1900, 356 p. C. H. Briggs: "Messianic Prophecy." 1895, 519 p. C. H. Cornill: "The Prophets of Israel." 1895, 193 p. J. M. P. Smith: "The Prophet and His Problem." 1916, 244 p. See also V. Völter: "Jesus der Menschensohn." 1914, 113 p. D. Carl Stange: "Das Frömmigkeitsideal der modernen Theologie." 1907, 32 p. F. Moerchen: "Die Psychologie der Heiligkeit." 1908, 47 p. See also his "Zur psychiatrischen Betrachtung des überlieferten Christusbildes," in *Monatsschrift für die kirchliche Praxis.* Oct., 1906.

[2] "Das Wesen des Christentums." 1901, 189 p.

mystery. This we cannot admit or believe. Were it so, the loss or absence of this knowledge would not only be unutterably sad but it would leave Christianity with a hiatus between itself and God, and also between itself and man, as a thing apart and dissociated, and therefore forever unintelligible and incredible. In fact, the sense of sonship was attained through a normal development of the *vita religiosa*, and although it occurred in the greatest psychic altitude, it was as natural as spring. True, Jesus kept no *journal intime*, and we cannot tell how much of this process was spontaneous unfoldment, impelled only by the nisus back of all development, and how much was the result of struggle, search, and victory. We find many of the same uncertainties as to the precise way in which he reached the sense of sonship, that we have seen exist concerning how he attained Messianity. Much, however, as we long for a fuller record of the hidden processes of his soul, it is not difficult to understand and even to indicate the psychogenetic stages that led him to conscious deity. To do this we must, however, first recall one of the considerations above that bore on the problem of Messianity, viz., that a race that does not produce great representative men and leaders at each stage of its development always suffers arrest and, in the end, degeneration. A race has been defined as a device of nature to produce one or more men of a high order. As its culture becomes richer, ever-increasing ability is needed for its guides. Because the demands for increasing superiority in fit leaders were not met in season, the great ethnic stocks of the past declined, like exotic plants that sprouted but could not bear fruit or even come to blossom. Again, outer forms, conventions, too much legality, external rites, encrusting internal meanings—these are like specialized somatic tissue which loses germinal power until the corpse is evolved. To such a condition Jesus as Messiah brought regeneration by subordinating form to content and becoming the unipersonal entelechy of his race, its higher monad or microcosm, entitled to speak with the voice of all the prophets at once, so that what had been phylogenetic processes now took in his person an ontogenetic form.

But what was the Hebrew deity whose son Jesus thought he became? Yahveh, at first the God of the Kenite tribe near Sinai, was as unique as were the Hebrews who adopted him, who chose him, or, as they always ascribed the initiative to the Divine, whom he had chosen. Each could say to the other in the phrase of the worshipper as in-

scribed on the Orphic tablets, "I am of thy race." He was essentially the God of the gens, and to each member of it he was his great clansman and kinsman, his personified ideal, destiny, genius. Originally regarded as hardly less awe-inspiring than the Akkadian Maskim from which some elements of his nature were derived, the mystic tetragram that stood for a name too sacred to be spoken suggested etymologically the lofty, strong, eternal one, and he was always associated in the Hebrew mind with the sublime and to them novel mountain phenomena at Sinai. Although the God of the ancestors, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, though not in a way that suggests, as some have thought, traces of the Spencer-Lange ancestor-worship theory of the origin of religion, and although long worshipped with offerings, there is little evidence that he ever sat at the table as the guest of his devotees or that sacrifices were ever made to him under either of the formulae, *do ut abias* or *do ut das*, phrases now sometimes used to distinguish between the earlier, e. g., pre-Dionysian, and the later Olympic religions in Greece. Yahveh was also both a battle-cry and a God of war. Once he had accepted human sacrifices. He had adopted many of the rites of the Canaanitic Baal, and had thus become also God of the soil and its fruits, and husband of the land, being always psychically consanguineous with his people. His worship was never domestic, and his sacrifices never on the hearths and altars of homes; but his culture was always a social rather than an individual, or even a family matter. Religion was not yet personal, but merely "the tie that binds."

From these very humble, not to say barbaric, beginnings, Yahveh grew in complexity and exaltation of character with the growth of the race, reflecting its most effective subjectivity, which came to be endowed not only with all the supreme ethical values but with independent objectivity. For primitive man and the folk-soul particularly, to know means to posit objectively, a tendency arising particularly from the irresistible ejective habit of sense perception. Races especially must project outward their most intimate nature to really know it, for what is man without an object? In religion differences between subject and object are most constantly changing. Kalthoff urges that the deeper we penetrate into this domain the more the subjective predominates over the objective. Yahveh became more than tribal, more than the embodiment of the moral ideas of the Hebrew stock. He

was the "essential truth of Jewish man." Hence, by the law of fission or bifurcation, the transcendent, which is always secondary, had emanated from the soul of the race. What the chosen people renounced for themselves in power, wisdom, and holiness, they not only ascribed to but enjoyed in their deity. He was one, because they were the pure, unmixed race; supreme, because they held themselves to be the best stirp in the world; just, because he embodied their conviction that good and evil would both be recompensed in this life. He was the celestial party to the great covenant; vindictive, yet judicious; jealous, but kindly; stern in discipline, but with a parental heart. To this personation of the higher life Abraham was called to devote himself with abandon. Some of the prophets gave Yahveh almost cosmic dimensions, and the Psalms made him not only Lord but Creator of nature. Yet he was a particularist, exacting in all matters of sacrifice and rites, and enforcing nice distinctions between what was *kodish* and taboo. His personality later became so multiplex that it was hard to define, and if he did not become merely a vinculum to include a larger number of attributes these were so distinct as to suggest henotheism among the qualities enshrined within his nature. He had not only chosen but trained his people by successes and calamities, fears and hopes. He had watched over them, and had always been on hand in emergencies with special deliverances. Thus the worship of Yahveh meant respect for the very highest ethnic conceptions and convictions.

We can see that the assumption of sonship to such a being, instead of being involved with and inseparable from the problem of Messianity, as Baldensperger, e. g., thinks it to be, would mark a distinct advance, although it would be a natural if not inevitable next step, if advance there was to be. As the Jews were children of Yahveh's choice, so Jesus as their type-man was his Son in a peculiar sense. As such, all the lavish care bestowed upon them by their Lord would converge and concentrate upon him as its focus. Jesus was the apical blossom for the sake of which the Divine Creator had so long watered, pruned, transplanted, and dug about the parent stem. He was chosen from among his race just as it had been chosen of old, so that he now stood in a position related to his kinsmen somewhat like theirs toward the gentiles. He was sacrosanct, or doubly set apart, as well as beloved, and this relation was most exactly conceived as filial. Thus no objective event (such as Peter's confession, the transfiguration, or the voice

from heaven) nor any pathological subjective experience led Jesus on to this momentous next step, but an ineluctable inner necessity which was genetic because it was an advanced stage of development along the line of his previous psychic growth. It was at the same time a logical conclusion from two premises. Yahveh is the Father of the Jews, and Jesus is their Messiah. Thus only one already consciously the Messiah could have become Son of God with any plenary conviction. This of course involved the utmost expansion and elevation of soul, and many new lines of spiritual development. Natural as it all was, and true to all we know of the higher psychology and anthropology, it was unique, as much so, indeed, as was the development of man on the monophyletic theory, which assumes that at only one particular point in time and place did the primitive man evolve out of the higher anthropoids. So this process could never have taken place in the world before, and we can hardly conceive it possible again.

For instance, the conviction of sonship could not have broken forth toward any deity that was not in many respects tribal. Again, no individual could normally grow into the sense of sonship, unique like that of Jesus, who had not already in a sense embodied his race in himself. That race, too, must be pure, its stock eugenic, persistent, ascendent. The conceptions of the cosmos had to be more or less narrow to make the process possible and also to give it depth and intensity. Just this deity, individual, race, moment, stage, had to concur. Thus the problem of sonship was reduced to its simplest and most favourable terms. If we delocalize or detemporize the process, or dissociate the solution from its historic environment, the understanding of it all will escape us. True, myth tells us of sons of God galore, that have sprung from the immortal descendants of heaven who consorted with the daughters of men, but the sonship of Jesus has nothing really in common with this, nor is his sonship procreative save in the above sense; so that the Immaculate Conception is only a symbol but of a distinctly different order, a figure of speech taken literally. Jesus' relations to his Father were purely spiritual and not spermatic. From every pragmatic point of view sonship did involve some reduction of Yahveh. We find in the New Testament no such magnificats of God as abound in the prophets, as a being infinite in time, space, and perfection, omnipresent, omnipotent, creating all things, awful and infinitely transcending human concepts.

Indeed, there is little left of the *numen tremendum* of Sinai, with all his plenitude of superhuman and supernatural predicates. Deity for Jesus is the still small voice of man. He brought the twilight of the Semite Yahveh, as God the Father passed over into the Son by whose generation his own being is diminished. Not that Jesus deliberately reduced the God-idea to make it coincide with his own personal consciousness; but he only felt that all possible revelation of him must henceforth be in human terms, and so he wished to make it as complete in his own person as possible.

The theanthropic consciousness, too, was attained under circumstances unprecedentedly favourable to the human race. Yahveh had become an essentially ethical being whose greatest love was for holiness, and whose deepest hate was for iniquity. This marked a complete accession of man to his Kingdom, for virtue is the most divine thing in the world. Man, indeed, cannot think too highly of this, his essential, truest ethical self. No other deity than that of the prophets could be incarnated in human form with more gain and less loss of attributes. This once attained, immense impulsion of soul would follow from an experience so new and so near the apex of the goal of human development. So pregnant a mystery would impel all who could feel it to strive to utter it by every crude trope available; to preserve as precious and to reiterate as rubrical; to elaborate into dogmatic, mystic, speculative form every phrase, image, or parable descriptive of the filial relationship. The sense of its intense significance would give the crassest of these experiences a certain degree of sacred inviolability. Thus it is no longer possible to believe that Jesus brought the theanthropic consciousness ready-made with him into the world or that it arose suddenly and completely at a particular stage like the baptism. Why the synoptists quietly assume but say so little about sonship, and why the great Johannin passages so indelibly stamped on the heart of Christendom are so incondite, confusing, and contradictory, are themselves facts that need explanation. It was of course far easier in an age of fable and miracle to substitute material for spiritual truth than to describe supreme new stages of psychic development. The Nativity and especially the Resurrection were dramatic sarcous scenes that seemed to give tangible demonstration of deity, and such crass literalisms are of course far more intelligible. The psychic fact that these symbols stood for was so lofty and difficult of comprehension

that the terms of man's previous experience were inadequate to express it, and therefore many clung to the stupendous physical miracle as one of the most available vehicles of expressing Jesus' mediatorial function. Masterpieces of ethnic pedagogic art as they were in their day, they still linger because their crudity of form and matter is so over-compensated by the sublimity of their content. Their very amorphousness and monstrosity, if taken literally, constitute a standing incitement to translate them up and back into the spiritual truth they stand for.

In view of this, it is not without psychological interest and significance to try to indicate the very scattered and confused references to Jesus' relations to his heavenly parent. Gathering them all together thus, and by the simple method of transferring the order of passages bearing on the subject so as to give them a certain possible historic sequence, we may arrange them to show stages as follows:

(1) First come the texts that suggest great subordination to the Father, akin to the first stages of childhood. Jesus is little, the Father all; the Father is greater than he; he does nothing of himself; he speaks as the Father taught; he is but a voice; even his words are not his, but his Father's; he tells what he has heard; he does as the Father commands, and can do nothing he does not see the Father do; his doctrine is not his; places in heaven are not his to give; he comes not of himself, but is sent; no man comes to him except the Father draw him; he is astonished that his hearers should not know that the doctrine is of God, and that he does not speak merely by himself; he finds satisfaction that he always does the things that please the Father; he has made known all the things he heard from him; he has declared and will continue to proclaim his name. In such expressions Jesus seems to be commissioned as a factor, agent, or envoy, and is far from being plenipotentiary. He has little personal power or discretion, but acts on pretty complete instructions. Thus any prophet might have spoken who had seen the Lord as the world had not. Such texts have been the arsenal of both the mystics and the heretics, who regard Jesus as distinctly inferior to the Father.

(2) At a somewhat more advanced stage of his sonship Jesus is given some authority, e. g., to execute judgment. He is not alone, but the Father is with him, or will give him what is asked in his name. Some are given him to keep, and he reports that none save one has been lost. In his valedictory prayer he says that he has finished the

work assigned to him, and recommits those given him to the Father. He prays not for the world, but only for those given him. Power has been delegated him over all flesh to confer eternal life upon those given him. Here he appears to have a sense of delegated power, sharply defined and limited, although it shows that the sense of sonship is developing toward maturity.

(3) To a perhaps next higher or more closely related stage belong the phrases in which the relation of the disciples to Jesus is compared to or identified with his to the Father. He loves them as the Father loves him. They are to keep his commandments and abide in his love, as he keeps the Father's commandments and abides in his love. He sends them into the world as he is sent. The glory given him he gives them. The love of the Father to him is to be in him and he in them. Those who confess, deny, receive, hate, or persecute his disciples, do the same to him, with the frequent intimation that those who do so to him do it to the Father also. The Father is to love them as he loves him. He is in the Father, and they in him. They that love him shall be beloved of the Father, and he will love them. "As I live by the Father so he that liveth in me, even he shall live by me." Without him they can do nothing, etc. Here his mediatorial function of middleman between God and his followers is attained and expressed. His relations to God are parallel to their relations to him. Although in the vine parables and other allusions there are differences, the nascent sonship-idea is so far throughout entirely psychic or adoptive with nothing about it involving natural paternity.

(4) Higher, and we may conceive later, comes a stage of parity, consubstantiality, equipollence, if not identity with the Father. All things that the Father hath are the Son's (Matt. ii:27) delivered to him of the Father, given into his hands. "All thine are mine, all mine are thine, I in thee and thou in me." When Philip would be shown the Father he is asked, "Have I been so long with you and you have not known *me?*" Those who keep his word the Father will love and "*we* will come and abide with him." Both will love those who love the Son. To know him is to know the Father. "All things that the Father hath are his," and, as if their functions were now reversed, "he shall take of mine and show it to you." Now he readily assigns to the disciples the places in heaven which he had before said in answer to the same request were not his to give (Matt. xix:28). Not only

does no man know who the Son is but the Father, and who the Father is but the Son, but the Son knows the Father even as the Father knows the Son. The Father is in him and he is in the Father. Before he had said that all that was asked in his name the Father would give, but now he says, "If you ask anything in my name *I* will do it." "Whoever loves me shall be loved by the Father and" (as if a climax) "I will love him." "Also these things they will do because they know not the Father nor me." Now to hate, love, receive, see, know the Father and the Son are one and the same act and state. In all this there is no trace of subordination, but, indeed, a few phrases in which the Son almost seems to take precedence.

(5) An implication, and perhaps also a last stage, is that of the transcendence of his own nature. These expressions seem prompted when the shadow of the cross first appears. He is to go hence and the disciples cannot tell whither. Soon they will see him no more. None asks him, "Whither goest thou?" Later, perhaps, he announces again and again that he goes to the Father. This should cause them to rejoice if they love him. Sometimes he promises to come again. Again, he goes to prepare them a place and will receive them unto himself but they cannot follow him now. When he next drinks the fruit of the vine it will be in the Father's kingdom. Thence he will send them the Comforter from the Father who will testify of him. Because he goes to the Father the world will be convinced of righteousness and, a causal sequence of the same event, the disciples shall do greater works than he. Even the dead shall hear his voice. As to his origin, the disciples are from beneath; he is from above. Then, at their entreaty, speaking more plainly than before he announces that he has proceeded forth from God. He loves them because they believe that he came out from God. He is to receive the glory that he had before the foundation of the world. He came forth from the Father into the world, and returns to God; he is himself the bread that came down from heaven. Here and in the preceding phase lie germs of the supernal birth, the Resurrection, and the Ascension, which seek to body forth in tangible form these exalted states of mind which historically not only preceded, but gave the initial psychic motivation to the *parousia* and all the post-mortem records, as well as later to even the Nativity.

Of course these stages must not be regarded as too sharply de-

marcated in time. They are rather degrees of nascency, the last more or less implicit in the first. Jesus' theanthropic consciousness, *Gottesbewusstsein*, lived, as it were, on a slope; and mood, recognition by others, favouring or adverse currents of outer events or inner states, impelled his soul now up, now down, this scale. At the Crucifixion the ebb of conviction sank to zero, as he felt forsaken of God as he was discredited and deserted by his friends. On the other hand, hostile critics have raised the question whether, had he lived to a good old age and achieved vast other successes, this sense of oneness with God might have grown to a dogmatic oraculism or megalomania. To such vain speculations it can only be answered that his faith seems to have had just the degree of intensity and elevation to give it maximal psychological efficiency as the *punctum saliens* of the new and epochal historical movement which it inaugurated. The very phrase, Son of God, is an artistic, anthropomorphic masterpiece, because it expresses correctly and in terms of the closest personal relation the best attitude of man toward God, and indeed by no means loses its appositeness even if the Father be conceived as impersonal. It means that the claimant of this title feels himself a child of the universe out of which he sprang, and has a filial attitude toward it. To attain and maintain this attitude it is not necessary to regard the cosmos animistically. What lies behind this, perhaps the most pregnant phrase in all the culture history of mankind?

Evolutionism did not begin with Darwin, but with the very early cosmogonies. Man has always been interested, not only in his human but in his cosmic pedigree. He has yearned to know in the language of one of the oldest Vedic hymns, "Whence, oh whence did this great creation spring?" Was it made or did it grow? In any case what was first or in the beginning, and how is man related to this? All ontologies from Parmenides to Hegel have grappled with the problem of man's ultimate derivation. Spinoza was "God-intoxicated," although his God was substance, knowable in only two of his perhaps numberless attributes. Mystics of all kinds, from Proclus and Plotinus to Boehme and Eckhart, have striven to come into contact with or immersed themselves in pure predicateless being. What was in the beginning has always been one of the most haunting of all questions that the world has addressed to thinking man, and it has had as many answers as there are mythic cycles, creeds, or systems. It has been

conceived as undifferentiated being, so highly generalized that no positive affirmation can be made without limiting it, so that it is little else but the substantive verb standing alone, without either subject or predicate, and tantamount to nothing. It is existence without quality. In this old ontological mould have been cast such conceptions as cosmic gas, the undifferentiated and unknowable. Or more anthropomorphically it has been called *nous*, *logos*, a reason, force, or energy conceived as will, with a developmental nisus behind it, or love has been the spring of all things. This great recessionary *Hang* or trend has of late been studied in two new fields, which show how its primordial and instinctive nature antedates the dawn of reason.

(1) The first is its prevalence among children,[1] who often lose themselves in cosmic emotion in the contemplation of infinities of time and space. This may become a dizzying obsession or neurosis. The soul is drawn heavenward in sky- and star-gazing, and may become almost agoraphobiac toward the blue vault above. The psychogeneticist sees in this phenomenon the germs of such cults as those of Varuna or Urania or Nirvana, and perhaps of the Yogi discipline. It is the pantheistic "impulse to return," the first effort to think *sub specie eternitatis*. It is the first naïve orientation toward the beginning and end of all things, a dim instinctive sense of a menstruum into which even personality will be resolved.

(2) Students of the mind of primitive races have within the last two decades found, especially in all our Indian tribes, who are best known, and among other primitive people, especially the Melanesians, cumulative traces of a stage of culture that preceded the animism which Tylor thought primitive. Although concerning these primitive conceptions scholars are by no means accordant, there is an agreement that we have here the undiscovered but very general stage through which the souls of perhaps all savages pass. On this view all men very early in the history of mankind had a deep, overmastering sense of some all-pervading power, variously called Mana, Orenda, Wakanda, etc., which is not the great spirit and which has probably no trace of personality in it. This power was before and back of all things, pervades them, and gives unity to the most diverse things in nature, for it is continuous and so cannot be broken. It brings all things to pass. It is an ancient, sacred, mysterious energy, that is supersensual and

[1] See my "Adolescence," Vol. 2, p. 159 *et seq.*

metaphysical. It is a subtle bond that gives all things a common life and makes them akin. It is also a bond of souls. Mana is felt chiefly in times of great social excitement and group activities which bring individuals into the closest touch with one another, as if the individual soul expanded into that of the entire tribe, and this expansion is prolonged until it feels itself to be continuous with the principle of life, and even with that of being itself. Some think Mana the source of magic power. Lovejoy thinks it is the first philosophy. Harrison[1] finds it pervading the religion of ancient Greece before Zeus, and compares it to Bergson's *durée réelle*. Durkheim[2] seems to conceive it as a kind of totem of the universe, and so does Marett.[3] It is a sense of oneness that seems to enter from without, and most agree that it is superpersonal.[4] Hocking[5] thinks it an ontological reminder of man's sense of dependence. It is only experienced in states of excitement and social solidarity. It has been defined as a sense of exceedingness or excessivity, or a kind of ecstasy, involving some surrender of the normal self. It brings with it a feeling of a larger, higher life, of elation and freedom as against personal limitation. A greater perfection is felt, etc. At first students of Mana thought that the conception of it was quite distinct both from the ontology of philosophy and from the haunting infinity psychosis of children, and yet deeper study shows the very close psychic analogies and equivalences of all three.

Moreover, every noetic quest, such as that for categories or innate ideas or forces, is motivated by the same propensity of the soul to get back to an abstract background of the universe. It was this deep trend in the human soul that made man so prone to accept modern evolutionism perhaps prematurely, and to presuppose its operation at points of the upward scale where it is as yet by no means established. In all these ways man has sought to strengthen the feeling of his own legitimacy as a true son of the cosmos, and this title makes him feel more at home in it. He yearns back toward the roots of things in order to feel that he is the heir of all the ages. His will loves to posit itself as a direct derivative of creative energy. He loves to think his sense of duty a categorical imperative, and also and especially that the

[1] Jane E. Harrison: "The Religion of Ancient Greece." London, 1906, 66 p.

[2] Émile Durkheim: "Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse, le Système Totémique en Australie." Paris, Alcan, 1912, 647 p. See also *L'Année Sociologique*.

[3] R. R. Marett: "The Threshold of Religion." London, Methuen, 1909, 173 p.

[4] Lucien Lévy-Bruhl: "Les fonctions mentales dans sociétés inférieures." Paris, Alcan, 1910, 461 p.

[5] W. E. Hocking: "The Meaning of God in Human Experience." New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1912, 586 p.

absolute lives and moves in his own heart and that his feelings, whether of dependence in Schleiermacher's sense, or of absolute freedom, as Hegel prefers, incorporate his intellect and his heart into the ultimate scheme of things. In all these ways the soul strives to feel itself one with the inmost nature of the world, and to realize that to be either the abject slave or the Supreme Lord of the universe are only ambivalent expressions of the same instinct of unity and solidarity with self, others, or the world.

Thus to personate all the sources of nature and mind, and to salute them all in one as "Our Father in heaven," as both the goal and end of all things, was a sublime achievement of pedagogic, pragmatic, humanistic genius. Each is the child of nature and of man, and therefore of God. Pure reason may soar to the absolute, but practical reason regards even being itself animistically, as parental, just as theology ascribes ontology as an attribute to God not inconsistent with his fatherhood. Our love to it seems reflected in its love of us. Man seems called to do its will because he made it according to his own. To know it is the highest self-knowledge, and therefore man anthropomorphizes the collective fundaments of things into a unity that seems personal, and in this world he is more at home as in a father's house made for him.

Thus, by identifying himself with God, Jesus went beyond Messianity by just so far as the God of the prophets transcended the Hebrew Messiah, and he also took another step toward death because deity as mankind in its totality is greater than any single individual can ever become. God was in him to an exceptional degree, but God cannot come to adequate and complete consciousness in any individual; and so, since God could not come to Jesus in all the plenitude of his attributes, Jesus had to go to God. In plainer and more modern terms, this means that if Jesus' realization had been complete that God was simply and only ideal humanity rather than a transcendent celestial person, and that man's universe were all of his own making, and if this conviction had also pervaded the minds of his followers, he need not have died, risen, and ascended, to document his sonship. These latter were a dramatization, necessary because of man's inability to accept Jesus' thesis of sonship unless his soul was thought to actually go up to the traditional abode of God. The fact which they symbolize is that he found, went to, and became the divine in his own soul.

He had to die, because men in the blindness of their hearts and minds could not believe that he had really found or become God unless he was thought to have divested himself of his body and gone up through space in ghostly and levitated form. Thus Jesus had to literally die and ascend to give a modulus or allegory of a successful quest for God. This was clung to as sacred because of the meaning it was dimly felt to embody.

Committed as Jesus was to the objective, hypostatized interpretation of God, and creative as was his designation of this concept as Father, many of the above Johannin passages show that he also revered the God within his own breast as a kind of collective term for the racial instincts, most of which slumber unrevealed in us all, throughout our entire lives. Hence we find a strange duality of interpretation in his mind. The Holy Spirit that was set free by his death and was in fact his soul, goes up to God in heaven, but it is also commissioned to dwell on earth in the souls of Jesus' followers, where it really belongs, although he bequeathed it to both them and God. Thus Jesus long hoped that his friends would understand the inwardness of his God-quest, and perhaps the beloved disciple was well on the way to do so. Therefore Jesus was reticent about it all, and shrank from promulgation, because he saw that crassly minded as most of the disciples were he could not make them realize that he had found God within, and that there was really no other way of doing so. To them the only successful quest of God would be to go to him above as one can do only after death. This he had to do, therefore, as a last resort, because worst came to worst, since the only God they knew was to be found at home only in the sky. Perhaps had there been time for a longer apprenticeship on the part of his followers, they might have understood without the tragic object-lesson which Jesus chose to give them at last, rather than that they should hopelessly fail to understand his divinity. Thus he gave an objective idolization of it which the Church has cherished as so central. But for this only mystic consciousness of the deep inner things of the soul, of which the death and Resurrection are only symbols, would his successors ever have confessed his divinity?

If the great sayings of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel as to his relations to the Father have any coherent and intelligible meaning, it is that the way to God is that which opens within the depths of the human soul. The true son of God reaches, communes, and unites

with him by mystic inner experience. Of this the laying aside of the body and the rising through space to a place are only symbols, even if the best and only ones. The star of the wise men, the opening heavens at the baptism, the reversal of gravity at the Ascension, the cloud that "received him out of their sight," suggesting absorption or melting into the empyrean, and all other astral references, as Voigt's careful study, "Die Geschichte Jesu und die Astrologie" (1911, 225 p.), suggested, are all to be taken tropically. God is not reached by a voice through space at any definite place, nor can we conceive Jesus returning to him by the same way by which he came down to earth to be born. This is all myth and symbol, although in the highest Platonic sense of these words, and hallowed as is all this imagery of the highest of all psychic processes. To rise to God is to enter the soul of the human race as a beneficent, discarnate, disembodied, superpersonal, diffusive power. This was the true assumption; for Uranotropism is really spiritual involution, and communion with God is the acme of communion with the larger racial soul within us. The absorption of Jesus' risen spirit into the cloud did not mean that he had left the world and man, but that he had completely entered them. It marked the consummation of his will to die in order to attain a more than personal immortality in the human race.[1] In the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (Chapter 5), Jesus is made to ascend directly from the cross, while in Chapter 9 the resurrected Jesus is of supernatural stature. If Jesus died as Messiah, his Resurrection and Ascension show him forth as Son of God. Here the two functions are perhaps most differentiated. If the former was historic, the latter is more Docetic, spiritual, plastic, poetic. Mere personality had ended, and with the Resurrection the soul of Jesus became henceforth incarnated in the community he founded.

The Jesus that arose and ascended was not a reanimated cadaver; so that the emptiness or tenancy of the tomb, so much discussed of late, is irrelevant. His body mouldered like ours. The post-mortem Jesus had no vestige of historicity, but was the most consummate of all the creations of humanity's wishes, hopes, and aspirations, the embodiment of his *ad astra per aspera* impulsions, the symbol of what we trust our future history is to be on to the end of time. Belief in it is the artistic interpretation of the yet-unspent momentum of human evolu-

[1] See my "Thanatophobia and Immortality," *Am. Jour. Psychol.*, Oct., 1915, p. 581 *et seq.* Also Lake: "The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ." 1907, Chapter 7. Also N. Gill: "On the Intermediate State," Chapter 7.

tion, which in that day had to be conceived as apotheosis and divinitization; for man will become divine when he realizes not merely theoretically but in all his life the sense in which the Son of God is the son of man and will return to his father, man. Thus Jesus not only brought the twilight of the Yahveh of the prophets in reducing him to human dimensions, but made the beginning of those long processes the goal of which is the resumption of transcendent deity into immanent humanity. Thus the son of man will become father of the true God, and all things be given into his hands. This is now being accomplished in the Kingdom of the Son.

III. *The Kingdom.* And now how shall we conceive the Kingdom, the third great achievement of Jesus? Roughly we may say that it was a community in which his own Holy Spirit was reincarnated after his death, his heir, to which he bequeathed his soul. In it he began again a new (this time pluripersonal) life on earth. It was first the invisible and then became the visible Church. As the child is more generic and a better representative of the race than the adult, and so nearer God (as Jesus saw and said long before Wordsworth), so his own unique God-consciousness which was a growing, all-pervading sense of the genetic soul within him, came more and more to subtend the differences which separate individuals and to be not only genetic but generic. His divinity consisted in his ideal and eternal childhood, or in doing away with the threshold which separates the individual from the species in us. The child is father of the man he is to be, first because his traits are phyletically older than adulthood, which is a later addition or superstructure, and secondly, because he is a more generalized type from which the adult departs by the specialization and limitation involved in growth. More than the adult he is "human, and nothing human is foreign to him." Psychoanalysts never tire of insisting that the childlike is the unconscious, and *vice versa* (*das Kindliche ist das Unbewusste und das Unbewusste ist das Kindliche*). Thus Jesus is the eternally childlike (*das ewige Kindliche*) in us. In this consists his filial nature. He is God's own Son, for deity is intrinsic man's autistic nature. Jesus' personality differed from that of others by its plenitude of racial traits and in his ready access to this source of power. The ego must be minimized because over-individuation alienates from this divine well-spring of power. Jesus was not a philosopher of the subconscious, but its pragmatist, who first taught the use of and right

attitude to it. This made him a man of destiny, and gave unique momentum to his deeds and words. The high degree of affectivity often developed where injective and ejective tendencies of thought oscillate, as in the Johannin mysticism, is highly characteristic of the *vita religiosa* in which subject and object often become indistinguishable. It is hard to find an Aristotelian mean between medium Sludge and Nirvana or between oraculism and Vedanta.

This mean Jesus thought and found, not in any single personality, even in his own, but in a select group of persons which after his death grew in numbers and reached an unprecedented closeness of union one with another, surpassing even the friendship so lauded in classical antiquity, for the ties that bound his followers were closer even than any ties of family or blood. Each member sought, willed, loved, feared nothing for himself, but all things for the brethren. They were in Jesus. They were his body, and he was their soul. Community of goods was only one and not the chief expression of this new unison of soul. With such new ardour of fellowship it would be strange indeed if there were not occasionally agapistic perversions between the members one of another, and also of Christ. It is no wonder that the disciples lingered together and were loath to separate after the effusion of the Spirit. Kalthoff and his pupils think[1] that the figure of Jesus himself was created out of the heat and light of the new brotherly love. They deem primitive Christianity a gradual synthesis of Messianism, Stoicism, and various proletarian societies, and think that Jesus is only the personification of the ideas and experiences of the earliest groups of believers. His suffering and Resurrection are the martyrdom and revival of the early Church, and he never really lived. He was a fictive patron and founder of the Christian as some think Æsculapius was of the medical guilds. Every great movement of the folk-soul, according to Kalthoff, demands a personal ideal; and even if Jesus was an optical illusion, he was a necessary presupposition of the growing Church. Jesus embodied the psychic content of a movement that had to evolve a leader, and his figure, projected backward by the Evangelists, represents the aspirations and ideals of the infant community incarnated in its flesh. Each item in his life and teachings is meant to mirror

[1] A. Kalthoff: "Das Christusproblem; Grundlinien zu e. Sozialtheologie," 1902. "Die Entstehung des Christentums," 1904. "Was wissen wir von Jesus?" replying to Bousset, 1904. See also M. Maurenbrecher: "Von Nazareth nach Golgotha," 1909. Lublinski: "Die Entstehung des Christentums aus der antiken Kultur," 1910. Also "Falsche Beweise für die Existenz des Menschen Jesus," 1010. W. Schultz: "Dokumente der Gnosis," 1910.

some event in the nascent stages of the development of the Church, as similarly, post-exilic Judaism put back later ordinances as commandments given to Moses. Thus the commitment of the keys to Peter was put back from the later emergency in which it arose. We seem to get very close to a real individual heart in the Gospels, and this shows that it was a product of genuine literary ability natural enough after once the personal traits began to be given to the Christ-image. The freedom, idealism, and intense new enthusiasm of a group very sympathetically fused into a community could give an illusion of reality more compelling than history itself.[1] When we consider the psychological principle that fervid assent to a *traditio recepta* is only a lesser degree of the will to believe, which, if intensified, could create the tradition, we must construe Kalthoff's theory as illustrating only an exaggerated appreciation of the vitality of the new group-consciousness in which that of Jesus became incorporated and which took up and carried on his work of organizing the Kingdom on earth.

Besides being the perpetual repository of Jesus' soul two other facts were implicit in this, which made for the very highest ideality in the new community. The first was the immeasurable reinforcement of the belief in immortality, and the second was the conviction of a speedy end of all things. Both of these made for spirituality and inwardness. To live in daily expectation of judgment often made for purity, while the all-dominance of the next world over this and of the soul over the body exalted each above all material aims and all proximate ends and methods. The righteousness of the new Kingdom must be diffused to the farthest extent and in the least time, for the only real business of every one was to save his soul and that of others. In danger the herding instincts of all gregarious creatures culminate; and so the cofraternization of individuals who stood in unprecedentedly close relations to one another gave a unique solidarity not only between the individuals but between the different groups, however widely separated in race or rank. Solidarity of all the persons and all the groups one with another meant the unity of Christ's body in which his soul went marching on. They ate his body and drank his blood commensally as a symbol of oneness both with him and with one another.

Thus with the conviction, first, that he was indeed the Jewish

[1] J. Weiss: "Jesus von Nazareth, Mythus oder Geschichte." 1910, 171 p.

Messiah called to both reinterpret and realize that ideal, and second, that he was the son of Yahveh, in a very unique sense was also involved the third supreme affirmation, viz., of the Kingdom of God or of heaven. This was a community in which the new and higher life which he illustrated and taught was to be lived out. It appears, as we have seen, that the attainment of the Messianic consciousness dawned very early in Jesus' public career, and appears as a fixed assumption later; also that the sense of sonship which was involved in and yet distinct from it arose not long after, and was well established. Both these in some sense involved the Kingdom; but only after the shadow of death had fallen across Jesus' path did the details of it chiefly occupy his consciousness, so that only toward the last of his career were his conceptions of the Kingdom in a state of rapid evolution.

If we turn for a moment from Jesus' personal life and character, with the study of which the new Christology began, and consider him as a teacher, following in so doing the impulsion that prompted his disciples first of all to collect the logia, sayings, or words, which he had declared would survive heaven and earth and make each who kept them a rock, our first problem is to ask what was the central theme of his teaching; that is, how can it be most comprehensively characterized? In past decades we have had many opinions upon this subject. Fairbairn thought the divine fatherhood his focal concern; Titius conceived blessedness to be the root of it all; Julius Müller said it was sin; Rothe called it righteousness; Dorner held that the chief stress was laid on justification. But I think all those who carefully scrutinize the utterances at first hand must incline to the view, of late so strongly advocated by men of such diverse standards as Ritschl, Wendt, Lütgert and many others, that the most comprehensive characterization of his teaching is that it proclaims a new Kingdom of God or heaven or a new social state which is referred to in no less than 106 Gospel passages, only two of which are peculiar to John.[1]

Dissatisfied and confused by the voluminous recent literature on

---

[1]Confining ourselves first to the more explicit statements of Matthew in order concerning the Kingdom, we are told that the poor in spirit, also those persecuted for righteousness' sake, will possess it. Those who break the commandments are least, and those who do them greatest, in it. If our righteousness does not exceed that of the scribes we shall not enter. We must pray that it come, must seek it first, and all else will be added. Not all that call on the Lord can enter. It must be proclaimed. Some would now take it by violence. It is given to the disciples to know it. It is like a man sowing good seed, not tares. It is like a grain of mustard seed, like leaven, a hidden treasure, a precious pearl, a net. Some will not die until they see the Son coming in it. Those like children are greatest in it, and of such is the Kingdom. The rich cannot enter. It will be taken from the Jews. The scribes shut it up. Its Gospel must be preached. The disciples must drink in it with the Father. The angels will sort out of it those that offend. We should be instructed in it. The parables of the unjust steward, the eleventh hour workman, the king's marriage, the ten virgins, the one, five, and ten talents, are all called parables of the Kingdom, etc.

the subject of Jesus' social teachings, I made a tabular list of all the passages with their contexts in the first three Gospels, where the Kingdom is specifically mentioned, in order to see if any general charterization of them was possible. Assuming these to be the prime data, to them I later added another larger tabular list of passages generally believed to refer to the Kingdom but not mentioning it by name. From a careful scrutiny of these data the most obvious fact about them is their inconsistency and the diametrical contradictions between them which are both many and baffling. Now it is said that few find it; and again it is described as drawing all men and filling the world. It is very hard yet very easy to gain admittance. The perfect scribe or the most exemplary rabbi who would stand up and be slain rather than defend himself on the Sabbath, who has avoided every spot of Levitical uncleanness, and the ingenuous child of fortune, who from his youth has kept all the precepts of the law, both lack the one thing needful, while even the prodigal who has broken every commandment and wasted his substance may find ready access. Sometimes it is described with a wealth of biological analogies, as coming slowly by the method of natural evolution, the blade, then the ear; or it grows like a mustard seed, and while we sleep; and elsewhere it is ushered in with a cataclysm of changes as great as those that mark the advent of one of Plato's new aeons when every process of nature is reversed and the gods turn all things backward. Sometimes it seems very material, and those ambitious for prestige in it are promised thrones and judgeships, or refused them; elsewhere it seems purely spiritual. Now it seems to centre at Jerusalem and to irradiate thence, while John interprets it as eternal life in a transcendental sense, or as truth. Now it seems immediately impending, all the prophecies are to be realized now before the present generation has passed, and we should await daily, if not hourly, some eschatological *dénouement;* while, on the other hand, its coming may be indefinitely postponed for centuries and millennia, and perhaps the counter kingdom of the great adversary will preponderate for a time to test faith. Thus even more than ancient prophecies the utterances concerning the Kingdom are strangely timeless and lack the perspective that distinguishes between things near and far, even in time and space, and it is often impossible to tell whether we are reading of the fall of Jerusalem or the beginning of the Kingdom, or the end of the world.

Before considering Jesus' ideas of the Kingdom in detail, it should be noted again that the more we study the Gospels the clearer does it become that everything in them is in a state of rapid change and development. They are not static, as has commonly been thought, but dynamic. Much that seems discrepant is due to the fact that different stages of development are represented, and all growth is from a severely logical standpoint *per se* inconsistent. If Jesus said all that is ascribed to him about the Kingdom, those who seek to know his mature views concerning it are in the position of one given every saying of a great man on a great theme from childhood on and told that they are all put forth at the same time, stage, or level of his development. On this theme his consciousness was most metamorphic, and we can make no progress till we have some scale on which to measure his development. Probably, too, he was most fluctuating and uncertain, constantly passing from cruder to finer conceptions of it and *vice versa*. How little sense of historic and still less of genetic sequence the Evangelists had is seen in the vast diversity of order of those events and of the sayings about the Kingdom which they all record in common. They were not in a position to realize the development of Jesus' own soul, and the conceptions of his divine nature in the Church since have made this interpretation inapplicable because of Jesus' complete deification. So long as his consciousness was deemed perfect and infallible from the start the problem of apologetics had to be merely to mosaic everything into one picture, whereas the conception of stages of greater or less maturity gives us a vital moving picture, simplifies Christology, puts everything in better perspective, and thus makes the mind and life of Jesus more accessible. To arrange all the data in order along the various lines of development is the problem of genetic psychology. It is neither so very great nor hard, and although it cannot be finished, it can be roughly sketched.

The earlier and lower stages of Jesus' development are of course hopelessly lost, although this loss is perhaps less serious than has been thought because it was largely within the ranges of the normal growth of higher human nature. The Gospels are precious because they are devoted, not to the early stages which are more common to all men, but to the later stages of the rapid evolution of Jesus' higher nature wherein other stories were added that constituted his supremacy. We see him first when he had passed through the steps of unfoldment

common to the best type of men and had entered upon a series of post-adolescent steps of psychic evolution that were peculiar to himself. To this there is only the one great exception of his naïve and almost unconscious attainment of a unique sense of oneness with God before his baptism, to be described below. We can never forget, unfortunately, that these are described by writers who, while they profoundly appreciated all they could in any degree understand, and wrote in a spirit of utter fidelity to what they could not fathom, were quite inadequate to their task in general and lacked all sense of the temporal order of events, believing this of no consequence. For them everything was on one plane. Moreover, time itself was soon to end and hence was a discredited category. Thus sequences are as difficult to make out between the facts contained in the Gospel record as in the order of events Jesus had in mind for the final ushering in of his Kingdom. Thanks to recent criticism we can, however, now discern stages in the development of the record of Jesus' life. Wendt has marked a distinct advance along this line in massing what seems conclusive proof that the Fourth Gospel represents a later redaction of one very early and authentic but independent apostolic tradition, which was wrought into its present form without knowledge of the synoptists although using some of the original sources they knew, and hence in essential accord with them. This view is confirmed by the fact that the subsequent development of Christian doctrine in the early Church was not along the lines of the Fourth Gospel, which looked mainly to the past and was little coloured by the future, nor even by the contemporaneous developments in the larger environment of Christendom. John rather consists largely of the discourses of Jesus, longer and shorter, which according to this view belong to the latter part of his public career, but many of which we regard as referring to conceptions which arose in Jesus' mind before his public career began. These so often only amplify the more concise statements of the other Evangelists that our verdict concerning the chief teachings of Jesus, and even their essential authenticity, need not wait for the further work that critical scholarship has yet to do in detail, large as that work is. If Jesus really taught one coherent doctrine the main perspective of its parts is not likely to change.

Again, it is plain that Jesus did not attain any such definiteness of conviction in his own soul concerning either the detailed constitution

of the Kingdom or the program of its inauguration, as he did concerning his Messianity and sonship. Perhaps he wisely forbore to go into details, either because he felt limitations in himself or believed it better to give general hints, *aperçus*, and suggestions fit to stimulate and capable of diverse types of realization. He must, however, have seen that to interpret the Kingdom in detail when there were no less conflicting conceptions of it than of Messianity itself, would be a matter of great delicacy, and no matter how it was done would increase antagonisms. Perhaps he only dimly felt or intuited certain main features of it which might have grown more coherent and explicit had he lived longer. Indeed, some have thought that he had a program in which sole attention to the Kingdom was placed later. On such assumptions we must regard all his statements and implications concerning the Kingdom as material for such psychoanalysis as we can make, and here more than anywhere else we must seek to get beneath the consciousness of Jesus (which for many recent writers is the cardinal question) to the deeper strata of his unconscious soul. We must indeed boldly attempt nothing less than interpreting to a certain extent what he said into what he meant, and strive to penetrate from the patent to the latent content of his ideas of the Kingdom, a task not only delicate but so difficult that it can be completed only when we know far more than we do at present concerning the nature of the submerged factors of the human soul.

In pursuit of this purpose we must first of all realize the nature of the unique theanthropic self-consciousness of Jesus, which is commonly interpreted as having two sides. (1) On the one hand, so far as he had come to be dominated by the supernormal complex of his Messianity his Kingdom must be of this earth. He would be influenced in forming it by the conception of the type of life represented by the patriarchal sheik, Abraham, with whom the old covenant was made, which was naturally compared with the new covenant which Jesus established. Still more, perhaps, would he be influenced by the ideals of the theocracy, and perhaps more yet by the glory of the Davidic kingdom to which he was the legitimate heir, and most of all doubtless by the Zion of the prophets. How much each of these four determinants or factors entered into his conception of the Kingdom can never be known, but all were present and contributed features. The Messiah must be the great restorer and realizer of ancient purpose

and longings, and it must be in this world, probably centring in Jerusalem.

(2) But Jesus was also dominated by the deep and sublime conviction that he was the Son of God and as such his Kingdom was not of this earth but heavenly. The new Jerusalem was a celestial city of God, established in the empyrean beyond the clouds. It was an apocalyptic vision of the home of the great and good dead, under the immediate rule of God on his throne and the glorified Son sitting at his right hand. In proportion as Jesus saw his work on earth threatened and nearing its end, it was this transcendental Kingdom that became dominant in his mind; thus the sonship constellation or personality impelled to a supernal, just as the Messianic complex did to a terrestrial, realm. Again, the *Jenseits* stood over against and was in some sense antithetical to the *Diesseits*, and as either one grew near or seemed real the other tended to fade. Were either lost the other would be a resource or consolation. There must have been at some stage a schizophrenic tension in Jesus' own soul as he envisaged these two disparate ideals, and some of his utterances concerning the one realm are quite irreconcilable with those concerning the other.

(3) How and how far the immanent and transcendent conceptions of the Kingdom came to be harmonized, is a problem which perhaps we can best approach by collecting and grouping all the characterizations of the Kingdom, without reference to where they stand in the Gospels, into an intelligible genetic order. From such a table we may opine that the oldest and the germ of all was the conception that the Kingdom was entirely within the individual. The regenerate soul found itself in a new realm. The passion to love and serve God made all else seem unattractive and uninteresting, and the world underwent a radical transvaluation. There was a new joy, peace, health, vigour, love in the soul, that nothing could surpass. Nothing could express the inner sense of beatitude and the invincible certitude of having found the chief end of life. The first promise of the Kingdom in the Gospels is to the poor in spirit, or to those who make the least demands upon life for themselves, and also to those persecuted for righteousness' sake, that is, to those who have abandoned the ambitions of this world or been unjustly outlawed by it. The Kingdom at first consisted of Jesus and his disciples, and they had followed the Baptist's proclama-

tion, "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." To repent indeed was to be born into it. To confess and forsake, that is, to evict evil, is self-initiation into it. It does not come by outer observation but is within each. This is the Kingdom we must first seek, and to it all else will be added. To those who do this it is given to know its mysteries. Thus it is a hidden treasure, a pearl of great price. In fine, it is found in Christian experience.

(4) But man is gregarious, a *socius*, and no man lives to himself. The new life is not only intensely inward and solitary, but must have vent and companionship, and the outer Kingdom begins in collectivity, sharing all things. Each must confess and exhort the others. The newborn must assemble and pray with and for and impart all to all in a new community. The lofty classic traditions of *amicitia*, or friendship as represented by Aristotle and Cicero, must be developed into the yet higher brotherly love and mutual service, which must be with abandon. Not only must the Golden Rule be followed, but each must prefer the other to himself. Thus a new and higher solidarity, typified by the sacred symposium of the Lord's Supper and by the *agapæ* or love-feasts, with their perilous embrace and kiss, is symbolic of the very closest of all ties of affection, above those even of husband and wife, parent and child. Perhaps never was mutual service such a passion. In such union there is strength indeed, and wherever so few gathered in the spirit the Lord was present with them. No such communion of soul was ever possible before. Men never got so near together as did these early Christians, heartening one another to endure hardship and even the most cruel martyrdom. "How the Christians love one another!" was the comment. In all the hundreds of types of organization, secret and open, before and since, for cultural, convivial, reformatory, reciprocal, health, business and financial enterprises, and all the rest, there was never such merging of individual ends in the common weal, such a degree of utter loyalty to a common cause, or such unreserved sinking of personal into group consciousness. This little Kingdom (big with promise and potency of a vaster one) was founded with a sense that it and its members were the light, the salt, leaven, seed, of a new world-order. Other Eldorados have been largely external, and consisted chiefly in ideal environments, working inward. This was a new inward life with a special organ of its own working outward. Others have been political or aimed at civic or industrial

ends, but this was primarily and purely ethical, based solely upon the ideals of virtue, morality, justice, and mercy.

Myth at its best is larger than philosophy or literature, for no individual can compass all the dimensions of a great mythopœic theme. It underlies rites, beliefs, customs, and cults, and is almost as comprehensive as the psychology of races. Even religions may be almost said to live, move, and have their being in it. The greatest of these ethnic themes is that of an ideal social state or a realm where all that is coincides with all that ought to be. Sometimes this ideal is very crass and sensuous. It is often described with great poetic license and abandon; e. g., the north pole blossoms, dolphins carry men, the seas are lemonade or wine, the earth yields exuberant fruits without toil, the land flows with milk and honey. It is a realm of the magic *Tarnkappe*, wand, bowl, sword, ring, boat. Perhaps there are fairies, diamond pavements, no deserts, disease, or pain. The gods are friendly and familiar. Old age is curable in a Fountain of Youth. The world is young, man pure and unfallen. The earth is full of beauty; and war, fear, anger, and hate are unknown. These paradises of old are often placed in the past, and the idylls or sagas about them are cradle-songs of primitive and perhaps autochthonic men.[1] Perhaps Warren[2] is right that this *cunabulum gentium* was near the north pole, while for very different reasons Wallace thinks it may have been Siberian. Haeckel identifies it with his sunken Lemuria, in the Indian Ocean. Others suggest a sunken Atlantis between Africa and South America, of which modern theosophists have given us such a detailed story. Columbus thought it up the Orinoco, which he deemed one of the four streams flowing down from paradise where heaven and earth joined and where he would perhaps find a sacred *omphalos* where earth's navel string with heaven had been cut. For Dante it was on the summit of the purgatorial mountain. Philology has suggested the Northern Himalayas or Eastern Persia. One anthropologist puts it in Scandinavia, and thinks Adam spoke Swedish. Perhaps the Flood wiped out traces of it. Nor was it all a *fata morgana* or real Eldorado, but it made a convenient point of departure for the history of many people for which it furnished so pregnant a prologue. In classic days its outlines were fancied as the age of Saturn, or when Kronos ruled before

[1] Edmund Pfleiderer: "Die Idee eines goldenen Zeitalters." Berlin, Reimer, 1877, 172 p.
[2] Wm. Fairfield Warren: "Paradise Found." Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1886, 505 p.

the Olympian dynasty. The Roman saturnalia were kept as a memorial of it, and there were presents and games. Slaves were served by their masters until it degenerated to Bacchanalian license. For the Jews one day in seven was kept in memory of it as sacred to paradise, and the year of jubilee to prevent gravitation of capital into a few hands was commemorative of it. It was the point where eternity touched time. Indeed it is so purely mythic that the very conditions of its existence have never been realized, but probably as Pfleiderer says it is true to the law, "*Das Schöne blüht nur im Gesang*" and these writers postulate everywhere what exists nowhere.

Great things have been done in the past. Not only has language evolved but along with it, in even its primitive forms, the most marvellous grammatical construction. Instinct has developed perhaps as lapsed intelligence. Early social institutions often seem to be the work of unfathomable intelligence. Utopia may be located in the country for the city child, and indeed it was for Rousseau. Vergil's "Bucolics" were written and had great charm because Greek and Roman civilization were decaying, and often Hyperboreans, Getæ, Thracians, were used as symbols of regenerative energies as were the ancient Germans by Tacitus. So in the French Revolution the cry was "Back to nature," and there were abundant dreams and romances of a new dispensation when man rollicked and frolicked in Arcadia and realized the importance at least of not losing barbaric virtues in developing those of culture. But the wisest men long ago began to see that if any such apotheosis of social man really occurred it would be in the future, was not in the past; for man has evolved from an animal state and the twilight of the gods is the dusk not of evening but of dawn. Hence the passion for progress, and hence so many men and races, like the ancient alchemists, have died from drinking their own elixir of cultural, social, political reform. All the scores of early constitutions that Aristotle collected had fatal flaws, and our star of paradise is a morning and not an evening star.

The working power of these popular ideals has been incomparable. In contrast with them those of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Prudhomme, Rodbertus, La Salle, Comte, and all modern social reformers since Bellamy and George and professional sociologists, are partial, fragmentary, and superficial. Indeed, not only society but even business is far too complex to be grasped by any individual mind. And yet true

statesmanship requires mastery in just this field; and many a writer, from Aristotle down to the anonymous author of "Rembrandt als Erzieher" have agreed that the supreme artist is he who deals with the material of human nature. He will be a doer, and so far beyond the professor who merely knows. But society is a monster obeying its own laws, which we are just beginning to understand and may construe mathematically according to Jevons or Walras, or biologically like Lilienfeld, Schaeffle, or Worms, with its own anatomy, physiology, pathology. But we had better more modestly begin with Tarde, who studied single laws, or with Letourneau, and start with beginnings of single institutions if not with animal societies like Espinas and Perrier, or with small country communities like the school of Du Prey.

Much as the cult of Jesus owed to the cults of dying and rising gods all about it, his conceptions of the Kingdom owed nothing to these pagan ideals of a golden age, but from first to last stood in sharpest contrast to them in two fundamental points. It began within, and it was purely ethical. If we put the burden of Jesus' teaching into modern psychological terms, it is that if the individual utterly subordinates himself to love and serve his fellow-man, which is the quintessence of morality, and to love and serve God, who represents the all-embracing universe, which is the quintessence of religion, he comes into a new and hitherto undiscovered or at least unexplored continent of human experience. It is of a higher order, and brings new insights into the world, which takes on a unitary, ethical, spiritual character, and brings a new reinforcement of the will and a new depth and range of emotion not only humanistic but cosmic. This experience is so *sui generis* that it seems to come *ab extra* like a revelation or a gift. It not only subordinates volition to its purpose but impels it with the momentum of the main current of history and evolution. So new is it that it must have miracles as tropes of this humanization of the world's dynamism. It also suffuses the soul with a love not only of man but of all being which far transcends the best that sex love has to offer. Just because such experience is unique and exalted and becomes possible only long after the means of expression had been developed, it cannot be adequately described but always seems a mystery, a state superinduced as from on high. Individuation develops to its uttermost, and having attained its goal it becomes completely subordinated to the race. It is so blessed that if the best and richest of men, most widely known

and praised, were to make himself an obscure pauper, deliberately destroy his good name and become an object of hate and contempt, suffer all pain, and leave his family, like Buddha, all these would seem as dross if he thereby gained this peculiar experience, which is related to ordinary life somewhat as the deathless germ plasm is to the moribund soma. This can never be fully believed on testimony. It must be tried and experimentally proven. It is not meant, perhaps, that all should go so far, but only a few; but all must go far enough to have faith in the fact of this higher potentialization of life by realizing that much of it can be attained with less than supreme renunciation. This subjection to the species is only the law of life in the plant- and animal-world, where every detail of form and function is never for the individual but always in the interests of the species. To break away from this law and to set up for self violates nature and constitutes the bottom sin or disease in the world.

Although gradually attained by him, this experience was the heart of the heart of Jesus' life. It gave it a unique organic unity that doctrinal systems can only faintly mirror or typify. This experience was the apperception organ by which he knew and interpreted everything in his ken. It gave harmony and consistency to the most contradictory things that he said concerning the Kingdom, such as whether it was inner or outer, of this world or another. He knew that this conception would grow and transform the world, and that it represented a higher plane of life which would never be entirely lost. This was the first theme of his teaching before he had developed a sense of his own relation to it as Messiah or Son of God, which so transformed it, and he began by describing its inner charm to those who could enter it. As opposition grew and the available time seemed short, he developed a steadily increasing sense of the calamity of missing it and of the doom of those who did so. In doing this he borrowed his imagery from the great prophets of the captivity, especially Daniel, with whom there began a unique apocalyptic style which affected not only canonical but apocryphal writings.[1] This had its own vocabulary of characteristic Hebrew words which Harper has compiled, and which is so marked in Enoch. It is a unique literary phenomenon, and requires some special interpretation. It is more commonly used in treating

[1] H. P. Nichols: "The Temporary and Permanent in the New Testament Revelation." New York, 1905. Lecture 6 See, too, Harper: "The Prophetic Element in the Old Testament." Chicago, 1905, p. 128 *et seq.*

such topics as death, resurrection, judgment, millennium, heaven and hell, and is most marked in Jesus' eschatological utterances. Its figures are intense, sometimes gross, a trifle fantastic, artificial, enigmatic, and even contradictory. It is commonly applied to mysteries that were challenging, and it makes Daniel seem arrogant and better informed concerning the next world than this. Its conjuring phrases are often repeated. Its religion is catastrophic, so that it has always been a favourite of Montanists, chiliasts, and Adventists. It is not the style of history, fact, or prose, but of poetry and vision, and its theology might be described as sung. Weiss thinks that Jesus' use of this resource, especially after the shadow of the cross fell upon his life, was often exaggerated, but these phrases gave him courage and strength in desperate state. The synoptists remembered, loved, and best recorded these utterances which are often devotional and have ever since frequently recurred in liturgies and lectionaries. It was the style of the Sabbath rather than the week-day. We cannot entirely agree with Muirhead[1] that their key has been found; for they have always given rise to the greatest diversity of interpretation, so that just what they mean is the most challenging of all the problems in the New Testament. What ought to be is, shall be, and always was, everywhere. The coming of the Kingdom is entirely conditioned by man's responses to it. It gave elasticity to apostolic institutions and ordinances, and is well fitted to the use of those who wish to apply all the resources at their command to the need of the present moment, so that despite its hazy mysticism it is intensely practical.

Unlike all pagan conceptions of the last things or the social *summum bonum*, the moral dualism of the Kingdom is intense. All benefited in the gentile conceptions of an ideal state; but in Jesus' conception there was to be a great sifting, and all the bad were to be swept away. As his obsession of impending judgment grew, he believed and used to the uttermost the tremendous stimulus of his conviction that it was not only certain but very near. He had no presentiment of the millennia that were to intervene. The barren fig-tree was given only the briefest respite. His followers were to pray for it, and watch every sign of its approach. When it came it would be a catastrophe of inconceivable magnitude. Nature would be convulsed, transformed, the powers of evil let loose. All the vengeance since Abel

[1] "Eschatology of Jesus." New York, 1904.

would be poured out. The doom of the world would be like that of Sodom and Gomorrah, and Wendt thinks that some of the phrases descriptive of it were interpolated, being reflected back from the fall of Jerusalem. Hence his followers must be ever ready, for the end might come at any moment. It was not necessary to organize even the apostolate, or weed tares from the wheat. Although the disciples were sent like sheep among wolves, they must do their work with all dispatch like those who warn sleeping villages of a breaking dam and a great inundation. They must shout their message from the housetop, and take all risks and dangers.

Besides the scores of specific mentions in the synoptists of the Kingdom it was the chief theme of Jesus' teachings and it was to preserve his sayings about it that the logia were gathered. Not only are his utterances as they stand, however, hopelessly discordant and contradictory, but, from Holtzmann's collection of definitions of it as interpreted by scholars, their ideas of what Jesus meant by it are no less irreconcilable. From this the only sane inference is that if the sayings represent one fixed or final stage, then his mind was in utter confusion about it, if, indeed, he did not have delusions respecting it that were not even systematized. In the social Christian movement of the last two decades, which has made the Kingdom the theme of most active and voluminous discussion, almost every phrase of Jesus touching it has been made central for the interpretation of the rest, and about every reform—personal, social, business, political, religious, moral, wise, or otherwise—has been given his sanction, although there is generally a transcendental residuum of utterances which has been treated with a very different theological and mystic *Einstellung*.

The chief directive lines (*Richtlinien*) along which all his sayings can be arranged are the following: (a) the Kingdom is inner or outer. (b) It is on earth or in heaven, that is, in this life or the next. (c) It is present or future. (d) It is of slow growth or comes with catastrophic suddenness. (e) It is attained by struggle, or is a free gift to be received passively. (f) It has a benign aspect for the good and a malign one for the bad; i. e., it comes as a boon to the former and a doom to the latter. (g) It comes more or less independently of Jesus, or he is the central agent in bringing it in, and its head. Everything said of it has its place on one or all of these seven lines of antithesis. Arranging them on such a scale, the only possible conclusion is that each group of

them thus deployed represents a genetic stage in the development of Our Lord's views about it or that these lines are developmental. Thus from first to last his conceptions of it were in a state of rapid evolutionary flux and transformation, and the inconsistencies and contradictions are those that are always involved in growth. Can any reordering of these give us a clue to thrid the maze and escape the chaos of present interpretations? As a perhaps overbold and professedly tentative psychoanalytic first step the following is suggested:

1. Jesus' first teaching of the Kingdom was that it was all inward and personal rather than social. It was righteousness, joy, peace, purity, first sanctifying self. It was in the invisible realm of the individual heart. It was the goal of all the good tendencies of history, and more specifically of prophecy. It meant enthusiastic moral reform, a new zest toward or aspiration for perfection. There was little or nothing of the Baptist's awful imprecations or threats, no new dispensation coming to sweep away the old order of things and bring in a new one. Jesus had profited by the fate of John and kept aloof from him, and his doctrine of repentance was far less drastic. He had himself grown into the new higher life naïvely and naturally without convulsive reconstruction, and assumed in others the possibility of doing as he had done. He did not even baptize, but regarded this rite as simply washing away uncleanness and not as a baptism of fire. His relation to those he taught was simply that of one who had found the way of truth, rest, peace, and the higher life, and who wished others to follow in the steps he had taken before his baptism. He was full of a great new joy as well as of the all-transforming insights which followed his own baptism, and sought companions and disciples in this fresh and glowing experience. His beatitudes were upon a simple, single, humble, clean life of service and self-abnegation, harmlessness, nonresistance, childlikeness. Neither Herod nor the rabbis could fear or object to this. The supreme realm of what ought to be was in the heart. To discover and make landfall on this new world within was his great achievement and should be the supreme quest of life, compared to which the loss of eye or hand, or the sacredest of family ties, was of minor account. To acquire such a treasure all else might be sacrificed. It was meat and drink for the very soul that others knew not of. Thus, having lately come to the full realization of his own Messianity, his first chief task was to interpret the Messianic Kingdom,

and thus his first conception of it was sweet, mild, subjective, as the one thing of supreme worth. It was so hidden and inoffensive that no member of the hierarchy or representative of the state could object or suspect, for he seemed only a preacher of a more perfect individual holiness. Thus there was no danger of any such calamity to him or his cause as had befallen the Baptist. At this stage Jesus made no enemies. To it would probably belong the parables of the prodigal son, the lost sheep and penny, perhaps the sower, forgiveness seventy times seven, no fasting when the bridegroom is present, the eleventh-hour labourer, the budding fig-tree as a herald of spring, the city on a hill, the scribe instructed in the Kingdom, etc. This stage of Jesus' teaching was illustrated by the first invitation of the guests to a feast. In this initial stage Jesus' tone was most exuberant. Hope was at its highest, and there were almost no antagonisms or oppositions. All was positive, optimistic. The people listened gladly. The disciples whom he chose, perhaps with less critical scrutiny because of the general spirit of buoyancy, left all and followed on the instant, and this presaged an easy, triumphant, and unresisted progress. Thus Jesus began at the positive end of each of the above lines from (a) to (f) inclusive, although the chief progress was along (g), for his sense of his own leadership was greatly augmented.

2. But his fame and the charm and magnetism of his personality proved very effective therapeutically in Galilee, which abounded with neurotics, and in an age when cure was exorcism. Thus, besides being a physician of the soul, Jesus found himself more and more revered as a physician of the body. This was not within the scope of his first purpose, and gave him pause, as well it might. His human sympathies made it hard to refuse the importunity of the sick and their friends, but there was an ominous danger of diversion from his prime intention and of distracting the attention of his hearers from his doctrine. Now came the first clear note of conflict which was with the demons whom he expelled, who represented the hostile kingdom of Satan. It was they who first recognized his Messianity and his lordship over them, if somewhat to his dismay. Healing was a victorious sally into the territory of the Great Enemy whom after his death he was to despoil in his stronghold. This therapeutic work brought new acclaim and gave his mission its first clear note of militancy. He must oppose the counter-kingdom of the great adversary at every step. The world is

dual, and good and evil are so opposed that every gain of either means loss to the other. The realization that he had power over Satan's realm greatly augmented his own secret sense of his dignity, for it showed that his work had a supernatural significance. He and his Kingdom stood over against Satan and his hosts. It was from his minions, too, that he heard the first and ardently longed for recognition of the office he had assumed when as yet no one else knew him for what he was, and hence there was a great advance along the line (g), for his person and work now had a supernal sanction. Along (f) there were now objects of abhorrence and imprecation while along (e) the element of struggle was emphasized, and on line (f) this earth was more or less transcended. If he could withstand the devil he must be sent by God. Cosmic powers were involved in the battle now on, and he was heaven's chosen champion. The realization of all this was an epoch indeed. Now he first began to draw upon the imagery of Daniel. Moreover, as the enemy was transcendent, so must the Kingdom be not merely of earth but of heaven. It could no longer remain immanent only. Henceforth what he said of it might always have a double meaning. Still, the individual soul was the theatre of all the warfare, while the conception of attaining the Kingdom now underwent much modification. It was not easy, but hard, to win; for there was resistance by the powers of evil at every step. It was no longer conceived as a state to be born in or grow into, but to be won by conflict. Sin, too, now was devils' sickness and needed more drastic treatment. The new life was less spontaneous, for there was always a root of evil to be plucked out. Fornication, hypocrisy, lies, greed, sensuousness, must be extirpated and not charmed away by the lure of beatitudes.

3. The hierarchy took note of his cures as it had not of his doctrine, and accused him of evicting devils as Beelzebub their prince, the most truculent and blasphemous of charges. Not only this, but he had dared to take the rash and perhaps ill-considered step of pardoning the sins of some he healed. This seemed a most flagrant usurpation of divine power. Thus, to his surprise and grief, Jesus found not only that the Kingdom did not draw all, but that those in the highest places of authority, whom he had been taught to revere, were arrayed against both it and him. We can understand what he meant when in removing the physical consequences of sin he pronounced the sins of his patients

forgiven, fatal as was the strategic mistake he made in doing so, if he wished to avoid or delay the rupture with Jewish orthodoxy, for now it was at as implacable enmity with his cause as were the leagued demons. The prophets of old had defied and rebuked not only kings but priests; but there had never been so open and bitter a warfare, and now the gentle Jesus was roused to the utmost rage and fury against the conservatives in the very faith in which he had been reared, and had to fight them with no less abandon, if by different methods, than he had assailed Satan's agents. His Kingdom could not be set up in the temple or even at Jerusalem so long as it was unoverturned. If it came there not one stone would remain upon another, but all must be rebuilt from the foundation. Its rulers were blind leaders of the blind, unfaithful tenants, vipers, whited sepulchres, and their cult is a barren fig-tree to be cut down and burned. Thus now the catastrophic conception of the advent of the Kingdom, if it did not begin, had here its chief augmentation, for it could not come among the gentiles, but must be a new Jerusalem, and hence the new ictus of the apocalyptic motif. It might come down from heaven, but at the very least it implied a radical transformation. Jesus could compel demons but not the souls of the Pharisees, and so God as the only recourse must intervene. Thus, in the face of rabbinical opposition Jesus' unconquerable soul appealed to transcendental divine powers to effect the great metamorphosis necessary to inaugurate the new Kingdom. What he could not do himself God would accomplish, and would perfect outwardly what he had begun inwardly. The goal of life which he had attained was so blessed, so certainly God's final purpose in creating man, that he would and must give it a worthy outer installation, and that, too, among his own chosen people in the land of the promises, very soon, very gloriously. He would just as surely do so as Jesus was the Messiah. The disciples did not yet know whom he claimed to be, for he had not proclaimed it; but the more perspicacious priesthood had clearly divined it, for indeed he had himself betrayed it in forgiving sins if only incidentally to healing. At this stage it was, therefore, that the great appeal was taken to Yahveh. He would overturn in the Holy Land until all was fit, and then usher in the Kingdom, subduing Satan, binding the beast of political domination, destroying the wicked, and creating a new earth worthy of the new installation of man into his true Kingdom.

4. Finally, as Jesus realized that he must die, and that soon, his conceptions of the Kingdom became more celestial and post-mortem. Admission to it would depend upon a verdict at a great judgment day for which the dead would be resurrected. Earth faded somewhat in his thought and would be destroyed by fire; and the good go to dwell with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the wicked be consigned to hell-fire forever. The Son would come in glory; the elect would be gathered and transported to heaven. The Kingdom was spiritual in the skies. The day of probation, grace, and mercy would have ceased, and no importunity would avail in the great day of fate and finality, for the last hour of history would have struck. A gulf which none could cross would yawn between even members of families. Danielitic imagery was more often resorted to, and there was more abandon on the part of Jesus to a state of ideality. There was a note of ecstasy about the future state as death became his muse and his mind became increasingly thanatotropic, while the Kingdom grew transcendental and more detached from this world.

Although he had fully accepted death as his fate, and perhaps as willed by the Father, he would not have been human had he not felt toward the wickedness that had brought it about the same wrath that in the Old Testament so often flamed up in Yahveh against sin and iniquity. He would have been a Docetic phantom or dummy of heaven not to have felt his death an outrage upon justice. Indignation was the natural and inevitable reaction of a just and innocent soul against those who had made the best in him the worst. His very consciousness of innocence would give him no less unique realization of the evil which was arrayed against him, and which filled him with increasing surprise and dismay as he came to know it. The ban of excommunication of the Church later pronounced against Spinoza was no more scathing and sublime and almost blood-curdling than his imprecation and invectives against the scribes and Pharisees in the third stage. But here in the fourth he no longer spoke *in propria persona*, but hurled the awful curse of God upon the wicked, chanting the old prophetic litany against them. In three of the five judgment-day scenes the Son reigns in heaven, and in those in which he returns he does so for judgment. There are signs and wonders in heaven, and on earth pestilences, wars, false Christs. The sun and moon darken; the stars fall; heaven and earth quake. All nations are to be gathered and parted as sheep and

goats, and the sentence upon both (Matt. xxiv: 41-46) is based upon their treatment of Jesus. But his greatness of soul is seen here in the fact that even the whirlwind of his indignation is directed not against the immediate agents of his suffering and death but against the general depravity that was the ultimate cause of all, and it is made yet more sublime in that the items of the condemnation are so systematically balanced by the benedictions and rewards upon the faithful.

Thus the conception of genetic stages alone can bring order out of the otherwise unharmonizable utterances relating to the Kingdom. Without this temporal perspective they must remain as they have always been, sibylline leaves arrangeable in any order or blown about by the winds of doctrine. On this view everything has its place and also its perfect natural explanation. Jesus began to teach it as a blessed mystic inner state easily accessible to all, just as he himself had attained it, by intuitive insight and self-consecration by counsels of perfection. This state was the supreme end of life, the highest of all worths and values. He proclaimed it with great and deliberate sagacity, amply safeguarded against all political opposition. There was no antagonism such as John's announcement of it had aroused. Thus the first interpretation of the Kingdom was the loftiest, purest, best, and sanest. When he came to conceive it later as a campaign against Satan's kingdom, as he did when he yielded to the demand to become a healer and caster-out of devils who acclaimed him as Messiah, his theanthropic consciousness underwent a great and sudden augmentation and a new note of conflict was struck; but it was with supernal powers and the issues suddenly assumed superterrestrial dimensions. He became a champion and leader of supermundane spiritual energies against other opposing but also invisible forces, and this evoked in Jesus' soul new subconscious energies from their latent depths and gave him a new sense of solitariness, and also a no less unique one of greatness. He became yet more an agent of destiny and of God. An unforeseen war was precipitated which could be crowned with victory only when Satan and his crew had been driven out, his innocent victims set free, and he bound and sealed up in a pit. Thus Jesus assumed in some sense a Michael-like function as a leader of the hosts of God against those of the great enemy. Had he not healed or thought himself recognized as heaven's vicegerent by the demons he evicted, these first motives of transcendentalizing the King-

dom would have been lacking and its enemies would have been for the time all of this world. But the drama would have been incomplete and less thrilling, and deep unconscious motivations less involved. If this would have given the Kingdom a fuller and richer ethical development, it would also have had less power to enlist the deeper energies of the soul which are always objectified as supernatural powers.

But when the opposition of the Jews developed its strength in the third stage, Jesus was brought face to face with one of the most significant alternatives in all his career. When it became plain that the Kingdom could not be established at Jerusalem, he might have taken the great appeal to the gentile world, as Paul did later. This, however, his intense Judaism made him unable to do, and so his invincible pertinacity took refuge in the future and in a superior world-order. The conviction attained in the second stage, that supernal powers were enlisted and embattled, also predisposed him to develop the old prophetic idea of a new dispensation sweeping away the present Hebrew cult, as construed by the scribes and Pharisees, and establishing a new heavenly Jerusalem and temple, and all this miraculously and convulsively. His very diathesis was perfervid and even fulminating. For him all that ought to be was certain, and what was certain must be soon.

In fact, it was the Church of the gentiles, and not a divine visitation, that was destined to leave the Jewish dispensation desolate. Sublunary and slow developments were to work all the destruction his perspectiveless mind saw as immediate. Paul in a sense only translated the changes which Jesus expected from divine intervention into their earthly vicariates and surrogates. The Jews were rejected, and not swept away. The *diaspora* is not yet ended, and in his day was only begun. Not a spectacular assize but the verdict of the Church composed of then heathen races sat in judgment upon them, and the verdict was the long-delayed one of history. The drama was to be played to the end of the fifth act here, and not transferred at the end of the fourth to a transcendent realm at the death of Jesus, which was only the beginning and did not mark or prelude the end of the earthly kingdom. Paul interpreted much of Jesus' incoherent and troubled nightmare dreams into a practical program, set it in scene on earth, and not in cloudland, although he did not reduce it all to immanence.

The later forms of Jesus' eschatology were, in psychoanalytic terms, the products of a protective mechanism enshrining his great hope when it had become desperate and seemed to him incapable of realization by even the best normal human endeavours, so that he had committed its accomplishment back into God's hands. Paul's appeal was to God, too, but also to the gentile world. He would bring in the Kingdom through its means and not by the destruction of Judaism, a remnant of which at least would also be brought into it. His goal and method were a psychodynamic equivalent of Jesus' vision, although human was to do more and divine agency less. Or, rather, God would make more use of man's efforts in bringing it about, and work was a larger supplement of prayer.

The Kingdom is so many-sided that we must go deep to explain or understand it, and also we must go back of the baptism and of the beginning of the public ministry to do so. The psychogenetic root of it all was that, unknown to others and with no realization of what was involved in it, Jesus had naïvely and more or less unconsciously (as great genius works), already found through a pure, simple, guileless life, and by self-communion and meditation, an inner way to the highest or the divine. In the language of the piety of his day rather than in that of psychology, he had found God. He had yearned to attain the maximum of perfection, or, in Scripture language, he had hungered for righteousness with all his heart. As other ingenuous youth seek for love, fame, greatness, wealth, or power, so all the energies of his soul were directed to holiness. In this quest he had put all other things aside. It seemed to him the *summum bonum*, the supreme goal of life and of all endeavour, something so precious that it must be sought even though all ties of blood and family affection had to be sundered in the quest. Not only had he striven, but he had made the great Eureka discovery and attained the goal he sought. He had realized that life is service. His own individuality had been caught up, inundated, merged in the vaster life of the race of which he became a biophore. This experience had unlocked new energies within; had brought great inner exaltation and a new access of vitality so great that even death could not be conceived as able to daunt or quell it, and if it came resurrection was inevitable. This put him in the centre of the current of creative evolutionary processes. Instinct, reason, conscience, will, could no longer collide, but must reinforce and summate each other. So

positive was this experience that before it all negations and limitations fell away, and in place of repressions there was a great expansion of the soul which was now fed by the inner mystic bread of life that others knew not of. It brought a sense of ecstasy and raised life above the ordinary familiar ranges of humanity. Of this experience all miracles are symbols, and become true in a higher than literal sense if they remain symbols. It brought a new Sabbath of rest in the brooding peace of God, made pure oughtness no longer merely an imperative but a passion, and removed every trace of heteronomy. One had only to awake, arise, hear, see, do. It may be described as dying to sin or passing from death to life, or as becoming true sons of God with his will as the only law. It is also to be free.

It was with some such inner personal experience as this glowing in his heart but not yet explicit or realized that Jesus, doubtless with hesitation, came to John, although he felt his standpoint so much beyond that of the Baptist that he declared that the least in the Kingdom was greater than he. He had even then little sympathy with John's denunciatory methods. He had made as yet no resolution to proclaim his experiences or to seek, save in a private personal way, to guide others along the way he had found, nor had he planned to organize any movement or to abandon his occupation. He did not yet dream that he was the Messiah, or that the sonship he had achieved was more than other zealous seekers might attain of themselves. But the new Kingdom was already founded in his own soul, although in an embryonic stage, with parturition just impending, while John was destined, although unwittingly to both, to be its midwife. Thus this interior way to God opened in the quest for perfection was the deepest and most central thing in Jesus' experience and in his teaching. This is the key to unlock all; to understand it is at once the hardest, most challenging, and yet the most imperative problem of Christianity, and to realize it is salvation. Although for Jesus it was virtually a *fait complet* at the baptism, its progressive realization in the world was a futuristic problem, and hence what followed gave the Kingdom a predominantly eschatological character.

Now, since the way to the goal of life opens from within the soul, its attainment would seem naturally to be sought by solitude and meditation. Jesus himself often retired to be alone and pray, and anchoritic cults arose in which by introversion, visions, vigils, fasting,

and self-castigation of soul and even body, man sought his God. Hence we now face the great but never yet adequately explained problem why Christianity became a social religion instead of sending its devotees in isolation into cells or the wilderness to save each his own soul. This would have been the result had Jesus' development of the Kingdom been completed or arrested at the first stage, as in fact Buddha's cult was. Jesus had found his way out to the open sea of eternal peace and joy more inwardly and with less dramatic incidents of renunciation, so that from the Baptism on he transcended Buddha. How, then, was the Kingdom given its so pronounced social character, especially as organization was not imperative in view of the nearness of the end? It was not enough to define it successively over against Satan's kingdom, the Jewish hierarchy and a world of sin. Why must and did those who entered Jesus' Kingdom get and keep so close together? Why should those divinely ruled be a company or brotherhood? How came it that the charm of *amicitia* or classic friendship so praised by ancient moralists before the development of romantic love, who taught that the good and only they could and should become true friends, was not only realized but so far transcended in the early Christian community? Whence came the brotherly love that made each prefer the other, the community of goods, the symbiosis in which the rules of the higher life became the canticles of love? The answer to this problem can only be found in the psychological realm of inward intimate experience genetically evolved. As Jesus advanced in his conceptions and convictions of his own Messianity and sonship, he came to realize that his own seeking and finding had been unique and above and beyond what was attainable by others, for he had at first naïvely assumed that all could reach it as naturally as he had done. Then he tried to teach that it was achieved, to develop the *word* that should guide to and in the *way*. But it could not all be set forth in precept, for there were deep subjective factors in it that could not be adequately objectified. He called disciples whom he thought apt, instructed them, and sent them forth on the first mission to teach others, and thus to know and establish themselves the more firmly. But the parables and miracles symbolizing it, effective as they were, did not convey it all. Having appealed to the intellect, the intuitions, and then to the will of his adherents, he realized that he must now go deeper and reach the lower stratum of sentiment and feeling by an

appeal such as had never before been made to the instincts of personal loyalty, love, and intuitive identification with his own person. His followers must feel the very breathings and pulsations of his own soul, and be made one with him in the subconscious depths of life by a subtle induction of personality. Thus he strove to develop every trope and symbol of consubstantiality between him and them. In this endeavour he naturally had recourse to the rich but very portative thought-forms of the totemistic cycle of the ancient folk-soul[1] which even to-day and in that age still more pervaded life, although the origin of these antique moduli of the psyche was unrecognized. He also availed himself of the yet more faded but effective and recognizable traces of the primitive concepts of blood covenant[2] of which there were abundant remnants. His disciples were to eat his flesh and drink his blood; they were members of his body; he was the vine and they the branches; and as he was one with God, they were one with him. He was the way through whom they could reach God. He was in them and they in him. He was the middleman or mediator through whom God reached man and was reached by him. All his relations to God they must establish to him. No other religious founder had ever sought to thus bind his disciples to his own person. Ritschl has called the Kingdom not only bibliopaidic and pistobasic but essentially Christocentric. Thus Jesus became a more tangible proxy and surrogate of God. It was thus easier for his followers to find God than it had been for him, and this was as he wished.

From this it followed that the relations of the disciples to one another became unprecedentedly close. They were members one of another because members of him. When he was gone he survived as the tie that bound them together, and the degree of this love of each for the others was also the degree of his persistence as a living reality. To love and serve a brother was to love and serve him; and this they must do to each other, even as to him. He lived in, and indeed was, their mutual devotion. A union thus cemented had a unique strength, and he was this strength. Jesus never dreamed that the first fellowship meal would become a permanent sacrament or stereotyped institution, or that his prayer, which was intended only as an illustration of the spirit of prayer, would become a standard, to be repeated through

---

[1] S. Freud: "Totem und Tabu." Leipzig, 1913, 149 p.
[2] Henry Clay Trumbull: "Blood Covenant." New York, Scribner's.

ages *ipsissimis verbis* as the one best and official model of appeal to the Divine, any more than he thought that Peter would become primate of the Church. As Bousset[1] well says, he drew very few of the logical consequences of his teaching, for his perspective of the future was very short. He did not realize the implications of his doctrine, which Sabatier[2] is so fond of insisting are even yet, in large part, unrealized practically or even theoretically by his followers. He never dreamed of what F. G. Peabody calls the "calisthenics of religious rites," or the "cold storage of orthodox opinion," or a collection of specifics or panaceas for reform, or the mechanisms of legislation that would follow. He was simply full of the great and undefined hope of the world which, as Pott[3] has shown, later grew into the Pauline doctrine of faith. The forces he knew and dealt with were those that worked from within outward and not those which began externally and worked inward. It can thus be only obtuseness to this potent inner psychic factor that has sought to explain the fraternal bond that bound the primitive Christians by the common dangers involved in the nine persecutions, or as the cadenced step of common zeal for missionary propaganda, nor can it be explained as social coöperation in quest of the great treasure, for all of these influences had dispersive as well as fraternizing tendencies. The root of the solidarity was the magnetism and charm of Jesus' own personality, the magic of his words, the purity and ingenuousness of his character, and especially the naturally thrilling, melting effect of the unutterable pathos of his death and the transcendent glory of the Resurrection. These together made him the focus and cynosure of all who believed on him. The Pauline conception of a sacrificial ransom or a hero invoking God's wrath upon his own head to divert it from others was only a half figurative objectivization, effective as it was through its long day, of the instinctive *Einfühlung* into the sublimity of Jesus' virtue which overtopped that of all others and that fused hearts, minds, and wills into a common devotion. Thus he reached the acme of leadership, as those in his train did of hero-worship. Death usually dampens the authority of leaders, but it immeasurably exalted his. There had never been such a soul-compeller, such an authority, such a master of those who strive to know, do, and feel the best life has to offer. No life had been so

[1] Bousset: "Teachings of Jesus." London, 1906. Chapter 6, "The Kingdom."
[2] Louis Auguste Sabatier: "Doctrine of the Atonement and Its Historical Evolution." London, 1904, 228 p.
[3] A. Pott: "Das Hoffen im neuen Testament." 1915, 203 p.

ravishingly beautiful, and no one had even been thought so powerful, wise, or good. And so he drew all who revered him closer together than men had ever stood before, and made them indifferent to all else save their captain's good will. To become one of his favourites was to gain all, and all man's gregarious herding instincts reached in his wake their highest culmination in and through him. This was a union that all outer ties can only typify or vicariate for.

Recent anthropological studies teach us that the primitive self was not the individual but the group, and that the former emerged very gradually out of the latter. Primitives knew no barriers between one another, or even between themselves and nature. The *ego* could change into the *alter*. There was not only contagion of qualities but metamorphosis of character. This was peculiarly the case among members of the same totem clan. Within these self may be acquired, lost, or changed with increased facility. In the closest social groups members were so knit the one to the other that if one suffered all did. If one sinned all did, and any other member might be punished as in blood revenge. Possession and regeneration involved acquiring another soul. Virtue could be transferred by a touch or magically. All this concourse, exchange, fusion, or circulation of soul or self was mediated by some Mana-like principle which underlay all conditions and was the medium of such changes. Now the Kingdom was a spiritual and restricted totem group in which each was, had, did nothing for himself alone, but lived, moved, thought, felt, acted, and had his being in the whole. Those who came into the Kingdom thereby changed their souls. Peter and Paul even changed their names. The exalted Christ was thus their totem head. He was born or formed anew in each, and each was reborn into him. Thus the primitive Kingdom was founded. It was invisible and not made with hands, long before it grew into the visible Church. Out of this fusion of individual souls all the institutions, doctrines, ordinances, offices, buildings, rites of the Church, later evolved. All these, however, belong to a third stage of the development of the Kingdom which Jesus never knew or presaged. He had experienced in his own person the first stage in the genesis of the Kingdom before his ministry began. It embraced the second stage of organizing those who had found salvation by knitting their souls up indiscerptibly with his own person and through it with one another. The third stage, begun by Peter and Paul after Jesus' death, is not yet

ended. We must not disparage totemism as a principle for all that rises high strikes its roots deep into the past. As a system it has long since ceased to exist in the consciousness of cultured races, and there were some but faint ostensive traces of it among the Jews in Jesus' day. But it is still potent beneath the threshold of the human soul in its instinctive autistic nature and depths, and when we feel the closest of all human ties we turn not merely in poetry but in prose to its terms, for it was the mediator of the most intimate fraternization through countless ages. Indeed it so long represented the closest of all relations between men, and was so long the hieroglyph of the culmination of man's gregarious instincts, that although now obsolete and absurd as a system, it still lives deep in the heart, and its vestiges and scattered phrases in the Fourth Gospel are still valid and work their magic in us. Could we see more clearly into the subconscious psyche, we should realize that the old metamorphoses of personality and reidentification with a sovereign Lord of the higher life and mind of man are still very active processes within us.

All Jesus' moral and social teachings followed naturally from two major premises: first, the end is at hand, and second, there must be a general merger of the individual in the whole in which the partnership is unlimited and without reservation. From these data it is plain how little respect there could be for differences of station, and how Jesus must have abhorred over-individuation and all that favoured it, such as power, fame, pleasure, and wealth. Let us select the latter as typical and see how severely conditioned his views were upon the two above premises, and therefore how fatuous it is to attempt to apply this typical line of his social teachings to modern conditions. To do so we should have to revert to a totemic community and be convinced that mundane affairs were about to end. Hence Jesus' teaching here as elsewhere was *ad interim*.[1] In this very close and temporary fraternity no man must call anything his own. There must be a communistic sharing of all with all. No one was worthy who loved anything or anybody more than him. The rich young man was a paragon of every virtue, but his wealth barred him from the Kingdom, which was as hard to enter as a needle's eye. The land was rich, the people industrious, but most were in bitter poverty by reason of extortion. Jesus was

[1] See G. D. Huever: "The Teachings of Jesus Concerning Wealth." Chicago, 1903. C. Rugge: "Der erdischer Besitz im neuen Testament." Also Edersheim: "Sketches of Jewish Social Life in the Days of Christ." London, 1876, 342 p. Marquand: "Staatsverwaltung." Here Peabody is best.

reared in poverty, his disciples were poor, and all were below the middle class, which Aristotle thought the most favourable. On entering his ministry Jesus and his followers had left behind their means of sustenance, and they seem to have known hunger, cold, scantiness of attire, and homelessness. When the disciples were sent forth to preach, they were forbidden to take any provision for their own maintenance, but must trust solely to spontaneous hospitality and must withdraw if this was not offered. Thus it is not strange that poverty became almost a muse to be wooed, that it was a test of admission to the Kingdom. Against the hell of want their only safeguard was faith in a heavenly provider, and they must make this the psychic equivalent of a modest life endowment. Their wants, too, must be reduced to a minimum, nor was this thought treason to the agencies of industrial production. No one can serve God and Mammon. From the parable of Dives and Lazarus we are left to infer that the former went to hell solely because he was rich, and the latter to heaven merely because he was poor. The Gospel was first proclaimed to the poor, and they seem to have been saved first and easiest. Nitti thinks poverty was an explicit and inexorable condition of membership in the Kingdom, and Leslie Stephens thinks the early Christians were almost nihilists in their rancour against property. Luke, whom Rugge calls the socialistic Evangelist, teaches that none who did not renounce all could become disciples. He alone records of the woes upon the rich, the parable of the rich man who boasted and was condemned for it; the lost penny; the unjust steward; the good Samaritan. He says the blessing is for the hungry, which Matthew records for those hungry for righteousness rather than for the poor in spirit. Luke makes Jesus say, "Give to every one," instead of "to him that asketh." He records the marriage feast to which the poor and defective were bidden. The Gospel injunction is if one asks a coat to give a cloak also. "Sell what thou hast and give alms." All must give, even the widow her mite. Those who give to the poor give or loan to the Lord, lay up treasure in heaven, etc. Renan regards the Gospels as essentially Ebionistic and pervaded by the view that none but the poor could be saved. Many if not most of the commands to give could not have been addressed to the esoteric circle, for those who had abandoned all would have nothing left to give, but were themselves the fittest to receive charity. Jesus' own maintenance and that of his disciples and his cause depended on the virtue

of benevolence which was so stressed, although we need not infer, as has often been done by critics, that he had a subtle and selfish though unconscious motive in magnifying this virtue to the uttermost. Paul said the Lord loved a cheerful giver, and believed in giving as freely as we have received. Pity, compassion, almsgiving, are perhaps best developed in Buddhistic lands like Burma, but Christianity sublimates *charitas* into generosity of thinking and feeling, which is something far above benevolence as a business, a virtue, or a science, all of which it now is. This involves the wise direction of sympathy, prefers a personal touch to the anonymity of a subscription paper, accepts datours and doles, even of ill-gotten wealth.[1] It seems as if Jesus' rancour toward the rich grew during his ministry. In the Old Testament property is a sign of Jehovah's favour, but in the New Testament woe is pronounced upon the rich as such. As Ruskin says, wealth is now illth. Fine raiment, sumptuous fare, houses, land, property, barns bursting with the harvest, all are deceitful, snares. Holtzmann says Jesus thought them perilous, Luke that he deemed them disgraceful. They choke the word. Love of money is the root of all kinds of evil. James calls on the rich to "weep and howl." Naumann calls Jesus an enemy of wealth and capital. Laveleye[2] says that if Christianity was taught according to Jesus' spirit, "the existing social order could not last a day." Herron says, "Jesus regarded industrial wealth as a moral fall and a social violence."

In view of the above it is disheartening to contemplate the vast body of literature which has accumulated since the great advance in industrialism and the coincident efforts of the Semitic writers, Marx and Lasalle, to make a radical speculative socialism a substitute for Christianity. Bebel, Bax, and Liebknecht teach revolt from the Church, which they hold has come to stand for private wealth, the worst of all monopolies. Hence God and "the semi-mythical Syrian of the first century" must be abolished, and the world reorganized without religion in a social democracy. Against this alienation of

---

[1] W. Rauschenbusch: "Christianizing the Social Order." New York, 1912, 493 p. Also his "Christianity and the Social Crisis." New York, 1908, 429 p. F. G. Peabody: "Jesus Christ and the Social Question." New York, 1912, 374 p. Also his "The Approach to the Social Question." New York, 1909, 210 p. W. E. Chadwick: "Social Relationships in the Light of Christianity." London, 1910, 344 p. R. J. Campbell: "Christianity and the Social Order." London, 1907, 284 p. H. F. Ward, ed.: "Social Ministry." New York, 1910, 318 p. C. R. Henderson: "Social Duties from the Christian Point of View." Chicago, 1909, 332 p. S. N. Patten: "Social Basis of Religion." New York, 1911, 247 p. J. H. Holmes: "The Revolutionary Function of the Modern Church." New York, 1912, 264 p. G. Harris: "A Century of Change in Religion." Boston, 1914, 266 p. F.,R. M. Hitchcock: "St. Augustine's Treatise on the City of God." Trans., London, 1900, 115 p. P. A. Kropotkin: "Mutual Aid as a Factor of Evolution." London 1902, 348 p.

[2] "Primitive Property." Introd. Trans. London, 1878.

industry from the Church arose a long series of efforts from Wichern and his "inner mission" in 1849 to Von Ketteler, De Mun, and Du Prey in the Catholic Church and Maurice and Kingsley in England, who sought to humanize economic principles and methods and to put co-operation in place of competition. Thus we have two socialisms, one Christian and the other anti-Christian. Meanwhile a great effort has been spent in minimizing and explaining away Jesus' sayings concerning wealth, as if it were necessary to apologize to him for the wealth both of and in the Church. We are reminded that he was a friend of the rich publican Zaccheus; that he taught the increase of each man's talent; said that to him that hath will be given. We are told that a Christian may be rich if he masters and is not mastered by wealth; that Jesus said nothing against trusts; that property begins in the animal world, etc. Why not frankly admit that it is as preposterous to go to Jesus for economic as it would be for scientific wisdom? Everything indicates that his views of property and industry were hardly less crude and negligible than those he held concerning astronomy. In this domain he was more ignorant than the crudest modern tyro and most of his sayings should be left to the oblivion they deserve. What he said and his followers practised was due to conditions hardly less exceptional and transient than the enforced rules laid down on a doomed ship. What could he know of the new worths and values wealth creates, absorbed as he was with the idea of merging the individual in the group, and in eradicating selfishness in all its forms during the brief time that remained? Of course he would have abominated modern predatory wealth; but he was no socialistic communist or anarchist in any modern sense. In wise discrimination, present-day teachings and even the best of the ancient moralists are better guides than Jesus. Were we to take his precepts in this field literally and apply them, modern society would be reduced to the level of the totemic clan, living for the day, improvident and absorbed in dreams of a new paradise supernaturally inaugurated. Jesus foresaw neither the Church, science, modern industrialism, law, courts, nor medicine, and had no conception of statecraft. But he did see, as no one before or since has seen, the principle of service and mutuality, which is the psychogenetic basis of true success in all these domains. Although we must forget and often negate his specific teachings, we can and must find for ourselves ways and

means of applying his spirit in all these fields; and thus only can we make all of them truly Christian. To him we owe simply the crude but inspiring ideal and impulsion. The work must be all our own.

The early Church groped its way to two expressions of the ultimate relations of the ideal man to the race and to the cosmos back of it, which are expressed respectively in the doctrine of incarnation and that of the *parousia*. The first means in modern terms that not merely in Hegelian sense does God come to consciousness in the ideal man; for the theanthropic state of the soul must forever transcend the consciousness of any individual, and personality itself necessarily involves limitations. It means, rather, that the type-man whose life is impelled by the maximum momentum at the centre of the evolutionary stream, feels, thinks, and acts as normally, and especially as generically, as is possible for a single human individual. In so doing he incarnates what Hegel called the pure idea, Fichte the absolute ego, Schopenhauer the will to live, Spencer the developmental *nisus*, Bergson the creative *élan vital*, Freud and Jung the primordial *libido*, Janet the impulse to perfection, or wholeness (which is holiness), Adler the horror of mediocrity or inferiority in the impulse to attain *Geltung*, etc. This is the prime impulse of life and heredity, which pleasure normally advances and pain and disease tend to inhibit, the arrests of which make what we call consciousness, which is always remedial, causes all neuroses and psychoses, and brings death sooner or later to all. This great impulse toward more intense larger human life the soul responds to even in its aberrations. Most that constitutes life slumbers in us from birth to death because the vaster life of the race lies so largely below the threshold of consciousness and rarely breaks through the barriers that bar the phyletic from the ontogenetic life. This means heredity, which is well called from God, for every formulation of the background of existence, whether it stops at the human stage or goes back to the ulterior source of life in general or still further back to the great autos we call the cosmos or to the pantheistic mother lye, being, cosmic gas, protyle, or whatever its name—these are what man has always called divine. Recession or reversion toward this, whether it be back to a prime principle underlying the universe or to some proximate stage of development, is recession, or religion in the best etymological sense of that word, because it revives or releases genetic

impulsions. Of this the old word, "incarnation," is a still adequate and pregnant symbol.

The "second coming" is less psychogenetic than moral for it expresses the ineluctable conviction that sometime, somewhere, virtue and happiness on the one hand and sin and misery on the other will get together, as they should, as justice demands. This conviction Kant thought created and kept alive the belief in a transcendent world. Thus every drama and novel which in the end metes out desert justly is a petty *parousia* and keeps alive the selfsame instinct which found expression in this doctrine. It is one of the chief glories of Jesus that this eschatological *dénouement* was believed in so fervently by him that he felt impelled to find relief for the inner tension of his soul about it by having recourse to even the wild weird tropes and metaphors of Daniel and the apocryphal imagery, and that to him it seemed as real as it did to the author of the Book of Enoch. The awful apparition of justice in a final day of judgment haunted this most fervently ethical of all the souls in history. *Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum et terra.* Then only can the Kingdom come. Jesus' soul was so surcharged with the flush of creative evolution that it was like a battery with such a voltage of electric tension that discharge was inevitable, defective as were the conductors, so that its heat and light can still be felt in the fantastic dreameries about the catastrophic advent of heaven to reward the good and of hell to punish the bad. To the passionate moralist earth needs nothing so much or so immediately as a judge who is wise enough to perceive desert, and powerful enough to mete out to all according to their merits. The agonizing cry of his soul is, "Why does the day of justice not come!" Belief that it impends effects the most thorough of all purgations of soul. All who deem this a moral universe hold that biological laws or the perhaps yet slower course of history will sometime vindicate justice, even though it require ages of natural selection acting on individuals, families, and nations to do it. But in Jesus' temperament the processes of this conviction found a short-circuit, and the detonation was sudden, here, and now. All future history lost perspective as temporal remoteness was foreshortened into the present. Thus the *parousia* is anticipation by the same psychic mechanism that evolution is revelation. As in the Incarnation we command the resources of the past of the race and the world, so in the *parousia* Jesus strove to teach us to command the resources of the

future by vividly presentifying the far-off results and issues of human destiny.[1]

Thus the *parousia*-idea is to us a kind of parable made, not like other parables, consciously, but by Jesus' autistic nature. To fully understand it we must get back of what he said about it to what he meant by this highly symbolic complex. We err if we try to accept it literally, even though he probably meant to be thus understood. Here we have a motif which we must interpret. Theology has piously conserved but failed to understand it. Romance, as we saw in Chapter 2, has often, although very feebly, tried to bring Jesus or some figure representing him into modern life in a way to make his moral power felt by those who came in contact with him. The range of this principle far transcends these puny efforts, but it should be a most inspiring incentive to the creative imagination.

Kenosis is another pregnant theme for religious psychology. All the Yahveh of Isaiah and the major prophets did not find embodiment in Jesus, for the former was too vast for all the plenitude of his attributes, infinity in time and space, creativeness, omnipotence, to be manifested in any single son of man. Nor is it all a matter of logical extension *versus* intention; nor is it the case of a generalized type-form of animal like the *patrofelis*, with more generic and less specific types than any of the species that sprang from it; nor is it exactly illustrated by the processional of growth of an adult out of Wordsworthian childhood, who, as he develops, loses many of the traits of the genus in acquiring those of the individual. These are only analogues of kenosis. The great achievement wrought by Christianity of casting man's ideas of the divine into a specific, unipersonal, human form did, but should not, make us forget the greater God of all nature, animate and inanimate. It is excessive anthropomorphization of religion that has caused its tragic age-long warfare with science. The substance of the Godhood that did not and could not all go over into Jesus the Christ is still worthy of adoration and service. This overplus was the Deity

[1]In his very ingenious and stimulating "The Master of Modern Evolution" (1911, 135 p.) G. H MacNish represents heredity and adaptation as the two chief factors of life, illustrating how now one and now the other dominates in history and in individuals. One is racial, and the other individual. The first makes for conservatism, is favoured by aristocracies and pride of birth, is cultivated by meditation, by which the individual may break through the "screen" of William James, and is illustrated in the conservatism of the Catholic Church and in stable states and societies generally. The other is marked by an overplus of the individual element that innovates reforms, brings in the new, etc. Jesus he conceives as marking the climax of evolution, bringing in not only a new but a higher degree of life; conserving yet revising the old in the light of the new; controlling nature and man, yet no less a paragon of adjustment. He desired all to become children in the sense of going back to the old unity with self and kind, chose for his cabinet disciples of the most opposite traits, and harmonized them. He kept the "screen" open so that he could command all the latent resources of his soul and that of the race and the world to which he ever harked back, and which he could summon at will. He was a master at adjusting antagonistic forces. Because it was inner, the union that he brought into the world was wider, closer, and more lasting than the empires of force set up by Caesar and Alexander.

that Jesus himself adored. Indeed, it is only the pathetic *Enge des Bewusstseins* on our part that makes us think that to be truly Christian we should know and serve Jesus only. It needs no very profound psychoanalysis to show that the most devout of all Jesus' disciples from the beginning to our day make him the chief but never the only divinity that they worship. The germs of all the old faiths still live in us all, and alas for Christianity if they were not there! We might as well try to extirpate the scores of rudimentary organs in our body as to eliminate these. We must not only revere the Most High of the Psalms and Prophets, but what large and true Christian heart does not warm to the pantheistic sentiment of the great poets and philosophers and feel the lure of the best that is in all the great ethnic Bibles? Otherwise why do or can we study comparative religions? Children in their plays and toys, and adults in the charms and ornaments they wear, are fetish-worshippers, and under stress of feeling we all become primitive animists. Thus there has never been a complete kenosis of any of the antique or transcended faiths and cults into Christianity. The aesthetic feelings still worship the blue vault above, the heavenly bodies, clouds, rain, lightning, wind, water, fire, trees, flowers, and animals. Each of these has at some time or place long been the very highest object of the religious instincts, and alas for us if these vestiges are rooted out from our souls! We have thought too meanly of Man-soul. It has many mansions, and it is enough if we keep the best of these sacred to the God of our Scriptures. Only in the cruder past did the new God evict, diabolize, or slay his predecessor. No man can be Christian in the sense too usually required with more than a safe working majority of his faculties. In his attitude of filial piety toward Yahveh and the Hebrew cult Jesus gave the world the truest and loftiest paradigm of how a new should succeed an old religion; and this suggests that the true missionary should be chiefly intent upon revealing the new that lies concealed in the old religion, but which he is to minister to just as Jesus did, and as only a very few of the great Catholic missionaries have ever attempted.[1] Perhaps no one now living worships Zeus, once supreme father of gods and men, yet the study of this cult enriches the religious life of every classicist. Thus no kenosis ever was or can be complete. Modern pragmatism has not rightly observed the principle of kenosis with reference to the older metaphysics and the

[1]See "Missionary Pedagogy" in my "Educational Problems." 1911, vol. 2, chapter 10.

philosophy of the absolute which it would supersede. Every teacher of the history of philosophy may have his own preferences, and even his own system; but if the latter interferes with his sympathy with any one of all the serious efforts from Thales to Bergson that men have made to comprehend the universe, he ceases to be a worthy or even efficient representative of his own standpoint. Indeed, Christianity from the very first has been a masterpiece of syncretism, and owes its marvellous spread largely to the fact that it has given back to all men a revised and enriched version of what they all had. No old religion that went over to it did so wholly. Converts who ostentatiously and enthusiastically burned their idols in so doing still continued to invest the new faith with the old religious feelings transferred to new objects, for nothing is so transferable as affectivity.[1]

---

[1]I have found help in this chapter by following among others, Robert Law: "The Emotions of Jesus." T. & T. Clark, 285 p. A. Schlatter: "Die christliche Ethik." Calw. u. Stuttgart, 1914, 386 p. G. S. Painter: "The Philosophy of Christ's Temptation." Boston, 1914, 333 p. Dn. Völter: "Jesus der Menschensohn oder Das Berufsbewusstsein Jesu." Strassburg, 1914, 113 p. Konst. Gutberlet: "Der Gottmensch Jesus Christus; eine Begründung und Apologie der kirchlichen Christologie." Regensburg, 1913, 325 p. E. D. La Touche: "The Person of Christ in Modern Thought." London, 1912, 416 p. E. H. Merrill: "Person of Christ." Bibliotheca Sacra Co., 1910. J. W. Berg: "Das Leben und Leiden Jesu Christi." Caspar, 1915. S. C. Tapp: "Why Jesus Was a Man and Not a Woman." 1914. Sidney C. Tapp, 406 Reliance Bldg., Kansas City, Mo. W. J. Lhamon: "Character Christ." Revell, 1914. E. W. Serl: "Laughter of Jesus." Neale, 1911. E. D. Wright: "Psychology of Christ." Cochrane Pub., 1909. A. Whyte: "Our Lord's Character." Revell. C. H. Barrows: "Personality of Jesus." Houghton, 1906. J. Smith: "Magnetism of Christ." Doran. C. E. Jefferson: "Character of Jesus." Crowell, 1908. T. Hughes: "Manliness of Christ." Altemus. H. Bushnell: "Character of Jesus." Scribner. P. Schaff: "Person of Christ." Am. Tract, 1913. Friedrich Daab: "Jesus von Nazaret." Düsseldorf, Langewiesche, 1907, 224 p. Karl Weidel: "Jesu Persönlichkeit; eine psychologische Studie." Halle, Marhold, 1908, 47 p. Johannes Ninck: "Jesus als Charakter; eine Untersuchung." 2d rev. ed. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1910, 396 p.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JESUS' ESCHATOLOGY, HIS INNER CHARACTER, PURPOSE AND WORK

The founders of the eschatological view—Relations of psychology to Christology—Jesus' diathesis, which was essentially ecstatic—Jesus' great change of plan and the causes of the "quest for death"—Contact with the great ethnic religions of death and resurrection of divine personages based on seasonal changes—Jesus' "passion for secrecy"—The pathos of his death found in the fact that he believed this second plan a failure and that there was to be no sequel—In what sense did Jesus rise and return?—His futurism—The reinforcements of the moral sense by the expectation of an end of the world—The psychology of death—In what sense was Jesus great?—(A) The standard of being discussed—(B) That of experiencing both extremes of pleasure and pain—(C) Alternations between the subjective and objective life or between solitude and society—(D) Belief of being influenced by some power above self—(E) That they are generic type or totemic men—(F) Combining pairs of opposites like conservative and progressive, calmness and enthusiasm, imagination and common sense—Necessity of new and higher conceptions of Jesus if his power is to be maintained in the world—(1) He felt superior to others and closer than any one else had been to God—(2) He concealed this dominant sense of inner deity—(3) This brought the higher tension of opposites in his soul—Such a being must necessarily move far up and down the algedonic scale, and love and hate more than others—The psychology of inspiration—Jesus' death brought followers at first no glimmer of insight into what he was—The supreme miracle is how belief in Jesus' Resurrection arose and this psychology enables us now at least in part to understand and trace the development stages of this great affirmation—What is the Holy Ghost?—The psychology of the conversion of Paul and his dual nature—He knew little of Jesus save that he died and rose—Did he know the pagan cults of death and resurrection?—The psychology of Pentecost, the Ascension, and the apocalypse.

JESUS' eschatological conceptions have in recent decades come to be almost as important as the mythic problem itself, and views concerning them are no less opposite. Jesus' utterances on the subject were thought to be his own until the authenticity of the

apocalyptic documents was established. They showed that eschatology was a very prominent feature of his age, so that his own views, whatever they were, came to seem less new and original. The prophets thought the Messianic Kingdom belonged to the present world-order, while the apocalyptic representations in Jesus' own time made the Kingdom not only a future but a new order of things. T. Colani[1] held that Jesus at first sought only complete communion with God and nothing else, but as he proceeded in teaching the Kingdom his consciousness grew Messianic, and he expected it to come slowly by organic development and not by the way of a catastrophic *dénouement.* As his views on the Kingdom grew inward he came to accept the title of Messiah, which he could not do so long as he thought it material and Davidic. In accepting this view he also accepted the rôle of suffering which was integral to the very idea of Messianity, and he trusted that the effects of the Passion would establish the Kingdom. If it was spiritual the idea of a glorious second coming must be dropped. Hence the Jewish eschatology would have to be discarded save certain natural symbolic allusions to it. We must therefore eliminate passages which teach the speedy spread of the Kingdom among the gentiles, and also the idea of a preliminary judgment because of men's lack of receptivity. Most of Matthew xxiv and Mark xiii, as well as much of Luke xxi must thus be regarded as unauthentic interpolations. Jesus never expected to return from heaven to finish his work. That was finished by his death. We can never, however, entirely explain Jesus' preaching on these points from the history of his time. Thus Colani completely rejects eschatology, although he would do so only by textual analysis and criticism.

Later G. Volkmar[2] took up the problem, resting all authentic knowledge on Mark, which he dated 73 A. D., five years after the Book of Revelations was written. Matthew for him is a tertiary compilation and so Volkmar's effort to eliminate eschatology was made easy, for he had only Mark to deal with. The contemporary ideas of Messianity were such that Jesus could not possibly have claimed it. The concept of a spiritual Kingdom came later. In Jesus' time only the political ideas of the Kingdom were known, and any one who awakened hopes of this kind would certainly share the fate of the Baptist. Jesus thus

---

[1] "Jésus-Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps." Strassburg, 1864, 255 p.
[2] "Jesus Nazarenus und die erste christliche Zeit mit den beiden ersten Erzählern." Zürich, 1882, 403 p.

had to be a political Messiah, or none at all. Thus not only eschatology but Messianity is eliminated. Only after his death did Jesus become Christ. Peter's acclamation of him as the Messiah was only near the end of his career and anticipative of the effects of the Passion. Thus, after the excision of a few other passages, it appears that Mark, like Paul, thought that Jesus became Messiah only as a result of the Resurrection. Jesus' ethics were not confused by eschatological motives. In some places, nevertheless, the expectation of the *parousia* reached such a high pitch that marriage was thought useless. This, of course, would have shocked Jesus. The discourses about the end of the world and the second coming are later and for edification. Jesus' own view is found in the parables of sowing, the mustard seed, and of the permanence of his sayings. He never expected to come in the clouds. Ideas of the second coming Volkmar complains have been hitherto slighted or regarded as too delicate for discussion.

Weiffenbach[1] seeks to mediate between those who think that the *parousia* or the second coming formed an integral part of Jesus' teaching, and those, more in number, who hold that he was misunderstood by his disciples so far as they ascribed to him belief in any literal or sensuous form of it. He found a deadlock between these two views, and the way out that he sought was in the relation between the *parousia* and the Passion. He dissents from the view that Jesus' eschatological sayings acquired this character from the way in which they are combined, the component passages themselves having no trace of it. Nor does he hold that the little apocalypse (Matthew xxiv and Mark xiii) was broken up by irrelevancies in order to tone down expectation, since predictions of a second coming had not been fulfilled even after Jerusalem fell. Weiffenbach thinks Jesus did express the thought of his own near return, but did so moderately, and that Jewish-Christian eschatology amplified these sayings. The belief is waxing, not waning, in these chapters, and the disciples' hopes were too strong to be accounted for solely by current Jewish expectations; otherwise Jesus' teachings and the faith of primitive Christians are unexplained. If we eliminate all other predictments, Jesus' admonition at the Mount of Olives to watch though the hour was unknown, is the key to unlock and the standard by which to measure every other passage touching this subject. Proceeding, then, to test all other New Testament

[1] "Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu." Leipzig, 1873, 424 p.

passages by this, we have as a result only a colourless and rather contentless thought of an early personal return. All that does not square with this authentic form can be rather ruthlessly eliminated. Jesus never thought of judging the world, and this function was never ascribed to the Messiah until later. He did not foresee the destruction of Jerusalem. His charge to the Twelve, so far as it implied a second coming, was an anachronism. The charge at the Last Supper is simply chiliastic. As his life drew toward its close, Jesus did express the hope of coming back, but, as the *parousia* was deferred, this became more and more embellished, and missionaries to the gentiles grew cautious about calling it near. He did not offer even to save Jerusalem from its fate, and so his return was put further and further into the future. This contentless expectation may prove the identity of the prediction of the *parousia* and of the Resurrection. The conduct of the disciples after the Resurrection shows that it had not been very clearly predicted. Both were connected with Jesus' death and both were expected about the same time; hence they were at first thought to be one and the same. Only after his death were the two differentiated. The Resurrection did not bring what the *parousia* had promised, but the eschatology he had dampened during his life now flourished very rankly.

Baldensperger[1] assumes that Jesus' conception of the Kingdom was dual. The spiritual and eschatological elements were equally strong and were also mutually conditioned. Thus Jesus began with the purpose of founding an invisible Kingdom, but expected that it would be realized miraculously. Hence Jesus' consciousness was in some sense double. His Messianic consciousness was a special form of the sense of unique relation to God. This had power to transform the Jewish Messianic self-consciousness, although perhaps the latter was itself religious in Jesus as was his unique sense of union. Thus for him the term "Son of Man" would have both an apocalyptic and also an ethical and religious sense. This dual self-consciousness of Jesus Baldensperger explains genetically and historically. At the start eschatology affected Jesus' expectation of the Kingdom and his Messianic consciousness. After the latter arose at the baptism, he rejected the ideal of a Davidic or warring king, and began to found a Kingdom by preaching. Thus for a time a spiritual Kingdom was his ideal and the Messianic

[1] "Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit." Strassburg, 1888, 193 p.

eschatology faded, or he was silent about it, perhaps for pedagogic reasons, fearing a political movement by his followers, which the Roman rule would crush. His other reasons for not revealing his Messianity vanished when he had deliberately decided to die and return in the clouds. Until then he knew not when or how the Kingdom would come. Until Peter's confession the disciples had only the haziest ideas of his Messianity. This was the preparatory period of waiting and watching. For him it was a period of acute struggle between his religious conviction of his Messianity and the old national ideals of this office. In the second period he became clear and harmonious. By accepting suffering his inner peace became ineluctable, great and deep, for now he knew when and how God would fulfil his promises. It would be with the second coming of the Messiah. Now he was Son of Man and judge of the world. Would the people accept him as Messiah? To determine this he went to Jerusalem, and at first they acclaimed him with great heartiness; but later when they saw that he did not and could not fulfil their ideas, the reaction came and was so great that in it he lost his life. The sensation that Baldensperger's book caused was due to the fact that it so diametrically opposed preceding opinions on the subject, by assuming that Jesus had a well-developed eschatology instead of none.

J. Weiss'[1] solution of the problem is strongly pro-eschatological. The Kingdom, which is the key to the problem, has no likeness to any other, in that it is entirely futuristic and so in a sense supermundane. The best index of its advance is the waning of Satan's kingdom, and hence Jesus cast out devils. Jesus merely proclaimed it just as the Baptist had done, except that Jesus knew that he was the Messiah; but he exercised none of the functions of the office, but simply waited for God to bring in the Kingdom supernaturally. He sent out the disciples to preach its nearness, but he did not know its date although he believed it near. But as obstacles accumulated, he realized that it must be more remote than he had thought, and at length saw he must die before it came, and as a *conditio sine qua non* to its advent. He realized that he must die not merely for his own little group but for many. This depressive foresight of his demise was, however, more or less compensated for by a conviction that he would return glorified in the sense that, since Daniel, men had expected the Messiah to come.

[1] "Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes." Göttingen, 1900, 2d ed., 214 p.

These great ideals not only consoled him for, but enabled him to triumph over, death. He was to come thus gloriously, and very soon, and justify to his friends before they died his predictions of the Kingdom. The judgment day was to precede. The Kingdom was transcendental enough not to arouse political fears, yet it was by no means merely within the soul. Its ethics was of a kind to make men free from this world, and hence it is mainly negative and penitential. The sense of Messianity to which he awoke at the baptism was not a present affair, but a future though assured potentiality. Here and now Jesus is only a man and a prophet. Son of Man is a purely eschatological term, although it is not clear whether his disciples thought it referred to his present state or his future rank, or thought it designated another person. Thus the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus as expressed in the title, Son of Man, shares in the transcendental apocalyptic character of Jesus' idea of the Kingdom of God and cannot be separated from it. Jesus' eschatology was thus quite primitive and constitutive. By accepting suffering he "emerged from passivity."

The most extreme eschatologist is A. Schweitzer.[1] He holds that Jesus and most of the other New Testament writers were possessed if not obsessed by the idea that the world was to end before their death. In this we have the key to explain the epistles and especially the Gospels in a way which must profoundly modify our conceptions of Jesus' views, and which has been called "the last word" in the higher criticism. Condemning all current liberal and orthodox views alike, Schweitzer tries to show that about all that Jesus said and did was prompted by a dominant and ever-present conviction that the world-order was to come to an early and sudden end. The impending change was to be by a miraculous intervention of God. When Jesus sent out the Twelve he fully expected the *parousia* to occur before they returned. The persecutions and tribulations foretold were immediate and for them, and had no reference to later troubles, for the very existence of a Church was never dreamed of by Jesus. All the calamities he foretold were to befall them on this trip, and they were exhorted to endure to its end. Before they came back the Son of Man would have come. To Jesus' consternation they came back safe and sound.

---

[1] "Das Messianitäts- und Leidens-Geheimnis; eine Skizze des Lebens Jesu." Leipzig, 1901, 109 p. His view is revised in his "Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung." 2. Aufl., 1913. See Kap. 15, 16, and especially 21. See also Tyrrell's "The Church at the Cross-Roads," for a fairly good English presentation of Schweitzer's views, and C. W. Emmet's "The Eschatological Question in the Gospels." London, 1912, 237 p.

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN

Hence, after a little new orientation, he abandoned his promising work of heralding the Kingdom in Galilee, and fled to the north "in order to escape his followers who dogged his footsteps" to be with him when the Kingdom should break forth upon the world. From this crisis on we hear no more of the suffering of the elect, but only of Jesus himself. The Jewish apocalyptists of whom Jesus became the chief exponent all expected tribulation as "birthpangs" of the Messiah, but conceived him as above and aloof from it. It was with this heavenly being that Jesus had in his first period come to identify himself, but now he realized not only that he must suffer but that he must suffer and die alone. He must enter upon a "quest of death" for the benefit of others as a *conditio sine qua non* of the advent of the Kingdom. Now he came to regard himself as the future Messiah. In his present earthly life, however, he was merely a proclaimer and preparer, and it was an anxiously guarded secret that he was the future King and judge of the world. He was displeased when Peter revealed the secret of his Messianity to the rest of the Twelve. It leaked out again, however, involuntarily in the ecstasy described as the Transfiguration. Jesus went to Jerusalem solely in order to die there. If he taught there it was only to provoke the rulers to slay him. Clearing the temple and denouncing the Pharisees, in which his Messianic consciousness again broke through, were really to the same end. The entry to and all that he did in Jerusalem were Messianic for him, but were not so for the people, who only thought him a prophet. The synoptists here and often elsewhere represent Jesus as playing with his great secret. The question of the high priest, however, showed, to Jesus' surprise, that he had in some way come into possession of this secret. In fact, Judas had told him, and this constituted the act of betrayal which the story of the kiss merely masks. Thus Jesus died because two of his disciples had betrayed his secret, first Peter to the rest, and later Judas to the high priest. Jesus, too, admitted it, so that there should be the two witnesses required for his condemnation. The people, who had been subtly informed of his claim, no longer held him to be a great prophet, as they did when he entered the city, but now deemed him a fanatic. The end of all we know about Jesus was that he was crucified, and the last we ever shall hear of him was his cry of despair at being forsaken.

In developing the above conclusions Schweitzer has no use for John or even for Luke, and condemns Mark for knowing nothing of any

struggle or any development in Jesus' soul; for being without intelligence as to the meaning of his entry to Jerusalem; for being unable to distinguish between the early period of success and the later one of failure. He otherwise discredits the Second Gospel, but on the whole thinks himself a justifier of Gospel tradition because he both puts out of and puts into the Scriptures far less than his predecessors on the eschatological line had done. According to his view, Jesus was reared in an atmosphere charged to the saturation point with eschatological ideas, and in his ministry he "sealed" those to whom entrance to the Kingdom could be guaranteed. Baptism thus came to predestine the elect to salvation. Feeding, too, was an eschatological sacrament. Those who shared Jesus' table in obscurity would do so in glory. This sacrament was really unique, for it worked quite independently of the understanding of the communicants. The phrases about binding and loosing are thus authentic and pregnant. Schweitzer interprets the apocalyptic language of Jesus, not as imagery or symbol but as all of it crude, literal, and material. The ethics of Jesus was all of it *ad interim* morals. As the old world is just about to end people may give away coat and cloak, take no thought for the morrow, and there is no need of loving parents, etc. Jesus is no great moral teacher, because salvation and damnation are all predestined; but he was so preoccupied with impending other-worldness, on which he wished all to fix their souls, that his ethical teaching was quite incidental. Thus the whole history of Christianity is based on the delay of the *parousia* and its progress is measured by the degree of de-eschatolization. Schweitzer thus eliminates what was basal in the founder's mind. He died in the despair of disillusion and with a sense of absolute failure. But in his death eschatology bore to the world a marvellous child, viz., the early Christian doctrine of literal, not to say physical, immortality. This new religion of immortality took the place of the old decaying civilizations. The problem of just how this narrow and extreme apocalyptic consciousness motivated the supreme world religion now opens before us, but it is yet unsolved. The Jesus this view gives us is not a figure to whom we can ascribe our own ideals, nor is he one from whom the early Church can fairly be said to have fallen away, but he is rather a person we cannot understand. Indeed "perhaps the best knowledge of the personality and life of Jesus will not be a help but rather an offence to religion" (p. 633). Still, great energy sprang from this

unprecedented consciousness with its great oscillation between life-affirmation and life-negation. Jesus was the great renouncer, passing from the greatest hope to the nadir of despair. Schweitzer's Jesus, however, is far less "reduced" than the Jesus of Harnack and of the many liberal critics, of most of whom he is the conspicuous opponent. The Christ of this eschatology, though never until now understood or even dreamed of, looms up far above the highest ranges of humanity as thus far known. The Jewish apocalyptists felt that God had failed, and the world as it was was lost, and so he must intervene and make it over. With the Jewish history and temper this was a natural, if not inevitable, result of centuries of thwarted hopes. It was obsession with this idea that drove Jesus to his death and despair. The problem how Christianity evolved from this, which, despite Schweitzer's protest, is a purely psychological one, he does very little to solve, so that it still challenges us. Until this is explained his whole conception, original and stimulating as it is, must remain in suspense with doubt predominant.

In response to these eschatological views we feel justified in the following: (a) It is grossly false to exclude psychological interpretations from this field, as some critics so vehemently do. On the contrary, the whole progress of recent critical studies of Christianity has consisted largely in emancipating it from merely textual criticism and historical research. The certain data are so meagre, gappy, and contradictory, that psychology must, even more than it has of late, become henceforth our chief guide. Most other sources are exhausted, and whether we wish or know it, we are now confronted by problems that only better knowledge of the laws of the human soul and better application of those already known can hold out any valid hope of solving. In fact, the Jesus problems have already become, some solely and all increasingly, those of psychology or of the higher anthropology, and we can distrust either the sincerity or the knowledge of all experts in the field who deny this. That it has been so long ignored or excluded here has been the great calamity, and that it is now in order is the brightest hope, of the Christianity of the present and the future. Jesus' mission was to save souls, and he was the world's master pragmatic psychologist, all intuitively and for the most part unconsciously, none the less but rather more so because he was so unintrospective and acted and spoke so predominantly from out of the depths of his uniquely rich and deep autistic nature, as we shall point out later.

Henceforth our motto must become *bonus psychologus, bonus Christologus*, for if there are next steps impending and inevitable, the psychology of the large, genetic, and analytic-synthetic type will be the necessary prerequisite for taking them. Already those who have done most and best in this field have used psychological data, methods, or principles, though often unaware of it, and without technical training in this discipline.

(b) The first step in the psychological evaluation of the eschatological movement as above outlined is plain enough. The history and diathesis of the Jewish mind being what they were, the eschatological movement was inevitable. Revering a deity whose chief attribute was that he loved justice and hated iniquity, and whose interventions in human affairs had always been in behalf of justice, to see that the good were rewarded and the bad punished—a God who both in external affairs and in the souls of men was always struggling with Satan although vastly more powerful than his adversary, so that if he chose he could at any moment put forth his might for disciplinary or any other unknown purpose—it was inevitable that the devotees of such a God should believe that in his own good time he would arise in his might, sweep away all evil, and establish an order of things after his own will. He could do it, for only a few score generations ago he had created all things out of nothing and pronounced them good. Why he who brought his favourites out of Egypt and gave all the riches of Palestine into their hands, who had guided the patriarchs, had nevertheless permitted the captivities and the other calamities that had befallen his chosen, was hard to explain. For centuries, whenever disaster came, his worshippers had been inclined to take the blame upon themselves, and at every misfortune had followed the lead of the prophets and examined their own hearts and lives to find out the hidden sin there. They had a fixed idea, older than the days of Job, that tribulation was sent and was meant as punishment, so that they must either confess sin and do penance for it or else accuse God of injustice, rob him of his cardinal attribute, and make him a being to be cursed instead of trusted. If, on the other hand, and in so far as, they felt their sufferings undeserved, there was but one alternative—to renounce Yahveh or to trust that he would right things in the future. Because they did the latter the future became a palladium ever fuller of hopes deferred, and they became more and more uniquely the people of the

promises. They lived on expectations, and made ever heavier drafts upon the bank of futurity. This went on for generations. Yahveh was the embodiment of their own strong racial soul which would not be overwhelmed by any series of disasters. A weaker or less persistent stirp would have given up and renounced their allegiance, but this they could not do, and so the tension between a sense of their own merits and their fate grew ever greater. The world about them became worse. The wicked flourished and the good suffered, yet God was still on his throne, and inscrutable as was his delay he surely could not long put off coming for recompense. Thus the prophetic mood acuminated and gradually passed over in certain eager nervous souls into the apocalyptic consciousness. The state of mind of Daniel and Ezekiel was revived in the wild welter of words and images of Enoch, and the conceptions of III Esdras and Baruch were revived. The date of the culmination thus came ever nearer. The awful *dies irae* and the new dispensation, the conquest and binding of Satan, were just at hand. The wicked would meet their doom, the righteous shine forth in a great and terrible compensation, and beatitudes would be realized for the worthy, in whose souls joy would reign in a new world purged of iniquity and all defilement. A new paradise of wish-fulfilment would take the place of the present sin-sodden world, in contemplating the imagery of which some minds grew ecstatic. Every promise and prophecy was on the very point of fulfilment. The lowly would be exalted and the high brought down. We deem the modern Adventist unbalanced or insincere, or both, but under the conditions of that era no conviction could have been more sincere. Rather it was a struggle between the soundest and most vigorous moral sense on the one hand, and wonted thought processes on the other, in which the former triumphed. Never was there such utter abandonment to the ethical instincts. Eschatology was a saturnalia of justice, the apotheosis of reformatory zeal, although men had simply to wait and look on while the power that makes for righteousness does its prophesied work in a new and higher creation, completing that of genesis. Thus by a process in the race-soul psychologically analogous to that in the victim of delusions of persecution who at last turns and instead of being persecuted becomes the persecutor, running amuck and wreaking terrible vengeance on those he fancies had wronged him,[1] so Yahveh at

[1] See V. Magnan: "Psychiatrische Vorlesungen." 1891-1894.

length will arouse himself and reëstablish justice in the world at dreadful cost to those who have so long and ever increasingly outraged it. Eschatology was thus the form which trust in divine goodness, when put under long and severe strain, had to take sooner or later.

If Weiss and Schweitzer are right, Jesus' consciousness during the first period of his ministry made him the consummate unipersonal expression of this inevitable attitude. If the existing order is just about to end in this way by God's intervention, nothing matters save righteousness. Wealth, station, social and political institutions and most human relations are negligible, and nothing is of worth that does not ensure entrance to the new Kingdom. All is suddenly seen *sub specie eternitatis* and there is radical transvaluation of all values, so that never was there such a basis of appeal to a new orientation and right perspective, to motives to do and be, and at short notice, the very best possible. No one ever had such a moral leverage upon the soul or the world, and nothing could have such transforming power over the minds and hearts of all who shared this conception, the discovery and reinstatement of which marks a great epoch in this field. It was a situation and an attitude impossible before or since. The world was a ship suddenly found to be fast sinking to perdition, with only a few who grasped the awful situation or observed implicitly the orders of the captain who had completely thought out the only conditions that could ever make a happy landfall on blissful shores.

(c) Granting that all this is normal psychodynamics, why should a few weeks' or even months' delay cause the whole long-incubated conception of Jesus to collapse? Why this sudden disillusion or bankruptcy of a faith on which so recently all had been staked? When or before the Twelve returned, Jesus, according to Schweitzer, had seen all this to be a dreadful mistake. The Lord would not presently come to rejuvenate the world. Jesus' whole scheme of things and his entire program had aborted. Was the motivation sufficient? Was the new idea that he must take upon his own person the tribulation that he had predicted for others a psychokinetic equivalent of the old idea? Was it germane for the prospect of dire disaster to others to pass so readily to the conception that he himself must bear it all and alone? Did he accept the rôle of suffering in any degree as a self-imposed penance for his mistake?

After the "quest for death" began why should there be any

secrecy about his Messianity? If we grant the great change in Jesus' plans as Schweitzer conceives it, its most probable objective cause was one to which he does not allude, viz., during or before the absence of the Twelve Jesus had learned something concerning the pagan conceptions of a dying god in the sense of Frazer, etc., and had passed in some sense and degree from the Jewish to the gentile conception of the way of salvation. He, like Paul, saw a great and new light, although a very different one. If a king, quasi-king, or god, like Osiris, Attis, Demeter, or Mithra, died originally in the fall to return in the spring, that was indeed better than that all or many should suffer. This may have suggested the new or greatly modified rôle. The Jewish ideas of vicarious offerings for ransom and atonement were now supplemented in Jesus' mind by those of the immolation of a royal or divine being. The ancient Jews were far beyond the old custom of human sacrifices, and Yahveh had long accepted bulls, rams, and even turtle-doves; but they knew nothing of offering up men of low or high degree, still less royalty, and least of all deities. But by the new turn of Jesus' thoughts his sense of self-divinity must have been greatly augmented along with his conception of his own worth and dignity. Such a being as he now deemed himself could die for many and they go free. The suffering servant of Yahveh is not offered up for others. He is only the personified soul of the race itself, and endures to the end, no matter how afflicted. Not so the old cult quests of the mystery religions of the lands bounding the eastern Mediterranean from Egypt around to Thrace. Jesus on this view found himself, we know not how, driven by a new culture current, more conformable to Paul's idea of vicarious atonement than to his own previous conception. His present new view, then, conforms not only to the Jewish but at many points even more closely to the old gentile religions which originated in nature worship; or rather it was a new synthesis, and hence of incalculably greater scope and efficiency.

The inner cause for Jesus' conversion from his first to his second plan, assuming this to have occurred, must have been that something had increased his certainty that he was the Messiah, and given a greatly enhanced sense of the dignity of this office. The greater he felt this and himself to be, the more effective would be his self-immolation. Perhaps this would account for his change to a "quest of death," without assuming discouragement over the results of the initial propa-

ganda of his followers. To consent to die is far more than to accept tribulation, and he may have felt that his psychalgia in doing the former was equal to the sum of that of many others who underwent affliction. Also, the more superman he felt himself to be, the greater the quantum of affliction necessary to quench his soul. Thus, with every addition to the sum total of affirmation of life and its negation, the larger the number of others his experience would exempt from the need of suffering. If he really deliberately provoked his enemies to kill him, one motive might have been thereby to enhance their guilt. Feeling himself divine, so that it would be a sacrilege to lay violent hands on him, every offence committed against his person would be vastly more heinous than if against a mere man who had none of this inviolability. Hence their punishment would be both greater and surer. It would provoke the Father to hurry the intervention of justice. To get himself abused and slain must arouse Yahveh to make an end of his delay and to come quickly to wreak vengeance on those who dared to do violence to his only Son. Perhaps Jesus felt that his extremity would afford the Lord not only an opportunity but an irresistible incentive to come quickly. Every new adversity on the way to death would be a new call to God to appear and stop the tragedy before the final scene. This is psychologically natural. But it was not done in a paroxysm of hate, suffering himself in order that his enemies might suffer more. It was rather a drastic and desperate appeal to the Father to delay no longer, but to arouse himself from his apathy and to bring in the Kingdom by giving to both good and bad their meet reward. But even this last desperate and pathetic appeal failed, and the awful tragedy proceeded to its fatal and pathetic end. Even if Jesus' course was not without a suggestion of patheticism, it was based on an invincible belief that the cosmos and its Lord were moral to the core. Perhaps the pathos of it was that he never dreamed, when he set his face toward Jerusalem and death, that he would be called on really to go on to the tragic end. On this view he must have died in the agony of utter despair, feeling that his sense of Messianity was a delusion. Still, although he felt forsaken he never renounced or denounced the Father so that there is no intimation that his faith in the ultimate coming of the Kingdom was weakened. It was only still further procrastination. So far, then, this interpretation conforms to psychological laws. All this might normally have happened, and it

is for textual criticism and history to determine whether or not it did actually occur here.

(d) Was there sufficient motivation for the passion for secrecy on the part of Jesus as to his conviction that he was the Messiah? Incomplete certainty would have been one motive, but his conviction, according to the eschatologists, was no less than plenary at the beginning of the second period, and then it was that he came nearest to betraying it. Before this it may not have been complete, and later he may have had moments of waning faith in himself. But why, during the time he felt surest of it, should he have hesitated to tell his intimates? Megalomaniacs often persistently tend to conceal their delusions of greatness from others, and it is only when they become pretty well fixed in their conviction of them that they speak of them openly. A king's son, reared among peasants, having just found out his royal parentage, might hesitate before revealing his newfound dignity to his humble companions. To do so might mean weakness and vanity, and might alienate his closest friends by inciting jealousy. It is impossible to explain Jesus' reticence on the subject without believing that he felt his disciples incapable of comprehending or sympathizing with his claims. He felt them to be vessels unfit for being repositories of his sacredly cherished secret. He could not take them into his confidence, much as he yearned to do so, because he felt them incompetent, untrustworthy, or perhaps both. He could tell them of a new and higher order of things, but not that he was the destined, though incognito, head of that Kingdom. They could help him prepare the way for it; but he whom they knew in daily intercourse—walking, talking, eating, and perhaps sleeping with them—dared not tell them that he was indeed the Christ. Paul, who knew him not in the flesh, could conceive him thus; but the disciples were too much like his parents and townspeople, and knew him too familiarly. This implied no flaws in his life, but only that he did not conform to their ideas of Messianity. They did not conceive it as so humble and simple. The disparity between his conception of it and theirs, though perhaps all the while slowly diminishing, was too great to be spanned by an open avowal without a shock involving obvious risks which he hesitated to take, although he was always striving to prepare them for it; not "playing" with it as Schweitzer says, but seeking to lead them toward it, step by step, without revealing to them his purpose to do so.

If they rejected it, their intimate relationships would be severed, while if they accepted it, the impetuous zeal or indiscretion of some of them might jeopardize all. They would be sure both to misconceive it and to blazon it abroad with no discretion as to fit time, seasons, or persons. Therefore it must remain double-locked in his own breast, somewhat as certain adult secrets are withheld from children both because they cannot really grasp their truth and because they would have no reserves in betraying them where they should not. When his secret led him to enter upon the road toward death, he was still less able to explain to them his new Messianic motives, for these were now much harder for them to understand. Jesus himself had just attained these new insights, and this step in advance greatly increased the distance between his point of view and theirs. They knew nothing of the gentile cults of dying and rising gods or culture heroes. This involved the entrance of a new and alien strain of cult and tradition. Moreover, they clung to him as their leader into the Kingdom, and the possibility of his death would fill them all with consternation, and so he had to remain unknown to them to the end. The transfiguration was a wish-dream symbolizing how different he would appear to his friends if they really had known him as he felt himself to be. The disparity between what they thought of him and what he thought of himself was great and growing, and he may have brooded much over it as a haunting and painful theme. It was also a sense of just this disparity, that came home to his followers after they thought him arisen, which constituted the psychological basis for the avidity with which the theological representations of his two states of humility and exaltation were accepted. "How familiar we were, yet how little we knew him," they must often afterward have mused. How this would reinforce their sense of the pathos of his end, how strongly such afterthoughts would tend to bring him back and prompt his friends to relive every item of memory or association with him, and how inevitably it would predispose them to react to the faintest hint or suggestion that he had survived or returned, and to cherish the slightest pretext for any such belief that could be found!

(e) Jesus died, on this view, thinking his second plan a more utter failure than the first had been, the most pitiable and unconsolable of all deaths in history. He had striven for the highest and sacrificed everything for nothing, as if he were God's fool and lunatic. His death

was not a deliberate suicide to save others, such as many heroes, known and unknown to fame, have committed. His motivation was purely soteriological, but his theory of forcing Yahveh's hand was insane and his method had proven absurd, and when he expired supernatural intervention seemed not nearer but further off, and more hopeless than ever. His attempt to take the Kingdom by force had failed, and very likely all hope that he would return in glory and judge the world was entirely extinct in his own soul, even though this was the last and most fondly cherished of his delusions. How, then, and in what way, did his grave become the cradle of the new Kingdom and of the Church that bears his name? It is just here that we find the most critical point of the eschatological scheme. Was it necessary that every scintilla of hope in Jesus' breast should die out in order to make his self-immolation complete? To have gone through the act of death knowing that he was merely sloughing off mortal habiliments to emerge at once in glory, would have involved no sacrifice but might have even been prompted by the crassest selfishness. This would be in the line of even animal instincts as old as impupation. Were this all he could have laughed death in the face and defied him to do his worst. Thousands of martyrs did this later, sustained only by the hope of personal resurgence into the heavenly Kingdom. We have long been taught by the Church that his death was the more bitter and tragic because he was divine; but with a plenary sense of his divinity and assurance of Resurrection his death was only a rôle and its pain at worst only a birth-pang. If, however, his sense of sonship itself was extinguished, he might have feared, if not extinction, the very torments of hell, for what else can the old and persistent belief that he went among the damned mean if not that he felt himself one of them? This sense must have been primal, and the interpretation of his supreme psychalgia on the cross as a visit to Hades, in order to preach to or rescue its inmates, was due to a later ambivalent swing of the pendulum over toward an optimistic interpretation of the most pessimistic of facts, all effected under the impulsion of the subsequent faith in the Resurrection. On this view Jesus, between the beginning of his second period and the moment of his death, passed all the way from full assurances of his Messianity down to the extreme "negative eudaimonism" of believing himself the one of all others most accursed of God. All the great affirmations that made him regarded as the resurrected Redeemer and

reinstated him so gloriously in the faith of the world as all that he ever thought himself to be when at the acme of his own belief in his Messianism came later. These were due to the reaction that took place in the souls of his chosen companions, headed by Peter, who was perhaps for a crucial moment the only believer in the Resurrection, but were reinforced later by a rapidly widening consensus that as early as Pentecost had developed to an almost cataleptic certainty.

The psychological root of the whole eschatological theory is whether the pathos of such a situation can be conceived of as so intense, so appealing to the individual and to the folk-soul as to compel both to react to it by affirming in the face of fact that (a) Jesus did overcome death and come back a victor over and not defeated by the Great Enemy, and that (b) Jesus' life-career had been planned beforehand and carried out with no change of purpose; that there was never a moment or a sign of doubt of his own divinity, and never a thought of any possible alteration of purpose.

Both these beliefs are the diametrical opposite of the truth in the case. In answer to the problem here presented we must remember how the fondest human wishes often tend to find or make modes of their realization almost in direct proportion as they are thwarted, and that even dreams that express the will to believe tend to be accepted as facts. Will and wish have thus often denied the most palpable facts and given the utmost reality to the most baseless fictions. But such tendencies could never have created *ex nihilo* all the great affirmations of Resurrection, Judgment, the Kingdom, etc., without a norm or modulus to give them current form and content. This must have been found in Jesus' own idea of himself and his work when his work was at its highest and best. The chief dynamic agent in this posthumous reaffirmation of the best that had been in him was pathos. This contributed, perhaps more than anything else, to make the first faint suggestion of his return pass so soon and rapidly up the scale of certainty to complete and triumphant assertion. The rest followed naturally, and made this conviction of Jesus that he was to return, but which he abandoned at the end, accepted along with his own highest valuation of himself. Thus, suppose that the stupendous miracle of the Resurrection actually occurred; the other no less stupendous psychological miracle would yet remain to be accounted for, viz., how men first came to believe in such a monstrous and absurd

thing, so contradictory to all human experience, and why belief in such a surd has been held to ever since with such pertinacity. Never had fate been so cruel to one so pure and innocent, perhaps beautiful, deep-souled, intuitive, sincere, who in his prime was foredoomed to the cruelest death. Each of these attributes, even when alone, has been wont to arouse apotheosizing tendencies. The modern world tends to forget the power of pathos of which Jesus' death was the world's supreme masterpiece, which no tragedy, antique or modern, has ever approached. The ancient Hebrews had pitied themselves uniquely and cumulatively, and now in the survivors of Jesus' circle all these tendencies were brought to a sharp focus in one man and his supreme act that typified all the age-long sufferings of the race, of which he thought himself the totemic representative or type-man. Thus Jewish persistence of hope concentrated itself upon a unipersonal object. Also, and what was far more to the point, his fate was symbolic of that of his people. If his life had really gone out in despair, it prefigured the extinction of hope for his race. It, too, would end as he had ended. Acceptance of the main features of Jesus' eschatology was thus both pre- and over-determined by the conscious and unconscious analogies involved in it. To accept his despair as final and prophetic would be ominous that God had forsaken his race, while conversely his Resurrection and rehabilitation would only express the persistent hope of the Jews that they would be reëstablished in the world along the lines of their faith in the promises. If Jesus survived the extreme calamity, and came back to judge and rule, so the chosen people could not be overwhelmed, but would come to rule the earth. Thus the choicest treasure of the Hebrew soul, transferred and transvaluated, went over into the new Christian consciousness that arose from Jesus' tomb. All this had really occurred before the vision that came to Paul on his way to Damascus, so that in preaching Jesus he was in a sense only continuing to advance the cause that he had striven to promote as a persecutor, only now it is Judaism sublimated and freed from its literalism and exclusiveness. Thus primitive Christianity was Judaism resurrected and transformed, re-asserting its old faith in the Covenant, but extending its benefits to the elect among the gentiles, as indeed had to be done because so few within the old pale had penetration enough to see the old in its transfigured new form. Thus the heart and soul of the old Hebrew dispensation

went over into the new, leaving the remainder to lapse to still lower stages of formalism, literalism, and religious materialism, until it became little more than a cast or husk from which life had departed.

Thus Jesus did come back, and speedily, before the Gospels were written, not as he expected but more effectively. The lurid imagery of his eschatology faded. Wherever it has had recrudescence in fanatic texts later, it has been rank and lush for a season, but has soon proven to be only a deciduous foliage. It left as its far more precious and perennial result a futuristic attitude of soul inspired by hope for both the individual and the race. It loosened and enriched the soil for all conceptions of progress, created ideals of evolution, filled men with the buoyant sense that the best things have not happened yet, gave ambition, made the old narrow prophetism a diffusive power, and gave a courage and hope that enabled the human race to endure the tragedy of the fall of the old states, cultures, and civilizations. Much of this general new courageousness, perhaps too much of it, went over into the specific form of a belief in personal immortality. If this belief often tended to be a fetishistic form of the great new wave of futurism, so that the impulses to reform this world were weakened, it nevertheless conserved a precious thing through ages so troubled that had it been only socially conceived it would have been utterly lost. The Church was the external form which the new futurism took on in its immanent mundane sphere, always correlated with the thought-forms of a transcendental heavenly future. The hope and the treasure of falling States went over to it. But for it the world might have despaired. The Kingdom it conceived could only have its symbol or preparatory school on this earth; but this helped men to look away from and beyond the present at times and places, or in circumstances when they needed to do so, if they were not to lose hope. On the eschatological theory everything Jesus and his followers taught focussed on some mood and tense of the single word—hope. Everything the Christian says is a variation on this theme, and all he does is to sustain and increase it. If this view has at last really found the true Jesus unknown even to the Evangelists his message to us is that, instead of being too absorbed in the past or even in the here and now, our chief endeavour must be to construe the future. It follows, of course, since this is so uncertain as to admit of countless constructions, that we shall make mistakes as Jesus did in his plan, and so change to a second; nor is this any ground

of disparagement, because the future must ever be recast. It is rather to his glory that he could change and readjust to new insights, for all interested in the future must ever do this. It is less to his credit, however, that he died in despair because he realized that his second plan had miscarried. A third, fourth, or series of other programs would surely have included among them that of waiting, but this his impetuous soul could not do. Perhaps if he had not followed the issue to a fatal termination, but had lived on to a good old age, he would have come to accept some other and more deliberate program for the advent of the Kingdom, and have realized that the essential thing was that it would and must come at some dateless and perhaps very remote time, whether suddenly or gradually, and that constant expectant tension with variable direction of orientation to it was the main thing. The eschatological view certainly also makes Jesus seem far more historic, because the issues involved are so vital and the psychic processes which concern us here are so true to the nature of the soul, although nearly all the phenomena are those of unusual altitude. Although the whole is entirely without precedent, the items of which it is composed have, some of them, innumerable analogies and parallels in human history and experience. Here they are all summated and synthetized, and to re-realize the whole Gospel story from this new standpoint exalts the soul, augments its energies, gives new immunity against being ensnared in narrow and partial views, tends to purge many imperfections, makes the central figure of the New Testament nearer, more attractive, imposing, and, in a word, more sublime and Godlike in its solitary effort to find and open a new and true way of salvation for man.

Thus in Jesus the futurism of all the prophets culminated. The protensive diathesis of youth, of ascendent races; the mood of dawn and springtide, of abounding vitality and health or wholeness, aggressive energy, self-affirmation; the excelsior spirit of ambition; the zeal that would reform society and convert the world; the feeling that man as he is is but the embryo of what he is to become as superman; the impulse that would intensify the present because it is parturient of a far greater and better age, that believes in a golden age but conceives it as future rather than as past; the religion of eugenics, which holds that the present generation should live solely in the interests of the countless generations to be born from it, and to which the duty of all

duties is to transmit the torch of life undimmed and burning ever brighter; the mania for progress and the phobia of stagnation or conservatism; the supreme will to serve and live for a long line of posterity rather than to revere ancestors; the feeling that great destinies depend upon present decisions—all these are distinctively Christian in their psychogenesis. Their organ is faith; their *Einstellung* or attitude is something which Jesus, if he did not bring it into the world, supremely illustrates. It calls to the world to think more in the future tense, and it is this that reanimates and starts on the upward track all races and individuals that have adopted the Christian viewpoint. If Jesus lost the true temporal perspective of the Kingdom and thought the righteous would inherit the new earth at once, that only intensified this *Stellungsnahme* toward the hereafter. It is precisely this that gives us the new key by which psychology is now able to unlock the very secret soul of Jesus himself, which has never been understood before, and which but one Christologist, O. Holtzmann, has ever glimpsed, although Schweitzer, who one would think would be the first to see, refuses to admit it. Living as Jesus did in this highly wrought state of expectancy, his powers were subjected to the greatest stimulus and strain which could be put upon them, and therefore, though not an ecstatic in the sense Holtzmann urges, he was more or less erethic, more habitually in a state of exaltation or second breath, illustrating what we now term "the higher powers of man." This tiptoe or superlative state is not ecstasy in the clinical sense, but is inebriation with great ideas in Plato's sense. In this temperament inhibition and restraint have less power to fetter the soul, and so it is more unreserved to let itself go with abandon in response to the incitations of each occasion. In such a disposition anger can blaze forth without stint, and love and devotion are no less unrepressed. Fasting, hardship, heroism in the face of danger, living completely for one's ideal, moods of depression and of elevation, may all go to the limit. Now the soul is the victim of hope, now of despair, and each in turn fills the whole field of consciousness and evicts its opposite. Only such lives can exhaust the possibilities of individual, and in a sense of racial, experience. Every passing movement of such souls is prone to be superlative. The ordinary repressions that cramp and warp most are cast to the winds. If in such a disposition the psychic structure is sound and the life pure, with no dangerous secrets liable to be betrayed because there

is nothing to conceal, there is no thought of consistency, the fetish of souls that feel themselves lacking in organic unity and in danger of fission or dissolution into multiple personalities, for there is no peril in escaping the conventions, whether of belief or conduct. If we are right in claiming for Jesus this kind of character we can understand why he seemed so many different sorts of persons at different times, and also why those who try to delineate him now differ so widely. The harmony of his powers was too deep to be disturbed by his reactions to different solicitations. Such characters seem very polymorphic to others, but they exist and constitute a true ethological species. They are not multipersonal in a pathological sense, and the point of our contention is that while they do bear a very close resemblance to fictive personalities that are the product of syncretism, they are not so, but are in a sense more real than any other type. In fact, only in free energetic souls keyed to a constant high pitch, as Jesus was by his eschatological concepts of the world and his view of his own functions, can we have the generic type of individual. In such the race finds fullest expression in the life of the individual. This type of person can best represent in his own life that of the race, which should find ample expression in each. Thus the eschatological concepts and an erethic disposition would seem almost inseparable, each as cause and effect of the other. To the amplification and the proof of this position we shall return later.

Consciousness also gave an unprecedented reinforcement to the moral sense. In the impending world-assize not only outer but inner iniquity meets an awful doom, and goodness will have its glorious reward. Friends will be separated and consigned to the most opposite fates. The age of concealment and procrastination is finished. Conversion, not merely of the intellect in the sense of Plato's myth of the cave, but of heart, will, and the conduct of life, is imperative. There is no escape from the purgation of fire save by repentance. All not found fit to enter the heavenly Kingdom will go to the counter-kingdom of Satan. Man is at the cross-roads and must choose, for there is no middle course. If a great pestilence were to come and men had to reconstruct their diet and regimen, the principles of personal and public hygiene would be reinforced by all the instincts of self-preservation. Thus Jesus' eschatology reinforced moral hygiene, and thus his futurism made the world more keenly conscious of sin than ever before.

This construed the world as through and through moral, with ethical laws supreme, established a new and stronger association between evil-doing and fear, which had thus a new deterrent if not preventive power. The age-long sin scare which eschatology threw into the souls of men was a drastic moral pedagogy, and has left some scars, as seen in the ethically disequilibrated, but on the whole it was the most beneficent and efficient autotherapy Mansoul has ever brought upon itself, and saved the race from being submerged in the flood of putrid corruption which followed the collapse of the old civilizations under the successive waves of barbaric invasion. Hell,[1] the psychology of which we are just beginning to understand aright, became very real and near, culminating in Dante, and death became a veritable muse and a symbol of the yet more dreadful second death. Thanatophobia[2] and gennaphobia were harnessed up with harmatophobia. It is the puny fashion of our age to distrust fear cures, and, indeed, they are always dangerous to weaklings, but we forget that fear is the beginning of wisdom, and that those who have feared wisely and well have inherited the earth; for fear is only the anticipation of pain. We forget that fear of disease created medicine and hygiene; that fear of death has been the chief factor in the evolution of the doctrine of immortality as compensation for mortality; that social and political institutions evolve from fear of anarchy; that the Church, insurance, and even science, that is making man the master instead of the slave of nature, are in no small degree products of fear; and that one of the chief spurs of ambition to make the most and best of our individual lives springs from the fear of inferiority or mediocrity. To this emotion eschatology made the strongest of all possible appeals, and Christian virtue owes it a debt it can never estimate.

Was the real historic Jesus, as the psychologist may now conceive him in the new light of modern liberal studies, a truly great man? And if so how great was he, and wherein consisted his superiority? Paidologists are now learning how hard it is to grade intelligence even in children and to establish norms and standards by which to distinguish the normal from the subnormal. Halls of fame, learned academies, "Who's Who," industrial corporations, efficiency experts, anthropologists, psychologists, characterologists, eugenists, and the psychol-

[1] C. F. Sparkman: "Satan and His Ancestors." *Jour. Relig. Psychol.*, 1912, vol. 5, pp. 52-85, and 163-194. F. T. Hall: "The Pedigree of the Devil." Also Tompson, 1883, p. 256.

[2] G. Stanley Hall: "Thanatophobia and Immortality." *Am. Jour. Psychol.*, 1915, vol. 26, pp. 550-613.

ogists of genius and talent and the analyzers of the biographies of great men, are all seeking to assort and grade the human qualities that make up the few personalities that tower highest above the rank and file of mankind. We have already from several sources attempts to forecast the overman of the future, from Aristotle's magnanimous man, the true aristocrat, and the Stoic sage, down to Zarathustra.

What is the place of Jesus amidst all these modern criteria and evaluations of men? The old diploma of greatness was divinitization, and of no one has this been more persistently urged. This old pedestal or supreme encomium, despite the unanimity of the consensus of the past, no longer suffices, at least for many. Hegel said in substance that the great were those who forced mankind to discuss and explain them until different groups of interpreters arose and contended with one another. This process began for Jesus with the authors of the epistles and Gospels, or before, and for two millennia he has been more studied, written, and thought of than any other person in history. But fame alone is not a test of true inner greatness. Carlyle said great men are those who change the current of history. Jesus certainly marked the dawn of our new era. Emerson stressed the opening of new culture fields and trends, and measured on this scale Jesus certainly towers above all others. But the question still remains how much of the movement that bears his name was his own personal work, and whether but for his successors any such institution as the Church would have arisen, for we are still unable to enucleate with confidence just what Jesus was, did, and said. Since Galton,[1] heredity has been stressed, and we have voluminous if inconclusive discussions of the relative value of inheritance and environment. Reibmayer[2] thinks that talent and genius are more commonly products of settled but simple life with agriculture and trade, but that talent is more prone to spring from inbreeding where parents differ little, while genius is more often a product of cross-breeding between parents of different families, stations, or even races. How alert the earliest followers of Jesus were to the necessity of giving him the best of pedigrees by making him at once the son of David and of God, and by beatifying his mother, we saw in Chapter 4. Whatever our interpretation of the earliest records, there is not only no indication of any handicap but much that was

[1] Galton: "Hereditary Genius." 1892, 379 p.

[2] "Entwicklungsgeschichte des Talents und Genies." 2 Bände, 1908. See especially Bd. 1, S. 513 *et seq.*

favourable for subsequent greatness in both his ancestry and his early environment. The same may be said of the latter if we agree with Freudians, who deem greatness largely due to infantile experiences. Joly,[1] Türck,[2] and especially Fischer,[3] as well as H. Ellis[4] and many others, have attempted to define both the conditions and the very many and complex characteristics of greatness, which Lombroso,[5] Nordau[6] and their numerous followers always think tainted with insanity, while Hirsch[7] seeks to trace the genesis of fame.

(A) Amidst all the wide diversity of opinion in literature one point of unanimity that stands out, perhaps before all others, and one very significant for the characterization of Jesus, is that greatness involves the union of the most opposite qualities. The great man must be at once very receptive and very active. He must be passive and docile and accept facts as they are, even if it has to be with stoicism and resignation. He must yield to present reality with utter acquiescence until he grasps it completely, not fly from or ignore it because it is disagreeable to face if it goes counter to all his wishes and prejudices. He must understand the misunderstandings of his enemies, and anticipate the worst that they can say or do. He must appreciate obstacles and difficulties at their full value. He must be able to see and even take the other side temporarily and with *Einfühlung*. He must take pleasure in the range of his sympathies and, if need be, "accept the inevitable with joy" in the sense of Seneca. But on the other hand, this consummation of the noetic must not check but rather excite a counter-conative reaction if he is sure he is right. Knowing what he is up against, he must not lie down or quit, but cling to his purpose tenaciously with the utmost courage and perseverance. He must glory in conflict, love danger, enjoy the maximum of effort and suffering, and if things are not according to his will must make them so. He must enlist for this purpose every resource he can summon, within or without, be ready constantly to modify, if necessary, not only methods but his initial impulsion, and must continue to do so indefinitely until his goal is attained. The energy of his aggressiveness must bend other wills,

---

1 "Psychologie des grandes hommes." Paris, 1883, 280 p.
2 "The Man of Genius." Schwerin, 1914, 483 p.
3 "Der Grossgeist des höchste menschliche Ideal." 1908, 280 p.
4 "A Study of British Genius," 1904, 300 p.
5 "L'homme de génie." Paris, 1889, 499 p.
6 "Degeneration." 7th ed. London, 1893, 560 p.
7 "Die Genesis des Ruhmes." 1914, 285 p.

beat down or evade all opposition; and he must often seem relentless if not pitiless in this work. Most of the world's *élite* are great either in insight or in action, but very few indeed combine the two in due proportion. Türck and the Freudians best describe this amphibole, and religionists, e. g., Cromwell and his followers so far as they were abjectly passive toward God and imperative and domineering toward the world, best illustrate it. In this respect of course Jesus is supreme. He, however, found it hard to accept the god of things as they are, although he went to the limit of voluntarily meeting death. So intent was he upon his own supreme affirmation of will in establishing the Kingdom, that he perhaps fell short of appreciating the strength of the opposition, unless, of course, he really meant to die as he did, and trust all to the reaction thus provoked. In that case he measures up to the criterion more than any other. Knowing Satan and all the mundane powers arrayed against him for all they were and could do, he nevertheless challenged and overcame them. Jesus was not one whose intellect paralyzed his will, like Hamlet, or perverted it, like Faust. Nor was he a great executive of ill-laid plans, or a hero of a mistaken cause or of a good one foolishly served. He was an expert in both the depth and truth of his religious insights. The work he organized, considering the human material he had to deal with and the short time he believed was left before the consummation of the existing order of things, could hardly have been improved upon. If, however, he planned by his death to spur others to carry on his work as they did, his mastery of means to this end was above our full comprehension even yet, for not only was his will power Stoic and even Promethean, but his sagacity and foresight remain in a class by themselves. H. Bushnell[1] thought him "a great social and religious architect with a plan embracing ages," and that his work of establishing the Kingdom, humanly impossible, was the chief proof that he was more than a man. Of the two primitive documents which so many critics now believe to have been the precursors of our Gospels, the Ur-Markus and the logia, the former was mainly concerned with what Jesus did and the latter with what he taught, thought, or said, as if the first two groups of his followers and the first two lines of tradition, one stressing his practice and the other his theory of life, were for a time rival parties, perhaps, which our Gospels strove to synthetize. So, in the history of theology, we

[1] "The Character of Jesus." New York, 1895.

find interest now in Christ's work and now in his words paramount. Are we not thus justified in inferring a high and a uniquely well-balanced development of both will and intellect in Jesus?

(B) Another trait always prominent in the characterization of great men, and illustrated in the hundreds of biographies that have lately been so carefully rummaged in quest of the secret of eminence, is that they have exceptional experience with both the extremes of pleasure and pain. They both suffer and enjoy keenly, and fate often leads them to the superlative degree of both. The power to respond to one does not destroy, but heightens, the power of response to the other. Such men can be afflicted and even long depressed without settling into melancholia, and can exult with euphoria and enjoy all the real pleasures of life without abnormal exaltation. Pleasure and pain are the two poles of experience, the sovereign motives and masters of life, which is made up of efforts to enlarge the field of the former and to reduce that of the latter. Too much as well as too little of either dwarfs, arrests, or perverts, just as children need both to laugh and to cry. This power of response to either, together with rebound and resilience between the optimistic and the pessimistic experiences and interpretations of life, exploring each to its limit without becoming its captive, gives the soul range, richness, variety; and not only greatness but sanity depends upon this elasticity, for most forms of alienation begin in psychalgia or hypereuphoria. Every novel or drama is an exercise in alternations between the tension of imminent danger and the relaxation of the happy ending, and this is a very potent preventive and psychotherapy in securing to the mind unity and safeguarding it against danger of fission. All life is cadenced between work and play, striving and recreation, failure and success, defeats and victories, and the great soul hungers for both, loves risks and hardships as well as enjoyments. Small men gravitate predominantly toward the one or the other, and make but short, infrequent, and timid excursions over into the domain of the other.

How does Jesus as we now understand him measure up on this standard? Renan, Haase, and Keim long ago pointed out his aversion to asceticism, his love of the joys of life, and even Strauss spoke of his gentle *Heiterkeit.* In 1876 A. Wünsche published his "Der lebensfreudige Jesu," representing him as exultant, triumphant, and prone to indulge in all innocent joys of life, and thrilled with success. He sought

to "deliver the figure of Jesus from the unhistorical shadows in which it has lain, and set it in the sunshine where it belongs." Six years earlier, however, in 1870, Wünsche had published his "Die Leiden des Messias" which represents Jesus as the man of sorrows and the suffering servant of Yahveh, as dark a picture as the former was a bright one, leaving us a little uncertain how much of the difference between these two books was due to a deep change of conviction on the author's part or to a mere change of attitude and theme. Zangwill describes Jesus not as a "tortured God" but as a "joyous comrade." Dawson says of Christ, "He became the incarnation of the spirit of joy, the symbol of the bliss of life," and "Christ's gracious gaiety of heart proved contagious," etc.[1] Recent works still more popular show the same tendency to react from the Puritan rancour against happiness. R. Law[2] has a chapter each upon his joy and his geniality. A. Whyte,[3] in describing the thirty-three *dramatis personae* in the New Testament, gives a somewhat humorous turn to the accounts of the enemy who sowed tares by night, the man who sowed a grain of mustard seed, the one who found a great treasure in the field, the wedding guest in unfitting costume, and the children dancing in the market place. G. W. Buckley[4] goes still further in his attempt to "resurrect Jesus from theology and humanize him." He urges that Jesus had a keen sense of the comedy of life; that he admired the brilliant repartee of the Canaanite woman to his saying that it was not meet to give the children's bread to the dogs, to which she retorted that the dogs might eat the crumbs. It was really not her faith but her wit and humour which made him yield. The new piece in the old garment describes a comic thing. So does the story of the man waking his neighbour because he has a hungry guest; of the judge who yielded because he feared the woman's continual coming; the saying that no one can serve two masters; the asking bread and giving a stone; the woman who rejoiced over the finding of a penny. These to Buckley are "realistic, palpable hits." He sees humour, too, in the story of the foolish virgins. This sense of humour made the common people hear him gladly. The stupidity and *faux pas* of the disciples, who understood him as little as Goethe's Wagner understood Faust; the address to the soul, "Thou hast much goods laid up,"

---

[1] See Peabody's "Jesus and the Christian Character." 1905, 48 p.
[2] "The Emotions of Jesus." 1915, 154 p.
[3] "Bible Characters; Our Lord's Character." Chicago, 311 p.
[4] "The Wit and Wisdom of Jesus." Boston, 1901, 213 p.

which suggests Holbein's "Dance of Death"; the admonition not to sit in the chief seat at a feast, or ask to dinner only those who will ask you to dine in turn; these and the many pithy epigrammatic sayings that the world knows by heart show that Jesus was a great conversationalist, as witty as he was wise; that he was as ready with pleasantry, satire, ridicule, and irony as he was with invectives. Perhaps no one goes quite so far as Bousset[1] in making the joy of life the chief trait of Jesus.

Most now think the first part of Jesus' career more joyous and the last part more sad. If we are told that he wept, but not that he laughed, as if, like Chesterfield, he was one of Sully's[2] misogelasts or laughter-haters or phobiacs (and no artist ever yet dared to make him smile), he must nevertheless have had sources and times of ecstatic joy in communion with God, made Eureka discoveries of new insights, felt the satisfaction of attaining ineluctable certainties where others wandered in doubt.

But whatever was the case with Jesus' own experiences, his immediate followers, between the time he died the most disgraceful of deaths and his body was sealed in the tomb or lost and their full conviction that he had risen and ascended, passed from the nadir of despair to the zenith of exaltation at Pentecost. Their spirits, at least metaphorically, passed through hell and up to heaven. The story of the cross and its sequel is the world's masterpiece of pathos and of triumph; and this great algedonic ebb and flow constitute the world's chief autotherapy, its immunity-bath against being finally overwhelmed by pain and disaster on the one hand, or on the other, by intoxication with inebriating joy because the king of terrors has been overcome. Thus they could look death in the face and defy him to do his worst, as countless martyrs did in the nine persecutions that followed. (See the chapter on the Death and Resurrection.) In fact, the very core of Christianity consists in a discipline in meeting pleasure and pain, without going through which adolescence, the golden period of life, is incomplete and suffers arrest, so that the novitiate to life is unprepared to meet it, and his poise and equilibrium between the two chief dangers and opportunities remain unsafeguarded. (See my "Adolescence," Vol. 2, chapter 14, "Adolescent Psychology of Conversion.")

(C) All characterizations of greatness specify alternations between

---

[1] "Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum." 1892, 130 p.
[2] See his "Essay on Laughter." 1902, 441 p.

solitude and society, or between subjective and objective life. The Catholic Church has always found a soul-cure in the "retreat." Modern moralists, especially the French ethical writers for young people, emphasize a silent hour for meditation or introspection.[1] The psychology of solitude shows its high ethical value for those who are great enough to avoid its dangers.[2] As MacNish shows, solitude reinforces heredity; society and the objective life make for individual adaptation to the environment. The desert, says Renan in substance, perhaps even more than the mountain, has always been the stronghold of great Semitic spirits and the cradle of great ideas. Aloneness teaches self-knowledge, self-control, and reverence for inner oracles. With social restraints and distractions removed, we are free to be and to face ourselves. We get close to nature and to God. Hermits, eremites, cloistered monks, entertain and reinforce their own personalities and incubate the supreme problems of life and death, good, evil, destiny, and providence. Türck and Fischer point out how often the very greatest men even outside the Church remain celibate, because their affections are fixed on larger interests than those of the family, although perhaps maintaining ideal relations to the other sex, as Wünsche thinks Jesus did,[3] pointing out the immense service women rendered to the Church in apostolic and patristic times. Solitude, too, gives true perspective, and inclines religious minds to prayer. Jesus knew and used this resource to an unusual extent during all his career, from the flight into the wilderness in order to muse on the staggering suggestions that came to him at the baptism, to Gethsemane. He often took refuge from the multitude, escaped to northern Galilee when the disciples were absent on their first missionary journey, and his habit was not to fly from but to prepare for difficult emergencies. Some writers make much of the secret life of Jesus, and Ollivier[4] believes that in his infancy and youth he was much alone, partly on account of the Herodian slaughter of so many near his own age. Although he was so above those in his *entourage* that he must have felt isolated in their presence, he nevertheless loved their companionship, had his favourites and intimates, and has even been described as a "brilliant dialectician." As one who loved to sharpen wits by dialogue and discussion in the

[1] See my "Educational Problems," Vol. 1, chap. 5, on "Moral Education," *passim*.
[2] Small: "On Some Psychical Relations of Society and Solitude." *Ped. Sem.*, Apr., 1900. vol, 7, pp. 13-69.
[3] "Jesu in seiner Stellung an die Frauen." 1872, 146 p.
[4] "La vie cachée de Jesu." Paris, 1904, 465 p.

sense in which Plato commends this method of investigation, and took pleasure in discourse with strangers, both men and women, although he preferred as a teacher to communicate his own and God's truth, he still took a true and pedagogic pleasure in answering questions and meeting objections. His preparation was not that of a reader, as Plato reproached Aristotle with being, but, as Plato claimed for himself, he sought inner insights and was a true autodidact. Perhaps he did feel the inspiration of attentive crowds, even though he never gave the set sermon on the mount. He certainly was a master opportunist in seizing on every occasion, as it arose, to impart his precepts, and was in vital *rapport* with both the individuals and the groups he met, and his Kingdom required every member of it to be an ideal *socius*, as Christian socialism in both its narrower and larger sense is now abundantly telling us. Both the *agapæ* and the institution of the supper cement the closest of all bonds between men, as the Fourth Gospel shows us, closer than love between the sexes. Nothing is more contagious than religious emotion.

(D) Great men often believe themselves inwardly influenced by some power above themselves. This power has been very diversely interpreted and has been assigned the most diverse functions. Muses, guardian angels, individual guiding spirits, good and bad, fates, destiny, fortune, luck, *gorus*, familiar spirits, etc., are all different names for it, and it is thought sometimes to enter and control individuals until they seem possessed as by alien personalities. Many feel themselves caught up or borne along by a momentum not at their own command. If these phenomena are predominantly intellectual they are often conceived as inspiration or revelation; if mainly emotional, as ecstasy. If the synergy of the afflatus is chiefly conative it may be thought a categorical reinforcement of duty or a specifically decreed commission, command, or calling from on high which, like Luther, they cannot resist. It may only gently dissuade, like Socrates' daimon, or issue peremptory positive commands in an hallucinated voice. Its language may be vision or the word of the Lord as it came to the prophets. Sometimes it causes rapt trancoidal states, or it may hyperenergize the active, efferent tracts. From shamanism and witchcraft to the *Convulsionnaires* of St. Medard; from the mantic mænads to Shakers, Jumpers, and speakers with tongues, we now know that it is only some higher potentialization of the powers of the individual. Plato de-

scribed two kinds of delirium, one the *furor poeticus* that inspired great creative works, especially in the domain of religion, art, and literature, while the other was insanity. Between the latter and genius, especially since Lélut, Moreau, and Lombroso, a considerable and growing literature[1] has pointed out a relation. Whether we interpret these phenomena in the old ways as visitations from without or on high, or, as we now know them to be, as incursions into consciousness from the subliminal realm, they are as real as second breath, and some degree of these states is by no means uncommon, especially in vital and naïve souls. In its lesser degrees the subject feels free but with augmented power, while in the higher degrees of it he feels himself a passive agent and knows no more than do onlookers what he is going to say, see, hear, or do next. His autistically active self becomes objective. At their best these erethic states are simply the superfluity of vitality, and supervene when the evolutionary *nisus* of the growth impulse is at its highest tide; for evolution is the only true revelation. They represent life at high pressure with all its resources rung up, mobilized, and in action. Instead of doing our work ourselves and with effort, we stand off, look on, and see it done for us by some unusual, latent power. Perhaps we accomplish prodigies, surprise ourselves, feel that we are being used and swept along. What we deemed hard is easy, and what was obscure clears up, for we feel clairvoyant, clairaudient, obsessed by our task, and borne along whether we will or not. We feel informed by a higher wisdom than our own, and when we come back to ourselves we review these experiences as if they pertained to another, and they seem new to us. Of course experiences that follow these formulae occur also in neurotics and psychotics, and the alien power may be complex and develop into what seems another personality. Fanaticism, too, might be characterized in some of the same terms, so that all spirits have to be proved and tested. Again, the ardour of the impulsion may be so great or long continued that the psychophysic system of its victim may suffer lesions or impairments; but to be able to summon such reserves in emergencies is wondrous gain, and it is no whit more difficult to distinguish between right and wrong uses or results of these experiences than between any problems of morals or of

[1]To cite a few, e. g., see P. Radestock: "Genie und Wahnsinn," 1884. E. Murisier: "Les maladies du sentiment religieux," 1901. J. F. Nisbet: "The Insanity of Genius," 6th ed., 1912. J. Morse: "Pathological Aspects of Religion," 1906. W. James: "Varieties of Religious Experience," especially p. 77 *et seq.* See also, for two specific aberrations ideally analyzed, Pfister on "Glossalalie und Kryptographie," in *Jahrb. f. Psychoanalyse*, 1912. Vol. 3, p. 427 and 732 *et seq.*

hygiene. There is no practical, but only theoretic, difficulty of definition. The acts of genius itself can never be insane, although their *sequelae* or concomitants as found in pathological natures may often be so.

From this viewpoint Jesus seems the Supreme Master of all who have ever known or utilized consummately the higher powers of man. Most that he did and said that is significant was with some degree of such afflatus. God and the Holy Spirit were his muse. He followed inner oracles that he thought came from on high as no one else had ever done, and it is small matter that after the fashion of his day and as the masses always have done and will do, he objectified these impulsions. Indeed, epistemologically speaking, no one can know what he does not objectify. He projected the power he lived by into heaven, identified it with the Hebrew Yahveh, and whatever may be said in this case of the processes of the intellect, which is an individual and relatively accidental product, the heart of every one who is truly religious can as yet make or poetize no better imagery than this, for feeling must always have symbols all its own. The psychology of Jesus remains to-day by far the best and most classic field in which to study all such processes, for here best of all these problems are illustrated. Here we find a key to the understanding of his character, further study of which will no doubt long continue, as it has already so well begun to do, to make his life seem more real, his traits more intelligible, and his biographies more engaging.

(E) Comparative studies of biographies, and especially of autobiographies of great men, show as another attribute, closely allied to the above, a sense that they are not merely themselves but generic or type-men, or that in them the species is especially expressed in the individual. They feel themselves in a sense the embodiment of the soul of their tribe, race, nation, or other group; the bearer of its ideals, its leader or representative; the voice through which the wishes, will, needs of the larger social group are expressed. Some think the roots of this trait must be traced to totemism. Its perversions tend to hypertrophied egoism, but its ideal is to subordinate, if not evacuate, the individual, so that he who best illustrates it has a passion to renounce rather than to acquire, to serve rather than to rule, the group he represents. His own personal proprium shrivels rather than expands; he becomes least, not greatest; his personal fortunes, or even his life or

death, are inconsequential compared with the weal or woe of the group interests of which he is the surrogate. If he comes to supreme power he uses it humbly as a charge or cause to which he is entirely subject. He is a delegate or a corporate folk-soul, and to live to himself would be treason to it. If he is utterly devoted to the common welfare, he may legitimately feel himself a man of destiny because he is bound up with it to the point of identification, so that its well- or ill-being is his own. This gives enlargement of view, purity of purpose, a sense of responsibility that may become oppressive, perhaps temptations at times either to use it for self-aggrandizement or on the other hand to renounce it all and fall back to the easier, simpler life, and live for individual ends, perhaps according to Nietzsche's ideal of the superman, who is a powerful and relentless monster of selfishness, incapable of pity or regret. The altruistic struggle for the survival of others in the supremely great is the diametrical opposite of this. It is born of a spirit of sympathy, benevolence, coöperation, and love of mankind. It is phylogeny exceptionally dominant over ontogeny, the race controlling the individual. It is rooted in man's highly gregarious instinct, and thus makes for social solidarity and against disruption.

Now, whoever illustrated all this as Jesus did? He did it by drawing on the unconscious reserve energies as described above (in 4), because men differ most in their most conscious activities and are most alike in the nine tenths of their nature which is usually submerged, so that in calling it up man appeals to the common element in which all, even the most diverse, are, at bottom, one. Here we reach nearest of all to the secret springs of Jesus' character and the simple motivation of his life and works; from this point of view we can best understand the mystery of his Kingdom and the "way" into it. It is *das ewige Menschliche das zieht uns hinan*, an ideal yet far from attainment but that lures, charms, and inspires perennial visions of its ultimate fulfilment, gives us the norms of all social ethics, a standard by which to measure all real progress, which at bottom and at its best is always and only moral, and that would minimize hate and all its dreadful progeny, and establish harmony and confraternity over the world. It is still largely a sentiment; but sentiment dominates the human heart, and has already given the Christian world most of the best things in it and promises far more in the future. No message to man is so authentic as that which comes from his own phylum, and the only validification of its

authority is that it rings true in each individual soul it reaches. This is the supreme criterion of every truth and value in the humanistic realm as distinct from that of physical science. To incarnate the best that is in the race is to incarnate God, for he only is its highest anthropomorph.

(F) Other attributes of greatness, less often specified, are combinations of pairs of opposites that are rarely found in the same person, such as analytic and synthetic, or critical and creative powers; traits which lie chiefly in the sphere of intellect or balance between the conservative and progressive temper; the union of Olympian calmness and enthusiasm; of quick and slow temperaments; vivid imagination along with practical common sense; open-mindedness and absence of prejudice; readiness, if need be, to subordinate personal friendship and all social, even family, ties to a cause greater than they; indifference to fame or all personal ends; keen aesthetic sense; an alert and inerrant conscience; power of concentration; great strength of affection; the group of qualities we call personal magnetism; a disposition to be always working over and improving oneself; ability to systematize and make or apply efficient methods; a gift for keeping always in the top of one's condition, physically, mentally, morally; the instinct to strive and exert oneself to the utmost of his powers rather than to live in the realm of inertia and half efforts—these and other qualities are designated in this literature on great men and have great though perhaps not prime significance. In Jesus the strength of his affections was certainly unbounded, although they were less concentrated upon individuals than diffused over the race, or at least those fit for the Kingdom. He was well anchored in Jewish conservatism, and yet ultra-progressive. He did not seek fame, and must have had rare magnetism and charm (see Chapter 1). He gave himself to his task with an energy that was unreserved and unflagging. On the other hand, he was probably not emancipated from racial prejudice and was inefficient in methods of social and political improvement as measured by the modern standard. He cared little or nothing for system, either in his thinking or in the conduct of his life, and knew no science of any kind. The rest of these standards either test qualities not known in his day, and so are more specific and less generically human, or else we are too uninformed concerning Jesus' life and character to apply them to him.

To the present writer it seems hardly less than axiomatic that if Jesus' personality is to continue to have worth and reality in the world and not fade into myth, symbol, or a projection of the community consciousness in the sense of Kalthoff, or if his character is not to become as formless and unknown as his physical traits are to art, he must be definitized and we must have at least certain fundamental ideas of what psychological components entered into the *ensemble* of qualities which we call character and personality. We need to escape from the mystic nebulosity that now surrounds it. A union of all the superlative traits ascribed to him, a harmonious synthesis of the partial components that appear from different aspects of his life, work, and words, which shall combine all the different views of him, is impossible, for they could not be synthetized in any individual, normal, abnormal, or supernormal. In place of a living person we should have in him rather a table of ethological categories theoretically and logically unhomogeneous and the correlation of which into a single human being is a psychological impossibility. This would give us at best only a classified list of traits with certain tentative groupings but lacking dynamic force because without any real organic unity. If we cull these traits from the scores of lives of Jesus during the last few score years, every possible synthesis of them thus far suggested gives at best only the conception of a personality unprecedentedly multiple or schizophrenic, as if tenanted by a congeries of souls of which now one, now another, comes to the fore. Now he seems divine, now very human. In the wilderness he struggles with temptation, yet is impeccable. Here he is above earthly joy and sorrow, yet in the transfiguration he seems to be in a transport of euphoria, while in Gethsemane he is in agony. Now his belief is ineluctable, and he is autodidactic, and again he feels forsaken, if not accursed, of God. He is called infallible and inerrant, and yet repeatedly changes his purpose upon intercession; endowed with prescient prophetic insight into the future, yet dies in anguish and despair because his hopes aborted and his plans miscarried. From this viewpoint one could almost fancy that we have before us a product of a series of efforts to synthetize into one the typical traits and experiences of many different real or mythic personages of which primitive culture gives us many examples, and that here the hazy name, "Jesus," is simply their *point de repère*. He needs to be made a more natural, real, and dynamic personality.

Can this be done? Is there a type of personality that is more composite and yet more unified than those we know, in which all the essential attributes that history assigns and religious psychology needs can be combined? Is there any one such *ensemble* of qualities more probable than any other, and which, in the light of the New Testament data and also of the preceding principles, we can best conceive Jesus to have been? To this our answer must be affirmative and is as follows:

(1) Jesus had an invincible sense of his own vast superiority over other men, and felt that he stood closer to the source of all wisdom and power than any other man had ever stood. He interpreted this sense according to the highest and fittest thought-forms of his day and race, as the Church has since done, as Divine Sonship or Messianity. He came to do this gradually, but as an inevitable result of many experiences with many men, which showed him, as they must, that his insights were deeper, his personal influence over those about him greater, his therapeutic efficiency which he thought showed unique control of demons, was equal to or superior to that of the greatest of prophets of old. The complicated sophistries of the subtlest of the Pharisees were no match for him, and although, unlike the rabbis, self-taught, he found he could easily confute them. Those who crowded about him and followed him to be healed and taught regarded him as a man of a higher order. In rapt states to which great souls, especially among Orientals, are sometimes subject, his visions, as in the baptism and the temptation, favoured those fond ideas of greatness which are secretly cherished by every ardent aspiring young genius. Thus it was as inevitable as that Socrates should find from converse with many men who thought themselves wise that he was wiser than they all in that he knew that he knew nothing, that Jesus should, with his unusual gifts of body and psychic powers, become convinced that he was the Messiah. Since the expectations of such a being and to some extent his rôle had various types of preformation, nothing was more natural than that such a person in such a culture *milieu* and with such experiences should come to feel called to give this great hope a personal embodiment in himself and an original interpretation of his own. Thus he felt himself Heaven's aristocrat, too exalted to care for earthly dignities, and so he mingled with the masses, was friendly to the despised publicans, and even conversed with harlots, as Socrates was

reproached for doing. In his assumption of supremacy there is no trace of delusions of greatness. If he placed the crown of sonship upon his own head, it was because it belonged to him by intrinsic merit. Jesus' sense of celestial royalty under such circumstances and in his race and age was as normal as the belief of poets that they were the favourites of and visited by the muses, or of potentates that deity spoke in their deeds or of prophets that he did so through their words. It may not be our interpretation of him now, but no other was within his reach. If his description of these phenomena in his own soul has become obsolete and alien, its strangeness is because we are provincials of our own times and lack historic sense, knowledge, or *Einfühlung* for human nature when it is remote from us chronologically and ethnologically, and when it is subjected to far greater strains and tensions than are common in our civilization. The point is that any other sanest of men, with gifts, aspirations, and experiences like his, would then and there have come to the same estimation of himself; but there never was another thus circumstanced. This once fully realized, much else follows naturally enough. Of course, with such conceptions of himself, he would speak with authority and autodictic certainty, for Yahveh spoke through him more directly than he had ever done through the prophets. Those who did not understand felt his power, and no one ever disobeyed his command. The sick, told to arise, take up their beds and walk; the fisher-folk told to leave all and follow him, obeyed on the instant, wondering, doubtless, why they did so. This inborn sense of superiority gave him confidence in all he did and said because the spontaneous inner compulsion which he felt he deemed infallible, and the oracle that spoke through his soul seemed inerrant. Perhaps it was too implicit confidence in its deliverances that led him to trouble and finally to death. Had he not been fully persuaded that he was divine he would never have died, and had others not at last come to think him so, belief in his Resurrection could never have been established. Thus our first characterization of him is as one who above all others thought himself divine and has no less uniquely been thought to be so by innumerable others ever since his death. He believed himself a type, a superman or man as he was meant to be, realizing all the high legitimate ideals of old ascribed either to great men or to Yahveh.

(2) The trait that has now come to seem second only to this is

that he concealed this fondest and most dominant sense of inner divinity. As Socrates hid his knowledge by the mask of irony, in order to draw out others and then to convict them of ignorance, so Jesus lived, an incognito deity among his friends, because premature avowal of himself would spoil all. Keim, far more than any other biographer of Jesus, represents him, especially during the second part of the Galilean ministry, as often flying or retreating in order to escape his enemies. He did so, we are told, "in order to preserve himself for God and man," until he could carry his cause to Jerusalem. Eschatologists, especially Schweitzer, make him hardly less a victim of fear lest his Messianity should be prematurely disclosed. This might imperil his relations with even the Twelve. His eschatological secret must therefore be kept closely, and for the most part within his own breast, to the very end. Thus he taught with reservations, and often, especially in some of the parables, with intentional obscurity. His identity and his full program were thus undivulged and unsuspected. This reticence, whether from instinct or deliberate conviction, was a natural and inevitable consequence which developed concerning his own nature and function. It was not impossible that his disciples with their limited intelligence would deem him a victim of insane delusions, and at least his enemies would be sure to make the most of so commonplace an inference, and it would be very contagious, and thus, because of the very best that was in him, he would be thought mad. Greater yet was the danger that the Jews would regard a pretender to the sacred office of Messiah as guilty of sacrilege, while the Roman rulers would be only too prone to see in his claims a perpetual menace to their supremacy because they would think them prelusive of revolt. These several motivations for repression were together very strong, and could not fail to induce a state of psychic tension unprecedentedly great as well as constant. The result would be more or less vacillation, and that this is represented as great is very true to human nature. Feeling himself the repository of such a treasure, so fraught with ultimate good to others and so precious to himself, yet so beset by dangers that all might be easily lost before the day of fruition came, it would be strange indeed if he should not be anxious, tense, and ready at least to be a fugitive for his treasure's sake when he thought perils threatened, and at other securer moments should seem almost at the point of giving away his secret, as a kind of sacred trust committed to his favourites among

his esoteric circle, with whom he must have longed to share it. Without doing so he doubtless felt that their mutual confidence would be impaired should they ever know his secret. In this struggle, however, caution prevailed, and he went to death alone, without revealing the secret that lay closest and warmest about his heart. This itself was a unique and pathetic struggle with a heroic *dénouement.* It was not egoism or the lust of receiving homage that pleaded for avowal, or cowardice that made him flee. On the one hand, he may have felt it disloyal to Yahveh to hide it, and on the other he may have been ready to seem a skulking fugitive for its greater security. How frequent these alternations were, or how far they went each way, we do not know; nor is this so very essential. The point is that we have here a situation of tragic intensity with an attendant strain sustained we know not how long, but with no pathological traces either concomitant or in the sequel, and carried to the final issue in a way that has made it all the most psychodynamogenic in history. It is a story of supreme greatness surrendering self, disguised, humiliated, and yet in the end coming to its own. This is the truth that underlies and informs every romance and drama, and is the epitome of every great life that struggles, suffers, and achieves. It gives an ethical which is even greater than the hedonic narcosis, because it makes us feel that the world, whether beautiful or not, is morally good to its very core. Jesus was thus like a prince of royal blood who found himself alone in a hostile land without means or credentials which any one could be trusted to accept, and so thrown upon his own personal resources, but charged with the commission of organizing a counter-kingdom at short notice that would last until the invincible forces of his Father should arrive and sweep away all but the remnant that rallied about his Son, and establish them in the seats of power and honour forever. Everything thus depended upon his own initiative, sagacity, caution, and fidelity to his trust. This and the old and strong, though vague and polymorphic, hope-dream of a deliverer from within and of intervention from above—these two were his only resources.

(3) Under such strain and with such a high tension of opposite impulsions we have to think of the diagnosis of anxiety, the mother of all fears, and realize how many morbid psychoses might have arisen. He might have fled from such a reality and taken refuge in the old dreameries and vaticinations of the new Kingdom and its Lord, or

fallen into the old habit of watchful waiting. Instead of presentifying all the past and future in the here and now, one of the most all-comprehending traits of greatness, he might have evacuated them and lapsed to mere memories and hopes; or conversely he might have precipitated the issue by rushing prematurely toward his goal with the blind frantic zeal of a reformer whose motto is, "All or nothing and that now." Jesus did neither, but chose the hardest middle course. Now, what was the inevitable psychological effect of this strain? It was to keep him unusually alert, keen, augmenting to the utmost, and instead of paralyzing all his powers, to raise and keep them at their highest potential. Reserve energies would be mobilized, deeper unconscious strata would be tapped and drawn on, a higher efficiency equilibrium would be established, a state of psychic erethism would tend to become habitual, while the usual barriers of fatigue and all personal and social inhibitions would be transcended and new ranges of power attained. Mentation would be accelerated, will-power augmented, feelings intensified. The entire personality would be charged to its saturation point with available but latent energy, provided only that the incitement was in the direction of the all-dominant protension. What was this, and what did Jesus supremely want?

It was to prepare for the Kingdom which was just at hand, and the only means to this end was to make people believe in it and in him as its promised head; but instead of open avowal, he had to lay the foundations on which it could and would be surely built when all preparations were complete. The only possible course thus open to him was to impress himself, that is, his own personality, so intensely and favourably upon all with whom he came in contact, that they would sooner or later inevitably come to feel that he was himself no other than the true Messiah. This, then, was his task. Those he met, healed, taught, counselled, reproved or lived with, must be made to so love, admire, obey, depend on, feel in awe of him, that they would sometime inevitably come to realize that their feelings of affection, reverence, gratitude, dependence, and so forth, were the selfsame that were due to the Messiah, and that therefore he must himself be indeed nothing less or other than the Promised One. It was indeed a stupendous task with people so sluggish of soul. It must mean a re-education of so radical a sort that it might in some cases be well compared to arousal from the dead. But upon just this task all Jesus'

superior and very highly wrought powers were bent. In everything he did and said, from the choice of disciples to the final visit to Jerusalem, he was striving simply and solely to win full and spontaneous recognition for what he was. He put himself in the place of him whom the Baptist had announced as a successor greater than he; he healed, cast out demons, explained and fulfilled Scripture by turning the prophecies upon himself. He spoke with superhuman authority as Yahveh gave the law at Sinai, but was greater than Moses or the prophets; and he must, by his frequent withdrawals and prayer, have seemed to all about him in the closest *rapport* with Yahveh. All this, however, gradually seemed to him in vain so far as this supreme end of securing the unforced acclimation of himself as the one who was to come was concerned. When he thought he saw signs of this recognition in the converse or conduct of his disciples or followers or in the multitude, he was elated with hope, for the good seed seemed to have struck root and sprouted. But when they seemed cold or dense, his spirits sank. It sometimes seemed as if the very stones would shout his true function. But all the people who knew him remained dumb, blind, spiritually unilluminated. He had cast his pearls before swine, and so as a last resort he turned to the program of the pagan gods who had to be immolated before they were recognized and worshipped.

During all this period he was most assiduously at work in the only ways open to him in his desperate quest for identification, throwing himself with abandon into every opportunity, in conversing with individuals, flashing all the light that was in him into the dark recesses of the souls of either inquirers or critics, in such a way that each of these encounters must have seemed memorable to each of his interlocutors, inventing that most luminous and portative pedagogic instrument known as the parable, teaching his little school or circle, while wandering about, always ready to confer with individuals or talk to larger groups, healing all he could among those he met, organizing and launching his propaganda by proxies, helping the needy, defining his relations to the State, and, what was still more difficult, to the hierarchy and its hopes, altogether involving prodigious activity, while in it all he remained true to the functions of Messianity as he had come to conceive it. He was always eager and responsive toward every indication of any attitude by any one toward himself and his Kingdom, but all the while never quite came to the point of trusting

open avowal, though never ceasing to trust himself. It was an educational campaign unprecedented in the momentous issues at stake, in the brevity of time during which it must all be accomplished, and in the array of supernatural powers appealing to both hope and fear. The more we understand it, the more we marvel at the amount of inner and outer work Jesus put into it, the variety of resources devised and employed, the boldness and originality of it all, and the invincible pertinacity with which the supreme end was clung to and pursued through all the many and devious ways that were brought to converge upon it. The whole of life had to be reconstructed and brought under the light of new apperceptive centres in order to bring fitness to enter his Kingdom.

Then, when all seemed doomed to failure, Jesus' unconquerable soul refused to yield to despair but accepted his own death as the only means to the end of establishing the Kingdom, and this inevitably enhanced still more his psychic tension. His life must be offered up as a last resource, not only in order to make a still stronger appeal to the Father to intervene and bring the consummation, but as a final appeal for recognition. Death, especially in its most cruel and degrading form, if voluntary and as an act of devotion, beatifies the memory of the victim, and in the new light and warmth thus generated he hoped to be seen as what he was, for such a death would surely reveal him. But he must die aright with the issues clearly drawn and manifest to all. It must come in no obscure way, but openly, facing all the hierarchical and political powers that opposed the Kingdom. Thus, when the will to live ebbed over into the counter-will to die, the latter came not as outer fate, to be stoically resigned to, but as a freely accepted inner destiny. Moreover, every step downward to the tomb must be fully explored. Every counter-trend of the affirmation of life must be felt for all it could mean, for only thus could death be complete. This involved the still higher potentialization and the arousal of still deeper strata of latent energy. Because he was type-, race-, and also superman he had vastly more to sacrifice; death would mean more to him, and in a sense it would take more lethal energies to quell such a being. Even his soul had to die in despair. Hence, the tension always caused by impending death was not merely that caused in the soul of other heroes condemned and approaching the great shadow, but his soul must have experienced the greatest tension of any the world has seen. In his

public life, and especially in his closing scenes, more human trends were focussed into and thence irradiated from his own psychophysical system than any one else has yet attained before or since, and this makes him so dynamogenic. In his conscious and unconscious nature the best and highest moral forces before him converged, and from him they have since diverged. We have lately said and heard much of the higher powers of man, but here we have phenomena of an altitude which, though many have approached, none has ever yet attained, so that the psychology of Jesus remains the unique psychology of humanity at the acme of its insights and in the supreme *actus purus* of moral efficiency.[1]

Given such a being, charged with such functions and thus circumstanced, it follows necessarily that he would possess certain traits.

(a) The algedonic scale in which his life was lived out would be a very long one, running between the maximal degrees of pleasure and pain, or from the dignity of a God coming in all the Father's power and glory, to cruel and shameful death on the cross, abandoned by both God and men. This would involve a wide gamut of moods without implying any duality of nature in the sense represented above by Wünsche, and it would develop unusual capacity to both suffer and enjoy, as the *nisus* that impelled him was now blocked and now facilitated. Thus Jesus could pass all the way from the transfiguration to the garden without scathe or loss of psychic unity for he could endure, with no peril to complete normality and sanity, both the heights and depths of human experience. Extreme vicissitudes of fortune thus brought no dissociations, for keenly as he felt them he surrendered to neither fate, both living by and concealing his secret with perfect integrity of soul. He was inebriated by neither the cup of joy nor that of sorrow, deeply as he drank of both. Neither the exhilaration of hope nor, save at the last moments, the flaccidity of despair, could possess or sweep his soul from its moorings. Thus he could enter into the joy and sorrow of others, enjoy the good things of life, and not be enervated or lose the power to face any difficulty or endure any hardship. This temper and environment inclined him to gravitate not toward the indifference point, midway between pleasure

[1]K. Weidel: "Jesu Persönlichkeit; eine psychologische Studie." Halle, 1908, 47 p. Erich Haupt: "Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synoptischen Evangelien." Berlin, 1895, 167 p. August Pott: "Das Hoffen im neuen Testament in seiner Beziehung zum Glauben." Leipzig, 1915, 203 p. O. Holtzmann: "Christus." Leipzig, 1907, 148 p. Johannes Weiss: "Jesus von Nazareth, Mythus oder Geschichte?" Tübingen, 1910, 171 p.

and pain, like a Buddhist saint approaching Nirvana, or the Stoic sage who strives to be above emotion, nor was he in danger of being caught at either extreme. Rather, he oscillated between both, so that now hope and now fear absorbed him. This both gave and presupposed that rare temper of spirit that could bend very far either way without either breaking or losing any of the elasticity of rebound. He also took both his pleasure and his pain in the things that he and man ought, because his primary orientation was moral. Hence the heaven and hell between which his life really moved were both in all their substance and reality within his own breast, so that both are eternal because in some sense they are essential to every moral consciousness that is complete. In the story of Jesus' preëxistence with God in heaven and of his descent into Sheol, we have only the crude patent imagery which strove to express this latent sense of the free ranging of his soul between the ultimate terms of euphoria and disphoria to which the sublime Semitic genius gave a moral interpretation, conceiving the longest dimension of man's universe as that which stretches between the two poles of good and evil. Thus Jesus did not live on a plain interspersed with hills or dark valleys, like most of us, but on a ladder the top of which was at the summit of hedonic goodness while the bottom went to the depths of sin and torture. Thus happiness and goodness on the one hand, and pain and sin on the other, are to such a consciousness one and inseparable.

(b) All men love and hate, but none as he did. Some follow the craven maxim, "Make no enemies," a coward adage of small shopkeepers or selfish politics, instead of choosing carefully some evil, in a world so abounding in it, and fighting it with might and main. No invectives were ever so charged with scorn, hate, and loathing as those he hurled against men who obstructed the way of the kingdom of righteousness. He pictured an assize of all the world, pronounced the sentence of doom upon the damned, saw God's wrath sweep away most of the inhabitants of the earth into the fiery realm of Satan, and our earth melting with fervent heat. Jesus' rage against iniquity and religious stupidity knew no bounds. Nor was there any reason why he should set bounds to it, for no anger can be too great against it. On the other hand, he was the world's greatest lover, for to love and serve God and man epitomized all his teaching, whether by precept or example. Love that is usually directed to parents, wife, or children, in

him was sublimated to the heavenly Father and to mankind. He longed to love his enemies, sinners, the outcasts, if they would only accept his love. All this the world knows by heart, but it does not realize how far any high degree of love or hate involves its opposite. We say he died as a love-sacrifice, but it is equally true that he died because of his irrepressible hate of the enemies of the Kingdom. Because of his stern suppression of his great secret as to who he was, the tension broke through in other directions where there was no such censorship, and here the vents were ecstasies of love and transports of hate to a degree that would not have occurred had there been no inner or outer check upon the open avowal of his Messianity, just as the same inhibition increased the ranges of his experience with pleasure and pain as we saw above. His love and hate were over-determined and hyper-accentuated by this hidden cause. The point is that his great repression must find vicarious or surrogate expression to relieve the inner conflict. We are but just learning the power of a suppressed wish and how it may dominate life, normal and abnormal, and also something of the mechanisms by which the energy generated by one group of either impulses or ideas may be transferred to others that seem remote from them. Hegel taught us that ideas, and psychoanalysis has shown that both feelings and impulses to action, go in pairs of polar opposites. This shows us that the ego or self is not the simple unitary thing it was thought but a group composed of the most varied elements, both conscious and unconscious, and very liable under strain to be broken up into its simpler components. Thus some rupture of continuity at whatever be the weakest point is especially liable to occur under great and prolonged stress and strain. Where this danger impels, the instinctive autotherapy is an intensified and especially varied play over all the gamut of affectivity, as we see in its pathological manifestations in the hypermotivity of hysteria. Manifest as these tendencies are in what we know of Jesus, they are, nevertheless, even when he seems to let himself go with abandon, always under the strong control of the higher moral purpose. Whatever his temperament, which may very likely have been that of a man liable to very strong passion, his cause was always supreme, so that to the most violent tempests that raged within he could always say, "Peace, be still" and be obeyed. We still need larger conceptions of his full humanity. We must insist upon putting *posse non peccare* in the place of *non posse*

peccare in conceiving him, and realize that to be tempted yet without sin is a harmatological as well as a psychological impossibility, and that to know sin is to feel it from within though not necessarily to have such acquaintance with it as Paul, Augustine, and others illustrate. To live under the power of a supreme wish supremely repressed would itself give a unique moral strength and also a sense of immunity, while it would at the same time impel one to explore all the possibilities of the tragicomedy of life. It would tend to maximize every response to every experience because of the principle, as true in psychology as in physics, that repression generates tension, and tension must seek every vent.

(c) The chief content of Jesus' consciousness was the Kingdom, and his chief purpose was to bring it in. His will, that impelled him to do any deeds that would advance it and resist any obstacles it encountered, was the entelechy of his life. To this not only feeling but intellect was subordinated. The latter was of a type hard for us to understand, not only because it was so Oriental in its florid pictographic imagery, but because it was of a type of mentation that has been more or less transcended. His was not only a prescientific but largely a prelogical age. Poetry was in the place now occupied by philosophy, and the day of systems of ordered thought had not dawned in his environment, so that the repressive influences of consistency were relatively unknown. Men thought by flashes, as spontaneous upgushes of impulsion dictated, and on the spur of occasion. Mental freedom was unharnessed by a knowledge of the laws of either nature or mind. The criterion of truth was the strength of the sentiment of conviction and certainty behind it. The modern taste for rationality was undeveloped. The eschatological writings and vaticinations of this age were the classic outcrop of this stage of mentation. That was true that was supremely willed or felt under the present stress. In a great genius under the pressure of desperate straits, fighting a hand-to-hand conflict with despair, we have the best paradigm of the struggle to survive and to validate its great affirmations. Nothing is so versatile, polymorphic, prolific in resources, so strenuous in all its various strivings, seems so many different sorts of man in turn, as now one, now another, side of his psychic microcosm appears. Under no other conditions has the individual such power to call upon the larger racial soul within him and to tap its almost limitless reserve energies; to

break through all the pannicules that separate men; to respond to the exigencies of a cause that transcends all such limitations; to be conservative or radical, old in wisdom or young in enthusiasm and vigour of action; to love now peace, now war; now to be meek, patient, and humble, and now aggressive and proud to a degree, able to run through all the diapason of temperament and even the greater one of moods, displaying traits usually conceived as predominant in the different races of men and even sects; to seem now naïve, now sophisticated, and self-conscious; to show the burgeoning of the different psychic diatheses that when fully flowered make optimists or pessimists, realists or idealists, pragmatists or devotees of the theoretical, contemplative, or even mystic life, and the rest; in a word, to show forth the basal humanity that makes geniuses, as it were, spectators of and participants in all events. We may thus now conceive such a being as Jesus, not as an unhistoric, syncretic artifact, but more, rather than less, real than others, because better representing the human genus and made natural by the fact that his cause embodied the supreme interests of the race.

(d) The newest psychology enables us now to understand, by no means fully but far better than before, a large group of phenomena most commonly found in religions, whether Christian, ethnic, or even most primitive, always more or less mysterious and very diversely interpreted. Most of them now have to be conceived as the efforts of the individual to come into his larger racial inheritance, or of consciousness to avail itself of its vaster unconscious resources.

A glance at the psychology of inspiration will help us here. R. Hennig,[1] who gives a bibliography of sixty-four titles on the subject, reported the testimony of some scores of prominent writers, living and dead, as to how their best work was done. Uhland said his poems wrote themselves. George Sand described herself as another being when she wrote. Mrs. Stowe did not know Uncle Tom was dead till she read it afterward. Hardy was often almost unconscious, and felt as if he were a medium. Some write as if suffering a seizure, and are curious afterward to know what they have done. Mozart did nothing, and could not remember, add to, or subtract from what was given him. Some do their best work when thinking of something else. Helmholtz wondered where his best thoughts came from. Goethe said that all the highest productivity and deepest *aperçus* are in no man's power.

[1] "Das Wesen der Inspiration." *Schriften d. Gesell. f. psychologische Forschung*, 1912. Sammlung IV, Heft 17.

Some describe themselves as above mundane influences, and others say their ideas seem to be presented to them. Something else uses them as a tool. Others describe themselves as looking on and having no part in it all. Stevenson described this as the work of the "brownies of the brain." Regnault spoke of this power as a "benevolent stranger"; and testimonies of this sort might be indefinitely multiplied. Once this elevation was thought to be caused by one of the choir of muses, by Urania or some other celestial patroness that had to be invoked or wooed.

Such experiences are commonest in religion, where they occur not only in the intellectual but in all spheres of life. For the Buddhist it was absorption; for the neo-Platonist, ecstasy; for Swedenborg, illumination and revelation; for Mohammed, the angel Gabriel; for the Shakers and Quakers, "the power"; for Fox, possession by the Spirit; for the modern Spiritualist, occupation of the place of his own soul by that of some departed great one or friend; for Christian Science, unconscious mind; for James, the higher powers of man; for Arnold, a power, not self, making for righteousness; for Socrates, his familiar spirit; for St. Paul, the Holy Ghost.

Under the influence of transmigration cults and theories, the adept, perhaps from some *déjà-vu* experience, thinks he has made contact with one or more of his own past lives. Karma teaches that every new birth is higher or lower according to the net sum of merit or demerit in the series of previous existences, as traducianists thought the results of Adam's transgressions were inherited. Plato thought to illustrate his doctrine of preëxistence and reminiscence by evoking a demonstration of the forty-seventh proposition of Euclid from the mind of the ignorant slave boy, Meno. The quest of ideas he thought was the quest for immortality. The philosopher loves and woos death in his passion to pass from the concrete and individual to the general and abstract. He seeks the transcendent, metaphysical, noumenal, and turns from the immanent and phenomenal; and once securely anchored to these deathless ideas, the soul shares their perdurability. New noetic experiences are often interpreted as a kind of letting out imprisoned powers into a larger freedom.

All these experiences or cults geneticism conceives as so many ways by which the individual gets into *rapport* with the genus, and is informed, facilitated, reinforced, or checked by its larger life and its all-

dominant interests, and the species in us is largely represented by the unconscious as the individual is by our conscious life. In prayer we hold converse with it, either as Christ, the embodiment of Mansoul, or the Son of Man, or else with the yet larger cosmic soul we are wont to call God. The story of Jesus represents the typical individual being subjected to the soul of the human phylum, and all the above phenomena are phases of the same process. An indefinitely long series of biographies would be needed to record the complete pedigree of each soul. This present personal life is only a day, or a single flitting mood or fancy representing one aspect of a larger, truer life which runs through the whole series, as the sense of a discourse pervades each of its single words and sentences, in which birth and death are only punctuation points. The fact that the soul has been immortal through such a succession of lives, is the best of all indications that it will live on with increasing momentum. Thus, in each individual but very little of the whole can be expressed; and the instinct to attain all-sided utterance in thought and deed, here and now, the stronger it is, is only a partial expression of the selfsame impulse that constitutes the promise and potency that will go over to other lives that spring from our own, till all the possibilities are exhausted, and till after having lived out all the orders of life, and having ascended through every stage of psychic metamorphosis, we rest in the end in the infinite from which we came in the beginning, and the cycle of evolution is complete.

The soul thus in seeking to expand itself, strives to draw on the larger life of the race within us. If the individual had been created *de novo* with no race history, with no psychic or other vestiges of his long pedigree, and no germs of future generations in him, it is hard to conceive how he could ever have sought general ideas or cared for any consensus *semper ubique et ad omnibus*, or sought for categories valid for all orders of existence, or how such a being could have felt any form of afflatus. This and even the speculative passion as Aristotle describes it in the contemplative life, charm and draw us because we inherit in an adumbrated way all the experience of our forbears, and remember them across thousands of birth and death nodes, and find them so much better, vaster, and stronger than we are. To draw upon this reservoir is the purpose of every ascetic cult, religious exercise or attitude, dance, or even drug. How to arouse these human energies, usually dormant in the individual, in a way to augment life

here and hereafter, and how to apply them in a practice of personal and social life in a way to conserve the best that has come to us from the past and to ensure perpetual progress, it is a great achievement of Christianity to have set forth, because in its study and practice we find the deeper unconscious racial soul of man incarnate as nowhere else. When tempted to escape his sentence, Socrates dreamed that the spirit of the laws appeared to him and reminded him that it was the citizen's duty to the state to remain loyal to it to the end. So, too, the beatitudes and about all of the sermon on the mount consist of injunctions to live for and in the community, almost as much as the individual ant or bee, which is often called the ideal citizen *socius*, does, and which Lilienfeld says in substance lives more in accordance with the precepts of the Lord's Prayer than do the members of any other gregarious species, not excepting the primitive Christian communities. Self must be developed to the uttermost degree that can make the individual a more efficient instrument of social service. It is only because and so far as self sets up as an end to itself that it sins and needs conversion. Reason must not obscure the light within. Wealth and power are trusts for the common weal. To love and serve man is to love and serve God, because God is the embodiment of man's ideal knowledge of his best self, personified and projected into the celestial regions. He is the source and end, the *alpha* and *omega* of man, and also of his earthly home. Every duty to God is a duty to the race and *vice versa* because of this identity. Every gift or aid within God's power to bestow really comes from the generic soul of the race within us, be it guidance, inspiration, help, wisdom, or energy. Converse with it is converse with God, and alienation from it is separation from him.

In fine, our religion has only three themes. The first is Jesus, the ideal yet historic individual who goes through the typical stages of adjustment to the deeper racial soul within him. The incidents of his life are paradigms, and the teachings directions how to live for and in the race. His end illustrates the extremest sacrifice the individual can be called upon to make for it. The soul of the race spoke through him more and more as his life unfolded, and when it had used all that was in him, flung him aside in a way the story of which makes it the quintessence of all great tragedy.

Second, Christ the Messiah is the soul of the ancient Hebrew race

as they conceived it. Great souls among them hoped for a unipersonal embodiment of it, and that the hovering ideal of it might actually enter history in flesh and blood. The more Jesus sought to incarnate this ideal of his stirp, the more under his influence and that of Paul and his other successors the conception of the totemic race-man broadened into that of a type-man of the entire human race, the concept necessarily becoming that of a true Son of Man. Jesus' life is to prepare his followers to make their own personal lives and character conform to the larger dimensions of humanity itself.

Third and back of man, is the cosmos. The Semitic Yahveh, originally the deity of a Kenite tribe, grew in the minds of the prophets till he took on more or less cosmic dimensions. He became the anthropomorphized and personified universe, its Creator and the embodiment of all that was good in it. His golden age, which culminated with the later prophets, began to wane toward a twilight or *Götterdämmerung* under two influences, first because the above Jesus-Christ cult, to which the New Testament and the early Church were devoted, stressed man and neglected nature; and second, because the spiritualization of ideas of God and the vastation of his nature in expanding from Yahveh to the God of all the worlds, the conception of which grew with the centuries, and especially since the men of science, made him too vast, vague, and afar to be grasped by any powers of man, so that now he is only dimly felt as a kind of "cosmic emotion" or an all-pervading power perhaps inspiring love of nature. The intellect does sorry work in seeking to make him apprehensible, whether in the form of theology or in conceptions of a controlling and perhaps interfering Providence, and for the rest falls back on poetry and antique mythology for its symbols and imagery.

(e) Even Jesus' death brought to his followers at first no glimmer of insight into who he or what his Kingdom was. They not only made no effort to save him (unless the story of Peter's impulsive and foolish act be authentic), but deserted him with no sign of either courage or fidelity. There is no record of any lamentation or mourning on their part. Peter denied all acquaintance with him to others, and if he wept afterward with remorse, he did it in secret. Socrates' friends stood by him to the end, and so did those of many a Christian martyr afterward, but the disciples of Jesus hardly seem to have shown common human sympathy with him even in Gethsemane. None offered

to come forward and testify in his behalf, or even attended him at the trial, or came to help him bear the cross or tried to comfort him as he hung upon it or even helped to bury him decently. Indeed, the very baldness of the narrative of his death with no attempt to improve the rare opportunities of pathos, which in the death story of so many other gods and heroes have been utilized with such moving power, is itself a cogent voucher of its historicity. His last cry might have been, "Why have my friends forsaken me?" If, as is often assumed, the motivation of the representation that he died alone was to enhance the pathos of his own anguish, this end was accomplished at the expense of the loyalty of his disciples. There is no indication that they would not all have been allowed to be present to the last, or that any of them sought to be. None of them ever interceded with him not to die, nor did any of them dream he would arise. Hence the only inference is that they thought his death the end of all, and therefore they must have felt that they had fallen victims to his delusions and must skulk back to their own environments and occupations, sadder but wiser men. Instead of remembering him with pride and joy it would be with mortification. If Jesus had hoped his death would bring the insights he had so longed for or that he would be rehabilitated in their souls for what they knew he was, he was doomed to bitter disappointment; for even in this forlorn hope all the Christianity there was in the world seemed dead forever and submerged in obloquy. The acme of the pathos of it all is not Gethsemane, the indignity of the trial, the nailing on the cross, or even the death in despair, but the simple record that his disciples having heard the rumours of his Resurrection regarded them as "idle tales and believed them not." This signified that all the efforts of Jesus to have himself and his Kingdom recognized by them had finally aborted, and that in this last crucial moment he was found to be dead indeed, buried in a rock he himself had hewn out in their own stony hearts, and sealed up there forever. This was the nadir of the diaspora of the Christian story. The disciples merely played a rôle not unlike that sometimes assigned to the chorus in Greek tragedy, serving as a foil to deepen the pathos of the hero's suffering by contrast. If the Jews and Romans slew Jesus' body, the stolidity and obtuseness of his disciples slew his soul. Their inner apathy withstood even Jesus' final appeal to awake, open their eyes, realize, believe. All the many reproaches uttered by Jesus con-

cerning hardness of heart, incapacity of soul or of senses, although directed to others, were meant for and merited by them. He hoped they would be the light of the world, but they extinguished his light in darkness. His tomb was their adamantine hearts, in which all his work and words, and even his memory, were sealed and guarded, to perish in oblivion.

This is the true story of Jesus to the end. It is all natural and normal, and what seems supernatural is in fact only our common humanity raised to a higher power, ideally developed and circumstanced to evolve its noblest possibilities. Its seemingly miraculous factors are all those of degree and not of kind, for there are no specifically heteronomous elements, and hence all are within the ranges of human experience and also of apperception, if only our powers of sympathetic imagination and moral *Einfühlung*, once given the technical name of faith and in which true humanity culminates, are kept alive and active. The new marvel and reality of it all is that it is so true to the psychology of human nature at its very best; for it depicts the highest achievement of which it is capable, and by the degree of approximation to which every other great achievement of man is to be measured and graded.

We now come, however, to the true marvel and miracle which psychology is not able fully to explain or even to understand, viz., how the belief in Jesus' Resurrection arose. Renan makes Christianity begin in the imagination of a single woman, that she had seen his wraith. Others think Peter first saw an apparition of him and that his experience became contagious, while others suggest that Paul's vision on the way to Damascus may have been the most important factor in the development of this great belief. Of course some assume a veritable ghost. Discrediting this last view, however, along with the crass conception of ancient orthodoxy of a reanimated corpse, and even discarding the theory of recovery from suspended animation, the problem of psychology is how without, or even granting, the last three views, the earliest Christians came to believe, and withal so passionately, in such an irrational and inconceivable thing. Would it have been possible for any kind or degree of human testimony to convince one who had not seen it of its truth, even had it occurred as a physical event? Or could one who had actually seen a dead man come back to life fully accept the evidence of his own senses? Would not

such an experience, in fact, be like a foreign body in his consciousness, unassimilated by it? If this would not have been the case then and there, in minds that had accepted belief in other restorations to life so that it would not be without precedent, nevertheless the modern mind would balk at such a surd, however attested. Granted the fact, the acceptance of it would itself be another psychological miracle. Therefore there is no alternative save to seek what explanation we can of what took place in the minds of Peter and Paul that made them believe; for if we ever find a key to it all, it must be here. Despite Peter's impetuous attestation at Cæsarea Philippi, the objective envisagement of the risen Jesus must have marked a crisis in his soul second in significance only to that of Paul's vision. Are there any known psychic laws by which to explain this experience, or any modern analogies that shed light upon any factors of it? Or is the mystery of it still entirely and hopelessly beyond our ken?

From the unharmonizable records of the Resurrection, the point on which there is most agreement is the resistance in the minds of the disciples to accepting it. Luke names three women "and other women" who told "these things" to the apostles, "and their words seemed to them as idle tales and they believed them not," although the Fourth Gospel says John and Peter had seen the empty tomb. Even these two, we are told, "knew not the Scriptures that he must rise again from the dead." Mark says Jesus first appeared to the Magdalene, a neurotic out of whom Jesus had cast seven devils. John says she knew him not at first but mistook him for the gardener. When upon his reproof she did recognize him, he forbade her to touch him, although he later made Thomas do so. Jesus told her, as the angel had done before, to tell the disciples. Mark says, "And they, when they had heard that he was alive and had been seen of her, believed not." Still they seem to have gone to Galilee as he directed, either to resume their old life or to accept the rendezvous he there appointed. Of the two disciples he met on the way to Emmaus, Mark says he was "in another form"; Luke says "their eyes were holden that they should not know him." He calmed their fears, explained the prophets, and only later as they sat at table did the disciples know him, and then he vanished. Mark says he "upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart because they believed not them which had seen him after he was arisen," and says "they went and told it to the residue;

neither believed they them." When he appeared in the midst of them and said, "Peace be unto you," Luke says that "they were terrified and afrighted and supposed that they had seen a spirit." He showed his hands and feet, and told them to "handle" him, and reminded them that "a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." "They yet believed not for joy, and wondered." Then he ate before them, as if to still further prove his physical reality, and repeated his old teachings, partly as if for further identification, again explaining how he had to suffer, die, and rise. Thomas later had to be given a special private tactile demonstration of Jesus' corporeity and identity. Matthew tells of another appearance on an appointed mountain, and adds, "and when they saw him they worshipped him; but some doubted." Finally John says, "none of the disciples durst ask him 'Who art thou?' knowing that it was the Lord."

It is hard to understand how a being who could talk and eat, whose body bore wounds of the Crucifixion, and also who could be touched and who discoursed on wonted themes with his friends, should have such difficulty in convincing his followers, to whom the Resurrection from the dead was no new theme, either of his reality or of his identity as really risen. This shows how completely they had accepted his death. According to the records he did not regard himself as a ghost, or wish them to do so. Were he merely this, the tomb need not have been empty, for he could have passed through its walls with no need of having the stone rolled away just as he passed through closed doors, and gravity would not have to be reversed for him to ascend. Two causes worked toward facilitating their belief in his Resurrection, first a strong wish and will to believe it, for when it was fully accepted joy abounded in their hearts, as we see later at Pentecost, and secondly, they had not actually seen him die or seen him buried. These experiences, as psychic research statistics show, strongly tend to prevent survivors from thinking or dreaming that they see the ghosts of their just-dead friends. Personal experience with these last sad scenes tends thus to lay ghosts, because it brings home to even the unconscious regions of the soul, whence ghosts chiefly arise, a realization that friends are finally and completely dead. Had the disciples actually seen him crucified, expire, and sealed up in a tomb, and had they helped in these last rites, they might never have been able to accept the full belief that he lived again. As it was, this belief hung for critical

moments, hours or days, in suspense. This hesitation can only mean one thing, viz., that the sum total of all their impressions of Jesus as a companion had to undergo a great transformation before they could accept their friend and teacher as the Messiah, as he must be if he had really returned from the grave. The discrepancy between what they had formerly thought of him and the way in which he must now be regarded, in the light of this great achievement, was too wide to be bridged suddenly. Either there had been less in his deeds, traits, and teachings that was calculated to make them believe him supermortal than the record tells us, or else they were dense and unimpressed to this effect by intercourse with him, or perhaps both. Before they had only day-dreamed of his dignity, and now it was hard to awaken to it as a reality; for to accept it meant radically to revise all their memories and estimates of him. This involved very much inner work or travail of soul; and it would in a sense put him farther away from because so much above them, for their whilom friend would thus be transformed into a deity. Recognition of him as the latter would involve, too, a painful realization of their own stupidity when he was in full flesh and blood with them. Moreover, to rest everything upon something so incredible, "to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness," would be a *salto mortale* that would most flauntingly challenge doubt and draw ridicule upon their work, for they would be thought credulous, superstitious, ignorant, and fanatical, if not victims of insane delusions. Such an avowal would mean to enlist in a most arduous world campaign of propagating a cult to accept which would involve a reversal of all current values, to call men to hate what they had loved and burn what they had worshipped, and persecution must have at least vaguely and half unconsciously been forefelt. The issue was indeed staggering.

But if it was hard to believe and cast all resistances to the wind, it was harder yet not to do so. Whatever the nature of the sense-presentiments they may have had of his post-mortem return, however faint they may have been, these could not fail to arouse a mass of affective tendencies in their favour. Presentiments of his greatness, which they had felt before but which had been so effectively suppressed, now burst through or at least strained every leash that held them from complete realization. What his death may have made them think had been the result of his folly, now was triumphantly vindicated as

transcendent wisdom. The wishes and hopes they had hardly dared to indulge now made their hearts bound and burn within them because they might become true. The optative passed into the indicative mood. The teachings they had warmed to were not false but true. If there was even mortal danger it would reck little, because the king of terrors had himself been slain, for death was gain and not the loss of all. Item after item of their reminiscences of him began instinctively to be illuminated by higher meanings. Belated and arrested responses to his insistent incitements began to find voice within them. Moreover, such extreme depression as they had lately experienced had to react toward the opposite of euthymia. The skeptical consciousness could not maintain itself against the affirmations that arose from the submerged momentum of the cumulative impressions he had left upon their deeper and better nature. So at last all breakwaters of reserve and doubt were swept away by a rising tide of belief, and in this meagre account we have the story of how the current of history began to flow in new channels. It was as if the world waited in breathless suspense for a moment to see whether these Galilean peasants would come to believe or not to believe that their dead master had come back to life.

The full conviction that Jesus had risen, slow, hard and revolutionary as it was, dawned apace. Many came to believe that they had seen and recognized him on various but always brief occasions. It was a fulfilment of an intense, deep, and more or less unconscious wish, which, if strong enough, always finds or makes its own realization. These were days of expectant tension among the faithful. Perhaps some hoped or longed in vain for sight of him, while to others he manifested himself to several senses. Some, doubtless, had a *sensus numenis*, or a feeling of personal presence or reveniance that was not defined. Indeed, when not seen he might be among them, and some might expect a visitation at any place and any moment. Some believed on testimony, while others doubted or remained in suspense. He certainly showed no disposition to resume his old relations with his comrades. That and his psychophysical nature doubtless seemed to them to have undergone some great change as a result of what he had experienced. He could not remain with them permanently on the same basis as before, not even if he were a mere *Doppelgänger* of the new social consciousness of this group of his whilom companions. All these experiences might be a dream, while the more sarcous he was, the

more difficult it would be for him to maintain consistently and constantly such a falsetto existence as was now ascribed to him. Therefore the folk-soul, since it could not make him more crass, had no alternative but to sublimate him still more, and therefore he was made to ascend beyond a cloud with an angelic promise that he would sooner or later return from thence. Thus he also vanished from the present into the future tense, and this is interpreted as return to his former home, from which he watches and guides until he comes back in power and glory. Thus the cycle is complete, and his followers must turn from gazing up into heaven, realize and assimilate their experiences, and orient themselves and agree upon some practical program as the entire apostolic college straightway began to do under Peter's guidance.[1]

And now the full meaning of all their experiences as a whole, from their call in Galilee to the cloud that shut Jesus from their view, came over them. All seem suddenly and at once to have realized what Jesus took himself to be and really was while he was with them. All that he had striven, even to the tragic end, to make them realize concerning himself, but hitherto in vain, burst upon them. Jesus' great secret stood forth revealed to them in all its significance. Were he among them at this moment, there would be no longer any reason or cause for his long painful reticences, reserves, inhibitions, and fears to avow himself. His own sense of divinity could be indulged in without limit in this little new circle. At last he was discovered and understood for what he really was. His death, supplemented by experiences that indicated his reveniance from it, had consummated in their souls his work while with them, and his supreme wish and desire for them were now realized. The crude symbolism and imagery of Pentecost and the account of the gift of the Paraclete mark the arrival of Jesus' followers at the goal of Jesus' chief endeavour for them. The supreme act of the Holy Spirit is in its very essence establishing belief in the Resurrection and all that it implies, and this is described as the gift of the Holy Ghost. Christian faith was invented as the special organ of this function, and it has no other content. The Spirit designates a high degree of the energy by which that organ does its work.

If this little band had merely dreamed or hallucinated their late companion back from death and up to the Father, and if such a complex had once become firmly established in their minds, even as a

[1]K. Lake: "The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ." New York, 1907, 291 p.

foreign body forced upon their credence from without by the insistence of false sensations, then a process of assimilation and intussusception would have at once begun about such an apperception mass, or else mental unity and integrity would be lost. Rapid as this process of unification was, and far as it went, it has never yet been completed, so that the Christian consciousness has always remained more or less dual, and flesh and spirit, sight and faith, this world and the next, have always stood more or less over against each other. Jesus from this point on, too, in a peculiar sense has had two lives, one in humiliation and the other in exaltation, and in these two states the old antithesis between the real and the ideal took a new and most pragmatic form. Now the pneumatic took great and sudden precedence over the sarcous. Now the unseen and transcendent dominated the seen and immanent world as never before. The body and present life waned before the soul and the next life. This momentous change was wrought out, not by eschatology alone, but was chiefly caused by, and, indeed, consisted in, accepting the Resurrection, which is the *fons et origo* of Christian idealism. The old Greek unity and harmony between soul and body were gone, and henceforth man was predominantly soul, and body only in a secondary sense. The leader of this little band had documented himself beyond all cavil as a celestial being for whom death was only an emancipator, and they were not only of his race but his intimates, and therefore, like him, celestial and deathless. In discovering what he really was they discovered what they were and also what others could become. Never before had humble or even exalted men thought so highly of themselves. What matters it to us, now that the old theology of a vicarious atonement has lost its power, just how much of the Resurrection was material fact, and how much was product of a highly wrought imagination? Belief in it has done and will long continue to do its work, and so it is most real by every pragmatic sanction. Henceforth soul cults were not only detached from but made far superior to body cults.

Thus the Holy Spirit, which was the soul of the dead Jesus, passed into his successors. Thus at last on the day of Pentecost they caught his inspiration and came for the first time into vital *rapport* with him, and their lesser minds were frenzied by the muse from heaven which he had sent them. In the aura of their ecstasy their over-wrought eyes, which had lately seemed to see the spectral form of their Lord, now saw

red flickering flames over one another's heads as symbols of their new enlightenment, and perhaps of fiery tongues to proclaim it. Their ears rang as the wind pipes, as if a new spirit of the air were abroad. Instead of listening to the risen Master's words they heard one another in an access of glossolalia, speaking strange tongues, as if of the races they were about to preach the Gospel to. They raved like frantic sybils when the mantic spirit enters them, and these all seem to have been phenomena which Jesus had never anticipated. They were indeed drunk, not with new wine, but with the new mystery of the Resurrection and what it implied, and with the burden which they felt was now laid upon their souls to rescue others from their own long ignorance and density. Through all these pregnant days before the apostles dispersed, Peter stands forth as the great leader and compeller of souls. He tempered their crude and wild enthusiasm and gave it practical directions, informed their zeal with wisdom, rehearsed the outline of Jewish history as it must henceforth seem in this new light, established community of goods, gave object lessons in healing as well as teaching, in confuting enemies and unmasking pretenders, making with their novice aid thousands of converts, steeling their courage by his own heroism to meet persecution, in his vision of the sheet transcending the narrow limits of Judaism and insisting that the great message was for all the gentile world, and by this and many other means developing step by step the primitive apostolic constitution.

The second and only other great miracle in the New Testament, also psychological, is the conversion of Paul, who experienced his Pentecost on the way to Damascus, which made him another Neander or new man with a new name, as Peter was renamed. His change also is not entirely inexplicable or supernatural. About Jesus' own age, he was born in Tarsus, a cosmopolitan trade and also an academic city, so that he may have "drunk from the springs of Helicon as well as from those of Zion," although it was also the seat of Baal worship with its rank orgies. About the age and time when Jesus first visited the temple, Paul went to Jerusalem and studied the Scriptures with Gamaliel, a Pharisee of great learning and breadth of mind, who was said to have counselled the Jews not to persecute the Christians because if their cause was of man it would come to naught, and if of God they could not exterminate it. He had consented to and seen the death of Stephen calling upon God to forgive those who slew him. He inherited

Roman citizenship from a prominent father, and was a man of rare vigour of mind and body. His rabbinical training and temperament made him a zealous proselyter, and he may have secretly hoped to see Judaism pervade the Roman world, at least in the East. The rapidly growing Christian community, however, endangered this ideal, and so he became the most active antagonist that we know of this new sect. He persecuted its members from place to place with relentless cruelty and fanaticism, commissioned by the rulers and, as he thought, by God, to crush out their pestiferous cause. Had he persevered in this work, the very apostles might have fallen and Christianity have died in its infancy. Many fled to distant parts for fear of him, perhaps sowing the good seed afar which Paul was destined later to help them cultivate.

But now occurred an event of which it is impossible to harmonize the various accounts. According to the more objective versions of it made by others, Paul was on a six days' journey of some one hundred and sixty miles, across a desert, a condition favourable for orientation, when in the oppressive heat of noontide he seemed to see a great light more dazzling than that of the sun, and to hear a voice which he ascribed to the risen Jesus saying, "Why persecutest thou me?" He fell blinded and perhaps unconscious, was led to a retreat, fasted three days, then recovered his sight, and we hear nothing of him for some years. Commentators have conjectured sunstroke, a very heavy and near thunderbolt, somnolence, a startling, painful dream with nightmare symptoms, or an access of epilepsy. There is much diversity in the record, nor do we know just what, if anything, his companions saw or heard. Paul's own allusions to this experience are less dramatic and objective, but make it no less epochal, for he there met the risen Jesus and was transformed in doing so. The subject of such experiences can never give any very lucid account of what befell him, but has to be content with somewhat futile tropes and symbols. Whatever the spectral and phonic features here are, it is certain that we can never get very far away from the sphere of subjectivity. Hence, the all-important thing is not what occurred but how Paul interpreted this crisis, which was that he had actually envisaged in the spiritual and risen form the very Jesus whose followers he was persecuting, and had experienced a kind of transporting ethical narcosis in his presence, which left him both fascinated and dismayed. The Christophany vouchsafed him had inebriated him with an ideal of

transcendent and triumphant virtue, far above that which he had long striven to attain in himself but in vain. He had seen the second spiritual Adam, the Christ than whom he thenceforth resolved to know nothing else, but he must take up his abode in him and also unite him with God. But such interpretations did not come on the instant, but later, as a product of years of meditation which were necessary to assimilate such a new and anomalous experience. He had to reconstruct in a new form all his shattered views of life, and to recover complete sanity after a shock that seemed to have destroyed his old personality and to have established a new one within him, viz., that of Christ that had exorcised the truculent demon of persecution in him and taken its place.

Was this experience, or the *volte-face* it caused, a miracle, or only a challenging but not insoluble psychic enigma? In the years of retreat and incubation, perhaps solitary and possibly convalescent, Paul could not help recalling his mingled feelings as he had seen Stephen's death, and also as he remembered the mild and tolerant teachings of his old preceptor. The "pricks" which he found it hard to kick against were those of his own conscience. It was very doubtful whether either the Sanhedrin or the best elements in the Judaism of Paul's day would have sanctioned his truculence, or whether the group of believers in Christ was large or formidable enough to be a source of great danger; and certainly the spirit of the great prophets would have condemned such persecution. It may have been prompted by slanderous reports about the new sect, which, however, their bearing under his cruelties was doubtless tending to discredit. The above facts constitute an *ensemble* of influences that before the expedition to Damascus were undermining and repressing his antagonism, and so preparing the way for a revolt in his soul against the course he was pursuing. The majority of his impulses was warring against a silent but growing minority of them which was soon to come to power.

(a) But other more personal preformations of the impending change we find in the extreme moral dualism that characterized his life. His whole soul longed and strove for righteousness under the law, but he found great resistance in the "flesh." His spirit craved and strove for God and purity, but the lust of his members always stood in the way till he prayed to be delivered from the "body of death." The strength of his ethical nature made him aspire to nothing less than moral per-

fection, but the requirements of the Hebrew law were complicated and impossible of literal fulfilment, while the impetuous passions of the physical man, in which concupiscence may and may not have played a prominent part, made his ideals seem unattainable. The good that he longed to do he did not, and the evil that he hated, that he did. Thus he interpreted the war within him of the flesh with the spirit, although how much of this conflict was due to exceptionally high ideals of virtue and how much to exceptional strength of baser propensities in him we do not know, but both may have been extreme. It was doubtless in no small part to relieve this inner strain that he became a ravening wolf to the Christians, being exceedingly mad against them, breathing out slaughter, forcing them to blaspheme, thus wreaking upon them the wrath he really felt against his own better nature, as anger is so prone to vent itself upon another object than that which excites it, by the law of transference. He doubtless hoped also thus to atone by supererogatory zeal for his own sins.

In the midst of this desperate struggle with himself, which he always conceived as between body and soul, or spirit, came the apparition of a real discarnate spirit that in sloughing off the body had escaped the source of all sin and was thus above the temptations that racked his own soul. In this he saw actualized before him something like that which his own better self had long striven to become, and if relieved of mortal errant flesh might approximate. Identifying as he did this visible immortality with the Great Teacher whose cause he in his folly and madness had sought to bring to naught, he came to the great realization that what he had persecuted was in fact in very deed and truth his own better self, beatified and idealized. This reproved him and called him to awake and turn. It also gave him assurance of victory in his moral battles, brought great peace as that after a long storm, and inundated his soul with hope and faith. Paul conceived it as an ecstatic experience which exalted him above his old life and filled his soul with new and unique joy, loyalty, and devotion. He had found his ideal, or rather, himself idealized.

Another predisposing cause of his conversion was doubtless considerable knowledge of the Christian story of the cross, and probably, because they were all about him, of some of the cults of dying and rising gods, or of the pagan Christs with soteriological functions, while beneath all, like a tidal wave (that bears many lesser systems of waves

down to the tiniest ripples from a breeze), was the pendular nature of his affective life reinforced by the sequence of autumn and spring, which makes it prone to swing over from every extreme state into its opposite. Thus there were in his own soul disapprovals of his course as persecutor arising from human sympathy with his victims, whom he found to be not wolves but lambs, while the violence he was doing to the more poised minds like that of Gamaliel would reinforce the reaction. All these inclinations he had doubtless felt, fought down, or sought to evict from his consciousness, and keep out by setting a censor over them, but they persisted in coming back now in great force.

(b) His personal struggles against sin and toward perfection, and his high standards, which gave him a horror of moral inferiority or mediocrity, had brought him to conceive his body as the source of all iniquity and his spirit as the quintessence of all that was good. Thus an ocular object-lesson demonstration of a most real and perfect soul set free from its sarcous prison, was an inspiring vision.

(c) Death and rebirth in all the ethnic cults went together and were eternal complements of each other. In them what dies rises again. The formula of every tragedy is first pain and last victory. The first flash of synthesis between these hitherto more or less isolated psychic constellations, the life and death of Jesus and that of the pagan Christs, would cause a psycholeptic crisis sure to moult the old consciousness and reveal the new and better one that was growing beneath it. Paul's experience is thus the classic paradigm in the normal religious realm of which there are very many analogies but none upon the same high plane, e. g., the crises of Constantine, Augustine, Bunyan, and many others described in the current psychologies of conversion. In mid-adolescence, e. g., the larger life of the race often seems to burst upon the youthful soul that has hitherto lived only in and for itself, leading it captive to the larger life of the race which demands service and altruism. Again, love often has a period of unconscious latency or incubation, during which it may be silently growing in the depths of the soul even toward the very persons the subject of the passion believes that he only fears, fights, and hates. So, too, those in whom rage has done its worst and burned out, may turn to pity and even love their victims. Once more, it is a pregnant psychogenetic law that the indulgence of some base propensity or a fall into sin may arouse the next higher power that inhibits and sublimates it, and so advance the

wrong-doer to a more highly evolved evolutionary plane where, but for sin, its normal corrective would never have come into function. Or again, as toxins stimulate the development of antibodies in the blood, which act as their antidote, so Paul's struggles with sin aroused the countervalent lust for holiness which could not only give immunity from wickedness but cast it out.

As a result of this crisis Paul's life was shattered and lay in ruins, and the new and larger personality that was forming beneath merged into his consciousness; but it was callow, inchoate, fragmentary, or like early infancy when it most needs protection. A larger synthesis of all the above elements was necessary if integrity of soul could be attained. New theories, new directions of will, new feelings, must be syncretized into a far more complex unity and a higher sanity attained, or else hopeless disintegration would ensue. All these problems of autopsychotherapy which Paul faced had, however, a remarkable solution in the working out of which he became the world's greatest psychologist of the regenerative processes. All the many latencies within him were heard from, and in place of the old shattered self another one that seemed to him so much larger and better that it could not be his own, arose. He thus achieved a new and far more complete wholeness or holiness above all the old disharmonies so that he was twice saved, once from these and again from the effects of the shock of his disruptive crisis. The self-reëducative and regenerative powers of a new ideal and a new affection were thus supremely illustrated in the change which turned Saul the inquisitor into Paul the apostle, which changed the slave of the letter of the law into the exponent of a perfect, because not antinomian, freedom. While we have no systematic confessional of the travail of Paul's soul during his silent years, such as psychoanalysis would desire for a *Tatbestandsdiagnostik*, or even of the kind represented by other types of extreme changes, e. g., Rousseau, Faust, Hamann, we do have many precious glimpses in the Pauline epistles of the process of "*fides quaerens intellectum*" or of *pistis* seeking *gnosis* like capital seeking investment. The problem he now faced was, how can the spirit of the Jesus whom he had seen, enter the life of man? By what tropes, analogies, allegories, symbols, rites, institutions, can this new experience be expressed and inundate thought, feeling, and will? How can the precious bullion be minted into current coin of the realm? It was hard enough for Paul to come to a full

realization of what had happened to himself, but much harder to find ways and means of giving others, even gentiles, the benefit of the heavenly treasure he had found.

(1) Two chief means, however, were at hand. The first was gnosticism. The point of contact of the new sense of Divine Sonship with gentile thought was first made in the domain of Greek life through the medium of its philosophy, which had long since demonstrated its efficiency and economy as a means of grasping the universe as a whole and to which Hellenic thought, from Anaxagoras down, had contributed its riches. In Paul's day it was most popularly known in the form of the logos doctrine. The Divine Word was conceived not only as the reason and wisdom inherent in nature, but as active in and creative of it. It bore to the thought of that day a relation very like that of thought in the logic of Hegel, only that it was essentially transcendent rather than immanent. The Word was the rationality by which things were made, with at once the archetypal or constitutive value of Plato's ideas and the normative or regulative force of Aristotle's categories. This gnosticism was the last word of generations of Greek thought, and gave to it most of the unity that it possessed. No formula ever perhaps had more epoch-making historic significance than the simple equation, "Jesus is the *Logos*." This pass-word admitted Christianity to the whole system of Greek thought, and irrigated it with fertilizing streams. It was the basis of a network of theory and demonstration which widened and irradiated for centuries. It opened all the field prepared by the conquest of Alexander and gave a personal positive moral content which almost made the previous culture of Greece appear to be another propadeutic Old Testament to the new Gospel. Greece, however, lacked and could not understand Messianism, while the Semitic mind could not conceive the identification of an historic individual with a metaphysical principle, so that the above equation was as strange to the Jews as it would be to us now to equate him with, e. g., science. This conception of him as the *Logos* later tended to make enthusiasm evaporate into doctrine and to put creed in the place of faith and theology in that of religion. Had Christ been equated with will, which makes conduct, or with the *nisus* of evolution or the biologos, how different all would have been! But happily because it was related to the idea of sonship the logos was also conceived as spermatic, and this conserved vital roots even

though they were subordinated. Harnack may be right in his view that it was necessary to rigidify orthodoxy in order to make headway against polytheism, idolatry, and the various heresies, and to establish a solid basis for Church organization, but this did not keep out the theocrasias or prevent saint worship from taking the place of polytheism or canonization of the apotheosis of heroes. Still the psychologist who puts an ever higher valuation upon subjective processes and believes in their ultimate triumph cannot help raising the question whether the noetic element in Paul's exposition of the new religion was not over-emphasized, as would be natural in a religion that was propagated so intensely and so largely by preaching, and whether his intellectualization of his own experience was not better calculated to make than to hold converts. Hard and long as he strove to do so, Paul never explained either himself or Christ. He was not a philosopher or clear thinker but a mystic, more articulate, to be sure, than minds like Boehme or Eckhart, but his mind was essentially ejaculatory, teeming with brilliant phrases, seeing new *aperçus*, rich in metaphors and even in epigrams. He was a prose poet, often a rhapsodist, and far greater as an organizer than as a thinker. It is idle to seek in his writings for evidence that he had ever grasped the doctrines of the great Greek thinkers, or even the essential principles of Stoicism, of which he seems to have known as little as he did of the life and teachings of Jesus. Even his gnosticism was only that of a novice and amateur, and the best that can be said of it is that it was sufficient for the immediate purposes he had in hand, like a mariner's knowledge of astronomy.

(2) The other great influence Paul represented is seen in the most significant fact that he knew Jesus almost solely as crucified and risen, and seems to have known or cared little else about him. From his writings alone we should know almost nothing else of Jesus. Now, death and revival were central themes of most of the religions of near Asia and ancient Egypt and Greece. The idea of dying and reviving deities was the root of about all the ancient mysteries. Back of all were the countless rites commemorating the death of vegetation in the fall to ensure its return in the spring, in which autumn sadness ebbs into vernal joy. Winter is driven out by May queens.

But as culture advanced, the desire to secure vernal resurrection in plant life merged over into that to secure the revival of human life after death. Osiris, originally the god of vegetation, was slain by the

demon of summer heat, personified as his brother Set. The day of his death was celebrated by mourning, which two days later passed over into joy unbounded at the recovery of his body by Isis. So the death of Adonis was mourned one day, and the next his resurrection and translation into heaven were commemorated. In some versions he, like Persephone, spends half a year in the underworld, and the other half in the upper. So Attis, the lover of Cybele, the great mother, mutilated himself to death, and this was celebrated symbolically by the priest, who wounded his arm as if to follow in the footsteps of the god. The fourth day came the feast of joy, celebrating his resurrection. The history of Demeter and the recovery of her daughter were the theme of the Eleusinian mysteries, which are traced back to spring and fall myths, but later attained the significance of a pledge of blissful life after death. Dionysus, like Osiris, with whom some identify him, was commemorated by tearing a bull to pieces by the teeth of the worshippers who in devouring the bleeding flesh partook of the immortal life of the god incarnated in the bull. Allied to the violent deaths of the gods are the legends of the voluntary descent of a god or hero to the underworld and his fortunate return. The Babylonian Ishtar did this to restore her lover Thammuz, and again to fetch back the waters of life. She was admitted only after threatening to break down the doors of hell and on condition that she must leave one garment at each of the heavenly gates, so that she entered the nether world quite naked. She was imprisoned here and inflicted with sixty diseases. This removal of the goddess of fertility threatened to end human and animal life until a hero was sent to ensure her return, which she effected, regaining a garment at each gate. Thammuz was washed in the water of life and anointed with oil, and then in place of the death dirge came merrymaking with pipes. The gates of the underworld were finally broken down and the dead delivered from their prison. In a well-known gnostic hymn we are told how the soul wanders in the labyrinth of life with no escape. Christ implored the Father to send him to its relief. So he wandered through the aeons, disclosing all secrets, delivering souls from Hades, protecting them from demons by mystic names and formulae. In the Gospel of Peter, Christ declares that he had preached to those that slept, meaning that between his death and Resurrection he had descended to hell and revealed himself as the Lord of its inmates. Thus the hard yoke of death was broken, and hence

the shouts, "Death, where is thy sting?" The heavenly watchmen see the booty won and cry, Lift up ye gates that the King of Glory may come in!—gates which were originally the ice and snow of winter. So Odysseus, Hercules, Theseus, and Pythagoras descended to the realms of Orcus.

The ancients quite commonly deemed death a result of supernatural causes, and for the Semites it was a penalty, deliverance from which must be either propitiatory or by vicarious sacrifice, in which the cleansing power of sacred blood played a great rôle. Death must be defeated in his stronghold. Christ imparts life either by faith in his name, by baptism, or by the Lord's Supper. The belief that the innocent sufferings of the good have great vicarious power first appeared in Isaiah liii, and again in the Fourth Book of the Maccabees, and it dominated the Jewish custom of animal sacrifice. Among the Greeks the placation of the anger of the gods was the motif of many purification rites in which sometimes human beings were sacrificed, first commonly, then annually, later at great public calamities. The transition from human to animal sacrifice is seen in Abraham's offering, and also in Iphigenia. Human sacrifices were very common among the Canaanites; and everywhere the greater the worth or rank of the life offered, the more effective was the sacrifice.[1] In great danger the ruler or his son might be the victim. The Carthaginians thought their defeat, B. C. 308, due to Baal's wrath because they had sacrificed slaves instead of children of noble family and so cast into the furnace one hundred children, and three hundred more offered themselves. The efficacy of royal children was due to the belief that deity was incarnate in the king.

Ascension myths have many forms. A hero becomes a favourite of the gods, and therefore they take him to themselves. Leaders may be caught up in ecstasy, so that we have here the motive of eschatological stories of voyages of pious souls after death. The Hebrews knew of only two cases, that of Enoch, who was translated, and of Elijah, who went up in a fiery chariot. These were more common among the Greeks where the hero may be taken to the Elysian fields or islands of the dead, caves, or the depths of the sea, or Olympus. Originally the man was transferred, body and soul, without death, as in the case of Hercules and Romulus. The former was the son of Zeus and a human mother, and so continued to battle with fate and with Hera, but

[1] See here Pfleiderer: "Early Christian Conceptions of Christ." London, 1905, 170 p.

overcame death in this and in the lower world, conquering Cerberus, delivering Prometheus, and at last voluntarily ascending from his funeral pyre. Many mythic heroes of heavenly birth return heavenward. Caesar was raised to the rank of a god by official decree, and the soul of Augustus after his death was seen in a comet. A praetor swore that he had seen the emperor's soul fly up from the funeral pyre to heaven. After Peregrinus had thrown himself into the pyre at Olympia, a man declared that an eagle flew up from the flames into heaven. So, too, the fact of the apotheosis of Apollonius was said to be proven because his grave could nowhere be found on earth.

So the apocalyptic Jesus is exalted as Lord of Lords, head of the Church and universe, etc. So the disciples of Buddha hailed him as God of Gods, Saviour, Father, joy, light of the world, jewel of the universe, King of physicians, holy, before whose glory sun, moon, and fire shine no more, the miracle of three thousand worlds. He is addressed as "My beloved, my riches, greatness, life," as omniscient, as yet accessible to prayer although he has entered Nirvana, because he is the eternal Spirit of salvation. Marduk of Babylon was also adored as king of kings, finisher of creation, and such superlative terms have also been applied to Ammon-Ra in Egypt, Ahura-Mazda in Persia, etc., all illustrating the same need of the soul that was expressed in the apotheosis of the historic Jesus who, however, alone had the unique power of renewing humanity. Pfleiderer says that the chief rival of Jesus in early centuries was not Mithra, as is commonly said, but the Roman emperor. Of Augustus it is said that all things would have sunk to ruin if this son of universal joy had not arisen and brought regeneration. He came as a saviour. "In his appearance the hopes of our forefathers are fulfilled. He has not only surpassed all former benefactors of mankind, but it is even impossible that a greater than he should ever appear. A new era must begin from his birth." Thus emperors were thought incarnations of deity.

But the point here is that the Christian idea of an eternal son of God who became man, died, descended to hell, conquered death and Satan, rose from the dead, ascended to heaven, sits at the right hand of God, will come to judge the quick and the dead—all these articles are found in religious cults of the East, not once but many times. What these lack, however, is a single subject for the synthesis of all these predicates, a nucleus around which this seething mass of religious

concepts can crystallize into a new world of hope and faith for the present life and for that which is to come. It was precisely this that the Pauline risen Jesus gave. Thus the best in the old heathen mysteries was incorporated into Christianity, so that in it members of these old faiths saw each their own cult completed and glorified. The progress of the primitive Church thus did not consist so much in transplanting the religion from one ethnic soil to another, nor is it adequately described as cross-fertilization of religious cults, but Paul was enough Jew, Roman, and Greek to inaugurate a new blending of strains.

In the new light now shed on Paul he stands revealed more as the apostle of than to the gentiles. His movement took the pagan cults of dying, rising, and glorified deities and heroes, Semitized and synthetized and in general edited, and took them back in a sublimated form to the people about the Mediterranean who had long known them in their own cruder and more imperfect forms. What he preached to them was their own cult-categories made over and attached to a Hebrew hero whom he and Peter had apotheosized in a way even better calculated to meet gentile than Hebrew modes of thought and feeling. This goes far toward explaining the marvel of the rapid spread of early Christianity. It was a revival of the old ethnic cults which were restored, their lacunae filled out, their themes of belief and rite given new names, the deeper human needs they had met embodied in a new legend, so that Mithra, Osiris, and the other dying and rising deities could be worshipped again and in unison under the common name of the risen Christ. Hence the great power ascribed to "his name," for the conversion of the gentiles was largely to a new name, the only name whereby they were told they could be saved. This was a great achievement of the Semitic genius, a possibility, which, however, as we have seen, Jesus anticipated when at the close of the first period of his career he turned his face toward death. All the ingenuity that Paul and most Christian writers have since shown in tracing the origin of the dying-rising concept to the prophets is somewhat misleading, for no fact is now more sun-clear to every unprejudiced student who can rightly evaluate culture forces than that this was distinctively gentile. The new faith did not destroy but fulfilled the preëxisting religions with which it came in contact, even more than it did the Old Testament. Psalms and prophets could be retained, much of the rest of the old canon allegorized, while what was left became ineffective, and

under the influence of rabbinism lapsed and desiccated like husk from which the corn had been taken. These heathen cults were lapsing and had developed fungoid abominations which had to be removed, but the stock was still so vital that with discretion new grafts could be inserted that would grow and, to use a favourite figure of Harnack's, serve as capillary tubes in which the sap of the new religious life could rise high, quickly, and copiously. On the whole there was probably more continuity than rupture or contrast, so that the new faith seemed to be the natural goal of the evolution of old ones. Thus, in the Christian prayers, meditation, rites, and struggles for salvation, the best of the old heathenism still lives. The view which underlay all its forms was that atonement comes by the vicarious sacrifice of the god of the gens, and Paul's self-immolating Christ is no mere effigy or unwilling captive or criminal, nor an intangible phantom, nor a metaphysical Platonic idea, but a symbol of the human race, and so his death and Resurrection are not so much an historical story as an eternal allegory. Wrede even suggests that had Paul had personal knowledge of Jesus this would have been something of an obstacle to his apotheosis of him, and that had the Pauline epistles come first in the New Testament, as they were first in time, perhaps we could hardly have regarded Jesus as a real man but rather as an ideal bearer of all the great attributes or a composite portrait of all the great functions with which previous religions had invested their supreme ideals. There were other preformations, e. g., dreams of a golden age, expectations of a great deliverer, deep longing for post-mortem personal life. Some or most of these were common throughout the realm conquered by Alexander and later by Rome, and wherever they occurred the spread of Christianity was facilitated, while where they were unknown or dim it found barriers hard to pass, as, e. g., into the domain of Brahminism, Confucianism, and even in the Teutonic domain.

Finally, looking back, let us ask ourselves what really happened during the first forty days, few months, or very first few years, after Jesus' death, that made this point the greatest era in the world's history. We can answer comprehensively that it was an unprecedented exaltation and fusion of the best ideals of humanity. The phylon "took up the harp of life and smote on all the chords with might; smote the chord of self, which, trembling, passed in music out of sight," so that the race and its interests came nearer than ever before or since to incar-

nation in the individual. The future dominated the present, and inner states were so intensified that outer states sank to relative insignificance and moral purity became a passion. This, in rough terms, was what was happening, and there was nothing else save what is connoted and denoted in these phrases. It was all natural and all explicable by the unique conjunction of events, and there were no unknown psychological laws. It was the sudden advent of man's adolescence with its characteristic outburst of accelerated growth, its penetrating insights, foregleams of all the soul will ever know, its realizations, its waves of altruism when the race takes possession of the individual, endowing him with all his rich heritage of enthusiasm, energy, and intuition which it is henceforth his whole duty to conserve, refine, and apply. So now Gospels had soon to be written, and myths, miracles, epistles, rites, institutions, grew, born of the effort to preserve, objectify, organize, and put to work the wealth of new powers so lavishly poured out. The new psychic energies set free were given by an inveterate instinct a Uranian or astral direction. A filial relation was evolved between the new consciousness and the source of all things, personified as a celestial All-Father. Closer social bonds even than those of classic friendship were developed, and had to be provided for. Some of the new *aperçus* found fit embodiment in a common and very portative *muthos* till later, born of the needs of controversy and combined as it had to be with the cumulative wealth of religious experiences, a *credo* arose which is the germ of theology. Methods of attaining and retaining higher inner states had to be wrought out, as did modes of demarcating those who had from those who had not attained, or who opposed it. Access to this higher life must be opened to all men, etc. The prime trait of early Christianity was thus a great tide of new joy in life that lifted everything within its pale to a higher level. New words, even, or old ones charged with new meanings came into vogue—grace, charity, love, hope, faith, the Holy Spirit and its fruits, repentance, forgiveness, turning from death to life, putting on Christ and also having him born within; for new experiences had to have new phrases.

But it was impossible to objectify or realize all that had occurred and been dimly sensed, and hence all who had experienced the great augmentation of efficiency and the transformations it involved believed that behind and above all they knew were countless higher unseen spiritual agencies, so that another of the chief characteristics of this age

was its intense pneumaticism.[1] This meant that every inner calenture was inspired and regarded as the work of some invisible power or spirit, and inspiration was possession. Strong and inexplicable impulses were interpreted, not as an exaltation of the natural powers of man, as we know them to be, but as supernatural, and thus divine or mysteries, gifts of the Holy Spirit received by faith. Weinel says that what might be called inspirational *séances* were held till well on into the second century, strange as they seem to outsiders. The Holy Ghost was communicated to neophytes by laying on of hands, and prayer, and wrought signs and wonders. The apostolate was its chief gift, and it might be continuous, as with its members, or intermittent, and had many degrees. Instead of being one spirit, it was often conceived as differentiated into many. It gave visions, wisdom, sleep, heroism. Philo said: "When the divine insanity or prophetic impulse comes over man the sun of consciousness must set and the human must vanish in the divine light." Ecstasy for him was the essential form of prophecy; but every wise and virtuous man could speak not his own mind, but utter what was given to him as will-lessly as the strings of an instrument. Indeed, for decades, most great thoughts or strong feelings that came suddenly were thought to be given by some of these muses. These pneumatophores soon had to distinguish between good and bad spirits, for unclean demons might possess the soul. The Spirit seized, bound, cried out, drove into the desert, inspired means to overthrow Satan's work; and the unpardonable sin was to mistake the work of a true spirit for that of a demon. The former worked miracles, was comparable to the wind, its visitations were like those of angels, made of fire and light. In this immaterial world dwell the souls of the dead, and this made the whole of the latter part of the first and second centuries eschatological. The old aeon was dead, and another had come. Had spiritism been too intensely cultivated, historicity would have been lost; but this in time was duly subordinated. Paul's anthropology made his pneumaticism unique. His conversion, his claim to speak with tongues more than they all, his type of preaching, his calling as an extra apostle, his groaning, sighing, crying "Abba, Father," witnessed to his possession of this heavenly treasure. It welled up from within, bestowing charismata

[1]See Weinel: "Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostolischen Zeitalter, bis auf Irenäus." Leipzig, 1899, 234 p. H. Gunkel: "Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes." 2d ed. Göttingen 1899, 109 p. Karl Holl: "Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum; eine Studie zu Symeon dem neuen Theologen." 1898, 332 p. Wendt: "Teaching of Jesus." 1901, 2 vol. Harnack: "Monasticism: its Ideals and History," and the "Confessions of St. Augustine." London, 1901, 171 p.

of many kinds and degrees. Sometimes it interpreted senseless utterances. It inspired every virtue. Power and spirit were for Paul synonymous. It was God's strength and will, and also the procreative power of the heavenly Father, to beget earthly children. It made man not only a new being, but dead to the world with which he must make a break. Although supernatural and sporadic, it had its own laws, and its possession marked an advance over the prophets. It was not based on speculation, like the wisdom literature of the Hebrews, but was more theosophic. Paul's life was a riddle to him which he sought to explain by his pneuma, which was the ideal possession of eternal life. For him there was at least partial identity between it and Christ, although the efficiency of the latter was greater. One of its attributes was that it was whole, or holy, as opposed to sin or disease, and its freedom was autonomous, and no power on earth could constrain it. His experience is a fresh well-spring of the inner life, and its psychological content should be the basis of theology, which like religious institutions, is one of its deposits. These newer studies of religious enthusiasm made the attitude toward spirits, in Weinel's phrase, "the most essential possession of the innermost personal life of primitive Christendom." Here we must include apparitions, demons, angels, for the multifarious spiritism was widespread and intense. The invisible world of powers, principalities, heathen gods, was long a dominant influence, and is a new key to the history of this period. Evil spirits were arrayed under the leadership of Satan, and caused countless heresies and the desolating effects of the persecutions were ascribed to them. They manifested themselves in hysterical, epileptic symptoms, heathen magic, spurious miracles; and not only men, but even animals, were inspired by them to war on mankind. Pagan rites were sacrifices to devils whose purpose it was to seduce to polytheism and idolatry, and there was great joy when one Christian was led astray. Dread of these influences became a superstitious awe that darkened life and gave it a sombre background. War, murder, adultery, sacrilege, were inspirations of Satan and his ministers. He sent doubt, pain, hate, that made the Christian life a desperate battle and made asceticism necessary. These mighty invisible personal powers behind the world were well organized, and Olympian Jove, the Roman emperor, and all false gods were their representatives. Christ, on the other hand, inspired faith that none of these principalities or any other creature could

separate the believer from his Master. Thus, good and evil powers were leagued and graded, with the Holy Spirit supreme among the powers of good, pouring out love and giving assurance that the legions of Satan would be driven back to the pit. This exuberance of enthusiasm, which was interpreted as a pouring out of the Spirit, had at first to be checked for the work of organization. But it gave the inner witness; transformed life; marked the beginning of life in heaven. Its effects were not only speaking in unknown tongues which were often interpreted, poetizing, narrating words heard in trancoidal states or autosuggestions that came in meditation, but inspiring authorship sometimes without comprehension, by direct impartation. Cures were wrought; demons confessed its power. In the field of will it brought both tonic and clonic cramps, and involuntary and sometimes uncoördinated movements. The behest of the Spirit prompted symbolic acts, heroic renunciation of possessions, fasting, continence, obedience, service, all supernaturally motivated. Thus, back of the phenomenal world were two camps of hostile spirit forces arrayed against each other. Virtue was the work of the one, and vice that of the other. Things were heard without understanding. There were floods of light. Some had clairvoyance and what might now seem telepathy. The senses were affected, and in apocalyptic moments the dramatic state brought what seemed oblivion to the outer world. Never has there been such richness and variety of pneumatic life as in this age, which Zeller thinks in the West was more superstitious than any other before or since. All this showed that, for generations, the souls of men were in a state of high tension; and the marvel is that these states of supercharged mental energy often went with the greatest practical sagacity.

The great inaugural work of the Holy Ghost was to create belief in the risen Jesus; but more than this, the risen Jesus was himself its creation. In giving realization to this deep unconscious wish-suggestion in the soul of his followers it not only worthily inaugurated but virtually completed its work. All the above rank growths of spiritism that followed were involved in this prime act of faith and were the *Vorfrucht* of the rich virgin soil in the first stages of reclamation from the miasmatic marsh of superstition, from which the long succession of crops of idealisms has since grown. Now the pneuma was related to the psyche, much as Platonism thought the psyche was to the soma.

The charismata that flowed from the new dispensation of the Spirit which was the pleroma of them all were only corollaries of full belief in the Resurrection. When it was once accepted, all the rest followed. This gave a new futuristic trend, for the centre of all human interests was henceforth less on what was or is than on what was about to be, and the wild eschatology of that day was only a rude attempt to express in figurate imagery this new trend. With his soul really back in the world, identified, believed in, and marching on, as captain of the souls of all his followers, the goal of all Jesus' endeavour was attained, his work was finished, his legitimate successor installed, and he and his career were henceforth only a memory, sacred and enshrined. Like other great leaders, all that was human of him sleeps forever, and only his spirit henceforth wakes and lives. It does so only in those souls that experience supernormal reinforcement or are inspired by the larger soul of the race, impelling them to new and upward steps in the evolution of an ever-higher manhood in an ever-better kingdom of man. What Seelye called "the enthusiasm of humanity," Giddings, "the sense of kind," analysis dubs "ethical erethism" and, in general, the higher potentialization in the individual, and in communities, of the power that makes for righteousness, that toward the future gives augmented optimism for the good and a deeper pessimism for the bad, reinforced now by new eugenic insights—these together constitute the legacy of Jesus and indicate the most generic gifts of the Spirit. Such phrases indicate the rough shadow plan of the higher story which Jesus built in the mansion of Mansoul.[1]

---

[1]See A. Schweitzer: "Paul and His Interpreters." London, 1912, 268 p. O. Pfleiderer: "Lectures on the Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity." Trans. by J. F. Smith. 3d ed., London, 1897, 292 p. For a handy but uncritical sketch, see E. D. Wood: "The Life and Ministry of Paul the Apostle." Boston, 1912, 281 p. See also J. C. Geikie: "The Gospels." London, 1894, 520 p.; A. C. McGiffert: "A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age." New York, 1903, 681 p.; H. B. Carré: "Paul's Doctrine of Redemption." New York, 1914, 175 p.; James Orr: "Problem of the Old Testament." New York, 1906, 562 p.; H. B. Swete: "Appearances of Our Lord after the Passion." New York, 1908. Paul Carus: "The Pleroma." Chicago, 1909, 163 p.; B. Weiss: "Paulus und seine Gemeinde." 1914, 296 p.; C. Clemen: "Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des neuen Testaments." Giessen, 1909, 301 p.; S. G. Ayres: "Jesus Christ Our Lord:" an English bibliography of Christology comprising over five thousand titles annotated and classified. New York, 1906, 502 p.; W. Hanna: "The Forty Days After Our Lord's Resurrection." 1866, 163 p. See also Segaloff: "Die biologische Bedeutung der Ekstase, Zeits. f. Psychotherapie u. medizinische Psychologie." See also my "Human Efficiency," address at Clark College, 1909; G. E. Partridge: "Psychology of Second Breath," *Ped. Sem.*, Vol. 4, No. 3; also his "Psychology of Intemperance"; G. T. Patrick: "Psychology of Relaxation"; Mantegazza: "Die Ekstasen des Menschen"; F. M. Davenport: "Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals"; A. Lang: "Myth, Ritual and Religion"; W. James: "Varieties of Religious Experience"; Bourke: "Snake Dance of the Moquis"; Bauman, Hauptmann, H. A. Kennedy: "St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things." 1904, 300 p.; L. A. Muirhead: "The Eschatology of Jesus." 1904, 224 p.; G. B. Stevens: "The Pauline Theology." 1908, 383 p.; W. D. Hyde: "From Epicurus to Christ." 1905, 285 p.

I have been also indebted to J. H. Holtzmann: "Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu." Tübingen, 1907, 100 p.; A. Pott: "Das Hoffen im Neuen Testament." Leipzig, 1915, 203 p.; D. E. Haunt: "Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synoptischen Evangelien." Berlin, 1895, 167 p.; A. Kalthoff: "Die Entstehung des Christentums." Leipzig, 1904, 155 p.; M. Brückner: "Die Enstehung der paulinischen Christologie." Strassburg, 1903, 237 p.; D. B. Weiss: "Die Religion des Neuen Testaments." Stuttgart, 1903, 321 p.; G. H. MacNish: "The Master of Evolution." Boston, 1911, 135 p.; C. A. Briggs: "The Messiah of the Gospels." New York, 1894, 337 p.; A. P. Stokes: "What Jesus Christ Thought of Himself." New York, 1916, 114 p.; C. A. Dinsmore: "Atonement in Literature and Life." 1906, 250 p.; C. F. Kent: "The Work and Teaching of the Apostles." 1915, 313 p.; G. H. Gilbert: "The First Interpreters of Jesus." 1901, 729 p.; O. Pfleiderer: "Primitive Christianity." 2 vols, 1911; W. H. Thurton: "The Truth of the Gospels." 1913, 639 p.; F. Andres: "Die Engellehre."1914, 183 p.; G. Denny: "Jesus and the Gospels." 1908, 418 p.

CHAPTER EIGHT

JESUS' ETHICS AND PRAYER

I. Gist of the moral teachings of the sermon on the mount—Subordination of the individual to the whole among unicellular organisms, also the bee and the ant—Animal herds—Primitive totemic society—Altruism and mutual help—The ethics of self-subordination—Interpretations of totemism, its influence in shaping the doctrines and life of early Christendom—The contrast between the hyperindividual or superman and the opposite of social subordination and effacement—Jesus' attitude to science and its explanation—II. The evolution of prayer among primitive people—Its types, forms, and meanings—Its place in the world of science—Its incalculable psychological and pedagogical influence—Its specific functions, especially that of confession in the new light which psychology has shed upon it—An exposition of the Lord's Prayer in the light of modern thought.

THE so-called sermon on the mount embodies the most essential teachings of Jesus. The first and strongest impression it makes upon every candid mind is that it challenges in the most flagrant way most of the principles on which modern Occidental man conducts his life. The beatitudes are upon the poor in spirit, the meek, the mourners, those who are persecuted and reviled. They are to inherit heaven and earth along with the pure in heart, those who hunger for righteousness, the merciful, and the peacemakers. These are the salt and light of the world.

Then come the great inwardizations. To feel anger is murder; to feel lust, adultery. If any member or function offend, get rid of it, even if that involve mutilation. Sacrifice is giving up rancour. Simple assent and dissent are sufficient, with no oaths or protestations. Hardest of all is the precept, "resist not evil; turn the other cheek to the smiter; if you are robbed, give the robber more; love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate and persecute you." Give alms, pray and fast, not in public but secretly. Seek no other but heavenly treasure; serve God wholly; take no more thought

concerning food than do the birds, or concerning clothes than do the lilies; think not of the morrow. Ask and you will receive all that is good for you. Pronounce no judgments upon others. Do to others as you wish them to do to you. Those who practise these precepts build not upon the shifting sands but upon the Rock of Ages.

Surely, even to attempt seriously to live according to such prescriptions, one must become an ascetic or a monk and devote his whole life to self-regimentation. In a world of such individuals there would be little industrial wealth, ambition, enterprise, feasting, amusement, fashion, rivalry, or competition. There would be no wars, or even conflicts, no personal foresight, no penalties, no pride of station, and no knowledge or lust of power. Evil would remain unresisted, and there would be no toil or worry for a livelihood. Even Oriental communities that have taken these precepts in earnest and tried to live up to them have almost always come to grief. No wonder that such ideals have been sometimes derided as a fool's paradise by enemies, on the one hand, or on the other have been characterized in every kind of mitigating, accommodating, and euphemistic way by friends. Still, if we are honest, we cannot escape the bald fact that it is exactly in these precepts that we have the core of Jesus' teaching, and that he meant them to be taken literally. Moreover, the more we study the above items, the more we realize that they are not isolated, so that we can pick and choose, accepting some and rejecting others; but they form a pretty complete psychological and ethical whole, so that if we abate the rigour of one, that of the others suffers. The injunction to resist not evil, e. g., was the only thing in the sermon on the mount which Wu Ting Fang seriously challenged, but Tolstoi made it the key to everything in Christianity.

Are these ideals good, true, or even beautiful? Are they practical? The best point of view from which to answer these questions we shall find by a glance at the early evolutionary stages of social development.

Once unicellular organisms were the highest forms of life. Each individual performed all the fundamental vital functions of self-preservation, food-getting, and reproduction. When multicellular organisms arose, each cell surrendered progressively some of its functions, and developed and specialized others in the interests of the whole and with great gain. The higher organisms thus evolved proved to have many advantages in the struggle for existence. The integration

and differentiation of the constituent units which thus occurred involved more or less limitation and subordination of each part to the whole. Even where colonies of protozoa arose, the same advance occurred in greater or less degree as Espinas was the first to show in a broad way. Indeed, every metazoan body is a colony of cells. A swarm of bees or a nest of ants might be called a body in which each unit while acting within the plan of the whole, is detached enough to have its own freedom of movement. The worker bee[1] often works itself to death in two or three months for the sake of the hive. In the ant state the individual is no less subordinated to the welfare of the community. Each class and each individual has its own functions in conserving and developing the community, which lives on for generations with a kind of terrestrial immortality, while countless generations of individuals wear themselves out in serving it. Thus to each cell in a body, and to each member of such an insect community, the precepts of Jesus concerning abandonment of personal ends for the good of the whole would hold; for each individual is only a means to an end vaster than itself.

In the social organization of higher forms of animal life gregariousness has immense advantages over solitary habits, as we see in the familiar comparisons between the cat and the dog, which are vastly to the advantage of the latter because it is far more completely domesticated, more intelligent, docile, etc. Man is probably the most gregarious of all mammals, and to this fact he owes, in no small part, not only his survival but his dominion over the animal world. Thus his social nature means that even his primary egoistic impulsions for food and sex, and also his fear, anger, lust for power and possessions, etc., are constantly restrained in the interests of the clan, tribe, or group to which he belongs, which always demands altruism. The repressions thus arising from his social *milieu* have operated from the very first, and probably even before he became man, and their influence is powerful. They are also all-pervading and their ramifications are met in every department of life. The herd instinct is far more dominant than one would infer from the psychology of crowds, or even that of suggestion. It may be mainly offensive as is illustrated by the wolf-pack, or chiefly defensive, as in a flock of sheep. Group influences

[1]See Maeterlinck: "The Life of the Bee"; also especially W. Trotter: "The Instinct of the Herd in Peace and War." 1915, 212 p.

incessantly check, facilitate, transform, man's every impulse. They make society, from the clan up, more or less homogeneous. It is due to them that each unit is so extremely sensitive to the conduct and sentiment of each other member of his group, as well as of the whole, as we see all the way from the first symbiosis up to the development of the higher form of sympathy. To break from group control, custom, action, or opinion, involves a painful conflict. Suggestion and even speech itself are media of the union of each with all. Much that we call reason is only an attempt to justify our instinctive acquiescence in the mandates of society; and a large part of human conduct, and most of what we call morals, and even religion, consists essentially of group prescriptions, so that about all sin is defiance of social control, and insistence upon our personal uninhibited individual wishes and desires. Whenever we do thus break away from what the general consensus of our social *milieu* requires we have a painful sense of unworthiness, ill-desert, imperfection, insufficiency; in a word, of sin or guilt. The Pauline war within our members began with the very first inclination to violate tribal taboo.

As human society has grown complex, and family, clan, community, and man's social *rapport* have irradiated, and have also broken up into industrial, cultural, and other groups within groups, the adjustment between egocentric inclinations and social requirements has become very complex and very difficult. Conflicts are innumerable. They are incessant and painful, and men often break away from the law of service to the whole. Thus, man is not so adjusted to his human as the bee is to its community. That he should become no less so is the postulate of Jesus. Only when this adjustment is made will man be an ideal *socius* in an ideal kingdom. To effect a complete adaptation between them both, society and the individual must change. But the change can and must begin with the individual. The bee and ant state began to evolve countless ages before man appeared, so that besides being simpler themselves and living in a simpler state, they have had a vastly longer time to develop their communities. Both the human individual and his society are vastly more complex. Moreover, man has been very seriously aberrant and has suffered loss or arrest. Storms of passion and many departures from his norm have left their scars upon his nature. It may well be doubted, too, whether modern institutions control the individuals within them to-day as

completely as was the case in the ancient tribe. From the point of view of the sermon on the mount, man seems to have just begun to effectively socialize himself, old as are his efforts and deep as is his instinct to do so. In some respects conventions are too rigid, and prevent what Walt Whitman and Carpenter call "free exfoliation" of the individual without danger of disruption of the social bond, and thus, too, great resistance to progress and free differentiation arises. Here social pressure is too great, there too weak, or man is too insensitive to it. Jesus had little place for great men or hero-worship in the Kingdom as he conceived it. But his blessings are upon the simple life, and his praises are for simple duties in a simple environment. History is essentially the story of man's efforts to find his place in nature, and especially his true relations to his fellow men; and both endeavours, especially the latter, are now in their rudimentary stages. When this work is finished, we may perhaps then realize the ethics of Jesus, and the hyperindividuation of to-day may be reduced to the dimensions most favourable for the interests of the race, to serve which is the whole of both duty and piety.

Not only Jesus' person as Messiah, the atonement achieved by his death, his mystic union with the Father and his followers, according to Pauline and Johannin doctrines (as characterized in other chapters of this book), but the ethics of self-subordination taught in his "Sermon" are all standing forth in a new light by reason of the manifold studies of what it is now apparent was the chief culture system of uncounted prehistoric millennia, to which we give the inadequate name of totemism. Robertson Smith first showed how totemism was the key to the secrets of the entire sacrificial cult of the Old Testament. Other studies show how it permeated the cults of ancient Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, Phoenicia, Mexico, and Peru, to say nothing of the entire social organism of many primitive peoples. When we ask what it was, and especially how it arose, expert opinions are hopelessly divergent.

Frazer, after long and perplexing investigations, thought he had found a solution among the Arunta.[1] Mothers at first did not know, and later feigned ignorance of, the cause of conception. When a mother felt the first movements of a child in her body attention may

[1] "Totemism and Exogamy." Edinburgh, 1887. Especially p. 96. See also "The Beginnings of Religion and Totemism Among the Australian Aborigines," *Fortnightly Review*, Sept., 1905.

have been strongly drawn to something near her, for instance, an emu or a kangaroo, which acquired thus a peculiar significance, till she fancied its soul had "struck root in her." Thus the child, when born, although it will look human will be an emu or a kangaroo in essence. The child, when later told of this paternity, loved and cultivated the species. Thus many other totems would be found by others. In this "conception theory" Frazer said, "our plummet has at last touched bottom," although he has later abandoned this view in despair. Totemism often, as here, included the idea of ancestral spirits, perhaps connected with amulets archaically marked, and so discarnate spirits of older days may be reborn. On the other hand, of 201 totems in Central Australia, 169 are of edible animals. Ten years later F. Max Müller[1] sought to discredit totemism by calling it an infantile epidemic of thought, refusing to credit the totemic origin even of Egyptian thierolatry, totemism being inconsistent with his theory of a more primitive and direct worship of natural objects, and holding that animals and other fetishes of savages were eponymous ancestors.

W. Robertson Smith[2] reduces the most essential part of the Old Testament cult of Yahveh to totemism, which was also the core of the ceremony of the feast of the dead. An offering on an altar or a *sacrificium* was the essential rite in about all religions, and was "an act of social fellowship between the deity and his worshippers," or a communion of the faithful with their god. The oldest offerings were animals, and others came later and were progressively dematerialized—flesh, blood, then smoke or incense. The significance of common eating was always to strengthen the social bond; for the god was commensal with his worshippers, and eating the same food meant the same material of their body. In this act the worshipper says to his god, "You are my blood and flesh." As men are consubstantial with their mother through her milk, so food is a family bond. There was no communion without the sacrifice of an animal, and this must always be public; for no one could slay even a domestic animal for his own use. The common blood of the tribe is sacred, and the sacrificial animal was treated like a relative, so that the god, the animal, and the tribe were one, not unlike the persons of the Trinity. Thus the animal offered up became a totem. The sacrificial animal was holy to the god, and originally

[1] "Contributions to the Science of Mythology." London, 1897. Especially pp. 7, 158, and 443.
[2] "The Religion of the Semites." New York, 1889, 488 p.

identical with the god. All animals were once sacred, and no flesh could be eaten unless the whole tribe participated in so doing, for to slaughter an animal was to pour out tribal blood. On this basis developed in many lands the idea that atonement was necessary for the slaughterer in this sacrifice, which was the tie that binds the members of the race each to each, and each to his god, and each to the totemic animal, the life of which must not be touched unless the entire tribe was guilty. Thus the totem animal was the primitive god, slaying and eating of which brought the closest communion. The Aztec human offerings, the bear offerings of the bear tribe, also the Ianos, the tortoise offerings among the Zunis, illustrate this "killing the divine animal and eating the god."

Durkheim[1] regards the totem as almost a god, dwelling in each member of the group and all of them in it. It is not only the condition of the existence of the group, but soul of its soul and life of its life. It is also the clan ancestor immanent in it, and incarnate in each individual, perhaps his very blood itself. It is the chief object of the cult of a tribe, and the focus of its religion. Each totem, therefore, is in a sense divine, and if its blood is shed its very being is poured out. Thus the totem is consanguineous and consubstantial in each in whom it dwells, and is the central part of his personality. It can no more be changed than can his soul. It is a principle of filiation. So intussuscepted are the members of a totem tribe or phratry that it becomes incestuous for them to marry; hence, exogamy. Animals of the same species as the totem are usually tabooed, for to eat them would be cannibalism. If half of a horde chose a separate animal deity, the horde would then split into two clans which might become hostile, but members of the one clan can now intermarry with those of the other by capture or purchase. Back of this strange biological metaphysics of totemism Durkheim assumes an aboriginal religiosity or a feeling of something potent, dreadful, supernal (as Mana principle), which in process of time became attached more to certain animals or persons than to others, perhaps originally more often to women, whose motherhood is mystically regarded. This divine principle, therefore, was a diffusive power that came to concentrate itself in the emu, bear, etc., which then became a sacred shrine of the divinity and gave the name of the animal to the tribe. He assumes that the sexual

[1]Various articles in *L'Année Sociologique* since 1898.

relation was first more or less promiscuous, and that thus arose the first attempts to regulate it. The totemic animal is neither exactly the species nor the Platonic idea of it. It is an individual but mythical being from whom all members of the group evolved, so that once within it existed potentially both the human clan and the animal species, both being thus close blood relations. Totemism is thus usually closely connected with the segregation of tribes into primitive matrimonial classes. Durkheim does not attempt to suggest the time which it took totemism to evolve, but J. F. Hewitt[1] in discussing the development of the mythology of India, which he thinks was made by projecting more or less important events rather than individuals in very highly symbolic form upon the heavens, wherein if we only had the cipher we could read in the ancient astrological creatures there the history of man, believes we must go back definitely to about 21,000 years B. C. and that this period continued down to, and indeed well into, the historic period. As perpetuated guide-marks of the progress of tribes, with events apotheosized in the very names of the constellations (at first animal), these official transmitters gave us in pictorial language the story of their achievements laid off in superposed layers, which added greatly to man's interest in the heavens and still reverberates with the momentum of millennia in the soul. Thus heavenly things acquired a new interest till they were superseded by a later race that took a more economic view of stellar phenomena. Many believe that, at least in these fields, we have sketchy outlines or remnants of the history of man long before there is any other record, that here lies the philosophy of the paleo- and neo-lithic ages before domestication of animals, and that we glimpse here old methods of thought laboriously wrought out which already gave man mental unity and a basis of association, brought economy in thinking, together with communal solidarity, and, especially, laid the foundations for religion.

Lang[2] takes a very different view. Agreeing with Darwin that primitive man must have lived in very small and highly gregarious communal groups, so small, indeed, that male jealousy on the part of the head of the clan would be a constant repellant force (especially since man is amatory at all seasons), he thinks that these early groups of men came to assume the names of certain animals and other objects

[1] "History and Chronology of the Myth-Making Age." London, 1901. Also "The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times in India," etc. London, 1894.

[2] "The Secret of the Totem." London, 1905, 215 p.

and thus to feel themselves in closer *rapport* with them, and to develop a general magic for the species thus constituted of which they were a part. Hewitt had thought that the animal name began the entire process, and would be thought to imply a mystic connection. The name was thus the soul-bearer or box. Hence, the totem became the group-soul designating the most vital part, and all individuals bearing that name were psychically one. Pikler and Somló[1] thought that one of the first needs of man was settled names for his communities, which could be expressed in pictographs, tattoos, on grave-posts, etc., as a clan mark, and the advantage of animal names was that they could be better expressed in picture language. On this view, therefore, the name is the germ of totemism. Once the relation between all objects and their names was everywhere deemed vital. On this view totemism took its rise rather in the practical needs of man than in his religious instincts. To utter names, or even to know them, gave enemies or lovers power over those who bore them. Hence, true names were often secret, and perhaps in proportion as the generic name became recognized and accepted by those bearing it, it could be used to harm or help an entire group. Later, when the connection between the totem name and what it designated was settled, man's active speculative mind began to evolve myths as to the connection between itself and its name-giving totem, and this solidarity often became quite as great as that between mother and child. The bond of union was blood. Later, but on this basis, came the various taboos pertaining to the particular animal, and also to marriage. Sometimes even contact with the totem means disrespect for its palladial quality. Savages never know the origin of these transcendentally binding names, because it is always obscured by traditions of later origin. Lang thinks they may have arisen as sobriquets or nicknames given by one group to another, sometimes perhaps opprobrious at first, even though later adopted. Thus, to receive the name of an animal in the savage mind came to mean "to be endowed with the essence or spirit of the object or to be under its protection, to become one with it in a very special and unique sense." The epithet may have been suggested by some resemblance of feature or trait, although Hewitt thinks that dreams of seers or medicine men may have given a sense of relationship to some specific animal. The totem name became the centre of a religious

[1] "Der Ursprung des Totemismus." Berlin, 1900, 36 p.

system involving praying to, feeding, or burying the totem, best seen in Samoa where the totem was regarded as the shrine of an ancestral spirit. In Egypt the animal gods were once totems, and some of them were even creators. Menzies[1] says roundly, "there is no animal that has not once been worshipped," and he thinks that in Babylonia we have the earliest clear records of the transition from zoölatry to anthropolatry in its winged bulls and eagle-headed men. Occasionally we find an "over-all deity" having a totemic name for every part of his body, and some deities create man out of a certain animal or a primal creature rising out of the ground or sea, or he comes from the sky, or is transformed perhaps after death into the first man. Frazer collects very many reincarnation myths of this kind. In one case the name is ascribed to the fact that the gens had lived so long on the flesh of a particular animal which had become its totem that its qualities had passed into the eaters. Haddon[2] found that in the Torres Straits the disposition of the clan members was supposed to reflect the character of the totem; that the animal was often extinct, even where it was revered and protected, indicating the very great age of the institution. He described elaborate initiation rites, and found other indications here of the advance along the line which the race must have taken from the worship of a great animal to that of a great man. Among the Malays, who were highly totemic, he often found personal totems cultivated, which had been suggested either by dreams or by some exceptional experience.

The totemic theories of American anthropologists, based largely upon the Indians of the North-west who are less primitive than Australians, show that the very word totem has many (Powell says from ten to fourteen) different meanings. Hill-Tout thinks it may mean either a sacred animal, a tribe, the name of a religious or magic society or object, an hereditary designation of kin, or even an individual. The protective animal, guardian spirit, or patron, Powell thinks, always comes from the Manitou or from some person to whom the animal or object was revealed by an inspired dream or vision, or else is the result of a long fast, or of hypnotic suggestion during initiation to adolescence. If the totem kins become exogamous, he thinks it is later and by treaty. The essence of totemism here is the spiritual entity.

[1] "History of Religion." London, 1895, p. 30.
[2] "Head-hunters." London, 1901. Especially Chapter 9.

Boas thinks that crests or totem marks perhaps once designated a tutelary spirit or genius. There is certainly vast difference between the American Indians and the Pacific Islanders in this respect. Instead of being hereditary, the American totem is often acquired in pubescent trance. Occasionally there are myths of metamorphosis into totemic animals or approximation of each to the habits of the other, with some suggestion of metempsychosis.

Some believe that in the old animal epos we have some vestiges of totemism. For instance the story of Reynard the Fox,[1] the most famous of the best cycles or epics, gives characteristic names as well as traits which were recognized all over Europe, as Noble, the lion; Bellin, the lamb; Bruin, the bear; Baldwin, the ass; Eisengrim, the wolf; Chanticleer, the cock, etc., where each animal represents a human trait personified. The origin of the story of Reynard is still a mystery. No one knows whether it was Oriental or possibly astrological. It certainly represents a different psychic attitude toward animals from that represented by Æsop, and still more by Uncle Remus. Zabism, too, or serpent worship and the art of snake charmers are of undoubted totemic origin.[2]

Freud[3] finds the key to totemism in the child's relation to animals. Children often have an *Angsttier* or an animal which has come to be especially dreaded and in which they therefore have a special interest. Occasionally they imitate and almost personate, as well as dread, this animal. Accidents of the individual's experience usually determine what animal it is, but Freud holds that this attitude was first developed toward the child's father and later transferred from him to the animal, which may be loved as well as hated at the same time, or alternately. The animal may appear in a recurrent dream, as in *pavor nocturnus*, as savages sometimes find their totem. A boy of five very carefully analyzed had such a phobia for a horse, which was found to be part of an "Oedipus complex" carried over from the father to the horse, which thereby became the boy's totem. Wulff found the same transfer from the father to a dog in a boy of nine, and Ferenczi describes another to all kinds of waterfowl. Toward such animals children very often feel a strong ambivalent hate and love. Hence Freud infers

---

[1] See Caxton: "History of Reynard the Fox." 1481. Also Jacobs: "The Most Delectable History of Reynard the Fox." London, 1895. Also Goethe's poetical version in Dale's edition, Vol. 2.

[2] See W. H. D. Adams: "Curiosities of Superstition." London, 1882. Chapter 2.

[3] "Totem und Tabu." 1913, 149 p.

that the totemic animal is really the father, particularly the father of the clan, who was a severe disciplinarian, enforced exogamy, etc. The two commands of the totem are that the animal representing it must not be killed, and that no woman inside the clan can be married. Both these commands Oedipus broke. After the totem is slain the attitude toward him is reversed and he is revered as is the father in primitive parricide. Thus totemism developed from the father-surrogate and from a sense of filial guilt, and every totem and every god were fashioned on the pattern of the father.

In our day of hypertrophied individuation, egoism, and perhaps Teutonic ideas of the superman, it is not strange that Reinach thinks totemism a hypertrophy of its opposite, viz., the social instinct. But the more we understand this central problem of prehistoric culture, the more we realize that in primitive communities the individual was hardly less subordinated to the group than in the hive or the formicary. Its members were one by closer bonds than those of classic friendship as characterized by Aristotle and Cicero before romantic love for the other sex, as Finck describes it, arose. It bound fellow tribesmen into a unity no whit less deep and mystic, and in some respects more so, than that described in modern amatory literature. Members of a totem were one in having the name often sacredly secret, at a time, too, when the name was no mere nominalistic *flatus vocis* but almost an entity, giving those who used it conjuring power over those to whom it was applied. They were one by partaking of a common meal, eating commensally the same divine animal, and becoming thereby "milk brethren," as if born from the same mother. All who ate the flesh or drank the blood of the same god became thereby one in him as he is and remains one in them, a symbol of the sacramental tie that binds. They were one so closely and literally that to marry any clan member was incest, for she was a true sister. They were one so sacrosanctly that members could exchange their very souls, so that we have here one key to explain metamorphosis, and transmigration or metempsychosis. They were one in having a common ancestor, and the totem was often a father-surrogate; the same feelings and attitudes developed toward the father or perhaps toward the head of the clan, being transferred to the totem. They were sometimes one, too, in a special sense on great festivals and corroborees, where in states of social exaltation they partly projected their ecstatic sense of unity,

and universalized it in a sense of one pre-animistic and all-including ontological principle called variously Mana, wakanda, etc. Thus the psychic foundation was laid deep and early for man's passion both for pantheistic absorption and fusion with the universe, and also for the no-less-passionate affirmation of monotheism, and even monism; for all have here the same psychogenic root, viz., the feeling of one soul in different bodies, which every great exaltation of the social instinct brings. Thus in some small, close, and primitive communities an *e pluribus unum* feeling developed in man, the gregariousness of which is without precedent, for it was so strong that it explained all other social and, perhaps, intellectual unities, which are best understood anthropomorphically as symbols of this social union.

On this view, the cardinal attitudes, *Einstellungen*, and determining tendencies of the New Testament conserve for us the best achievements of many thousand years of prehistoric culture. In this era of small communities, the members of which were indiscerptibly bound together, each to each, and which felt, acted, and thought in common, between the individuals of which altruism and mutual help had their golden age; in these social groups which were in the closest *rapport* also with animals, plants, celestial phenomena, seasonal changes, and nature generally, were laid the foundations of all religions. In the maxims of subordination of self to the service of the group Christianity thus conserves and refines for us the most precious legacy of the most unrecorded past, the vestiges of which are like those of a lost Atlantis. If in such a close community one individual broke the bonds and smote or robbed a tribal kinsman, to invite him to smite again or to rob more would bring the automatic social reaction that would correct the aggression, while to resent evil or aggravate enmity would tend to the disruption and ruin of the group. This was only a far greater degree of the results of such action to-day in the family, where harmony is the first law and where almost any price is not too great to pay for peace. The history and psychology of Quakerism aptly illustrate the practical efficiency of these precepts, and in Jesus' day all this was intensely reinforced by the expectation of a speedy end of the world, in view of which all personal ends sank to insignificance. We might approximate this ethical standpoint if we could consider all who wrong us as diseased, and therefore irresponsible, and to be pitied as if insane or morally defective. Moreover, yielding to those not irreclaimably

violent tends to bring about in them the countervalent sentiments of sympathy toward their victim, and thus has a palliative, if not preventive, effect. A community actuated by the self-effacing morality of Jesus would need no laws, courts, nor penalties, and is found only in primitive societies such as in some respects, as has often been pointed out, Homer describes. Again, ideal motherhood, and the less often sacred ideal, fatherhood, also commended by Aristotle, ethical culture of the Desjardins type, some text-books of morals, and some of the types of Christian socialism as it has been so voluminously and variously described of late, have kept alive at least a pale afterglow of the ethics of Jesus. We are already beginning to suspect that the sick, the defective, and dependent, and the disinherited generally, who from the eugenic point of view alone considered ought to be eliminated, really perform a great function in keeping alive the spirit of sympathy and charity, which would shrivel without them, and that not only they, but criminals, are necessary for the greatest good of the community as a whole. Now, of course, social ties are weakened by being expanded centrifugally from the small family group to ever wider and often almost cosmic dimensions, and egoism, self-assertion, and aggrandizement are the chief traits of most of the historic ages, and especially of our own.

The last very few thousand years of man's existence, which we call the historic period, are but a few minutes of the day since he began; and during much of this era we must admit that man has been pretty selfish. But it was not so of old, as we have seen; and it will not be so when he reaches his normal maturity. Psychoanalysis describes as Narcissism cases in which all the love of a child is focussed upon his own person, before affection has found its proper object in others. In some neurotics we find arrest at this stage. The patient indulges a silly vanity, seems to fall in love with his own body, which he admires, pampers, and often vents all his eroticism upon. Selfishness is moral Narcissism, and induces self-magnification and indulgence, or in a word it is a kind of moral self-abuse. Mankind is in this pubescent stage, and is afflicted with its most characteristic epidemic. Whether the race will reach ethical maturity or suffer permanent arrest, perversion, or regression, as if smitten with phyletic moral dementia præcox, is the supreme question of culture and progress. The Christian life is above all things else a life so utterly devoted to goods and

worths, and that so transcends self, that self would be freely sacrificed at any time and in any way if the interests of the whole could thus be best advanced. No man has reached his ethical majority who would not die if the real interests of the community could thus be furthered. If complete, each man is always at least a potential hero or even martyr. What would the world be without the values that have been bought at the price of death? Now even religion rarely demands this supreme test, but it does demand loyalty to truth, right, and the common weal. These often require the sacrifice of means, of comfort. They necessitate the repression of every rancour and hate; they refine fear for self into fear for others, and make us fear evil for them more than we fear it for ourselves. As I write, thousands of men are vastly increasing the risk of death or mayhem for causes they deem worth the risk. A militancy that brings life as a sacrifice ready to be offered up, if called for, calls out again a new and larger perspective and rouses deeper and more generic forces in the soul. To his own superiors the soldier must illustrate meekness and submission, and to his mates a confraternity of the sermon on the mount. But all this intensified *esprit de corps* makes him more terrible to his enemies. Among those who stay at home, too, all barriers of rank, station, wealth, party, and often blood are broken, and a new solidarity supervenes, while toward the enemy racial hates are augmented and new ones developed. Thus there is regression as between the larger units and toward ancient tribal relations of hostility. Within the national units, the Kingdom of Christ; without, that of Antichrist, is advanced. Within, all aversions are reduced; without, they are intensified. There is more benevolence at home, and more malevolence abroad. At home there are more Christian forbearance, toleration, and closer bonds; and without, there are relapse toward the barbaric rules of the jungle and its hate and aggression. Meanwhile, we can only hope and pray that the good within may prove greater and more lasting than the relapse of outer relations. If only external dangers prove to confirm and advance inner harmonization, the aggregate good may exceed that of evil, and the psychic and material havoc of the conflict may be offset by gains. That we may hope for this issue we have seen many indications in the latter part of Chapter 2.

Can we infer anything concerning Jesus' attitude to culture in our sense, especially to science, the greatest achievement of modern man?

Here (and perhaps we should ask the same question concerning modern industrialism and society) we touch the greatest and sorest of all issues between Jesus' view of the world and our own. His conceptions of the cosmos were infantile and in no respect in advance of his age. Of nearly everything taught in modern universities he knew nothing, while of literature, even that of classic Greece and Rome, and of factories and modern institutions generally he does not seem to have had the slightest anticipation. Neither did he have even an inkling of the satisfaction Socrates found in response to the Delphic Oracle, which called him the wisest of men because he knew that he knew nothing.

Is there any sense in which Browning was right in saying, "Mind is nothing but disease, and natural health is ignorance?" Has man to-day so run to brain that this organ has outgrown its correlation with others, as Keridon[1] says? Has the vast luggage of knowledge that has accumulated, and that we have had to develop all the vast and complicated machinery of education to transmit, made man forget the oracles within his soul in the sense in which Plato reproached Aristotle with being a "reader" or dealer in other people's ideas instead of a creator of them at first hand? Surely Jesus looked within for his truth even more than did Plato, just as his Kingdom involved a closer cœnæsthesis between its members than did the Republic. Indeed, *fides quaerens intellectum* might be called the noetic formula of Jesus' psychic development. Moreover, in him conscience was coextensive with consciousness. Knowledge of right and wrong, good and evil, if, as Lecky and Buckle thought, the slowest, is also the most precious of all kinds of knowledge, for it is a union of knowing and doing, of *Kennen* and *Können*. The leaves on the tree of life are not, like those on the tree of knowledge, deciduous. To be completely Christian must we not assume that all knowledge that is not for the sake, not merely of action but more specifically of moral action, is sophism, and is not this indeed the trend of modern pragmatism? For Kant science was a solid island that had arisen in the midst of a vast stormy, foggy sea of nescience. Perhaps, after all, we have magnified both the extent and the importance of its domain, so that through pride we have lost the true perspective of values and needed "the Galilean peasant to

[1] "Man: the Prodigy and Freak of Nature, or, an Animal Run to Brain." The Samurai Press, Cranleigh, Surrey, 1907, 62 p.

set us right," somewhat as Tolstoi found his lost cue in the simple life of a humble worker. Must we, as Hauptmann assumed, be foolish to be Christian to-day? Has Jesus become an anachronism, a personage of now only historic importance, whom we have transcended, and can approach again only by reverting to a lower stage of development? How could he who knew so little which we deem of prime importance be called the Truth and the Light? These are the questions that have seethed in cultivated souls throughout Christendom for centuries, and still agitate the minds, especially of young students. The answer given to them by the Church without or by individual conviction within has resulted in the fact that the learned world to-day is either indifferent or hostile, or else under the obsession that some accommodation must be wrought out, however tortuous and unnatural; or, finally, in the sad fact that souls have been split into two compartments or registers, one confirming and the other forgetting or denying the authority of the Great Teacher.

One thing is certain, viz., no answer can be admitted that is based on any disparagement of science. If the alternative is science or Jesus, the latter will be sure eventually to go; but there is and can be no such alternative. Our answer is, in brief, as follows: Science began in general with inanimate, and then slowly proceeded to animate nature; and last of all, in every land where it has had a history, as, e. g., in ancient Greece, it found its consummation in the study of man. To-day sociology, anthropology, and psychology are in their infancy. The soul of man, individual and collective, is the highest, last, and most difficult of all themes (as self-knowledge is the noblest kind of knowledge), the solution of which both depends on and explains all that precedes, assigns correct values, and reveals relative importance and perspective. To this field Jesus almost solely directed his endeavours. In his conception of the Kingdom we have the results of his insights into human society; in his ideas of sin and salvation, we have his general doctrine of man; and in his character, lifework, precepts, and fate, we have the key to all the chief themes involving the moral activity of the individual. In the ways in which the soul of the race prepared for him before his advent in the older ethnic religions about the eastern Mediterranean, and in the ways in which it has reacted to it since, we have all the essentials of folk psychology. There is, of course in addition, a psychology of the senses, memory,

association, attention, etc., and there are many studies in the mechanism of psychic processes; and such work has a very significant past and will have a yet greater future development. To critical and exegetical New Testament scholarship Christology owes an inestimable debt and may possibly come to owe yet more (although many think its great work is accomplished). But the psychology that is at once dynamic, genetic, and pragmatic, and can penetrate below the shallow surface of consciousness to the unconscious depths below, finds in the great Galilean both the master craftsman in psychodynamics, and in the collective records of him the richest of all the fields for further exploration. Here he is not below but far ahead of present-day science. Here *das ewige Christliche zieht uns hinan.* He knew and compelled the individual and collective soul as no one else ever began to do. He is the centre of the greatest psychic synthesis ever yet made, and from this viewpoint as from most others, it makes vastly less difference than was till very lately thought how much of his majestic figure is historic and how much a "focus of projection of the optimal ideals of the race." Thus, if he did not know the sciences of nature he knew that of man, their maker. His psychology was not that of the schools any more than is the botany of Burbank or the physics of Edison, but like them he controlled natural agencies and brought out beneficent practical results. We can hardly assume that Jesus would not welcome all sciences that bring forth fruits or, indeed, any and every kind of knowledge that means service. In Chapter 2 we saw how many novelists and playwrights have described Jesus in various callings and situations in modern life, but no one has ever attempted yet to present him in the modern laboratory, seminary, library, or even clinic, and we rarely see his picture or image in any of these places. But this will doubtless yet come. As we have seen as a result of the war so many new conceptions of Jesus as a soldier, so a vital growing Christianity will take him wherever good men go with heart and purpose.

The evolution of *prayer* began probably with that of man himself. It is perhaps the only common trait of all religions, their very heart, and the most universal expression of piety. It is always optative or expressive of some wish, either to obtain some good or avoid some evil. It is often accompanied by rites and ceremonies, or reinforced by magic spells, or perhaps by the mimetic acts suggestive or symbolic of the desire, while the speech forms are often stereotyped, and potent

phrases or incantations.[1] "The roots of prayer are older than all creeds and cannot be deduced or derived from them." Fielding Hall thinks it inconsistent that the Buddhist women of Burma pray passionately at the shrines of their deity, because he has entered Nirvana and can neither hear nor answer. But prayer does not need to be addressed to any one, so aboriginal and primordial is "the soul's sincere desire uttered or unexpressed." Its answer, too, is subjective, its issue often being simply acquiescence, power to accept the inevitable with joy, so that if prayer is a true cause, it is so only by setting free energy within. So one can pray to malign powers or to nothing. Some think that prayer developed the gods themselves, and that their continued existence depends upon it. Among most lower races it is regarded as a kind of projection of will-power to influence a supernal being, somewhat as one influences his friends.

It is very different to-day with our vastly enlarged conceptions of the universe and of law. Compared with some of the thousands of millions of stars our sun itself is of insignificant size, and the individual on our tiny planet shrivels to a microbe, so that ideas of special providential answers can be no longer held. The child and the savage have more or less definite conceptions of whom they are addressing, but this is no longer possible, for many pray to nothing more definite than a vast diffusive power. Again, whoever or whatever is addressed is now regarded as less objective and more immanent. As Coe[2] well says, we do not conceive that the God of prayer and the God of nature are opposed or even distinct, so that the more law there is, the less God, nor do we think of a supernatural over against a natural realm. Nor are prayer and a life of piety so much split off or set apart for set hours or places, nor is the soul partitioned. Prayer is etymologically a request so that we should expect those that have most wants to be most in need of it. But the Church is more prosperous and comfortable to-day than ever before; and if these blessings are answers to prayer, then the latter tends to its own elimination, because men are more and more able to help themselves. The rich certainly do not feel the need of praying for food, shelter, clothing, as do those in adversity. In prayer man wants something done for or given him,

[1] L. R. Farnell: "The Evolution of Religion." London, 1905. R. Marett: "From Spell to Prayer." *Folklore*, 1904, Vol. 15, p. 132. D. G. Brinton: "The Religions of Primitive Peoples." New York, 1897. H. Fielding Hall: "The Hearts of Men." New York, 1901.

[2] "The Religion of a Mature Mind." New York, 1902.

and we wrestle and argue with God in many ways. We remind him (a) that he is so rich that giving does not impoverish him; (b) he is so powerful that he could help with no effort, but would need only to speak and it would be done, and he could aid us with no fatigue; (c) of the great help he has rendered others in ancient times, Abraham, Isaac, the manna and quails, etc.; (d) how wretched and mean and weak we are, prone to evil. As if we had a phobia of provoking the envy of our gods such as the Greeks feared, we indulge in patheticism, as if to excite his pity, possibly under the momentum of the old instinct of sacrifice of self; or perhaps this prayer motive, if psychoanalyzed, would be an attempt to praise God by the subtle method of contrast, or to point out to him what an opportunity our extremity is. (e) We plead promises of receiving for asking, recalling all the pledges of the old covenant, as if he might forget or not live up to his contract, or as if he had aroused great expectations which we often identify with faith. (f) We seek further to insinuate ourselves into divine favour by assurances of joy and gratitude if the largess we seek is given, so that we can feel ourselves the favourites of heaven; and our most vociferous thanksgivings are of course often subtly tinged with a lively sense of benefits to come. (g) We plead that we are loved, for he is love; that his bounty is universal for saints and sinners alike; and that he often delights to do the most for the worst. (h) We realize that a just God must be angry; that a trivial sin against infinite justice becomes itself infinite, and perhaps deserving an infinite punishment; but here we plead the alien merits of the great victim. We magnify the agony of the cross as our only plea. Its pains were sufficient to compensate for the sins of the world, and poor debtors though we are, we seek indemnity and the cancellation of penalty as beneficiaries of the great atonement fund. We argue with the Divine that instead of holding us personally responsible he set us free, and draw on the supererogatory virtue which the Great Patron has placed to our account, as if his pains could coerce mercy, and there could be no danger of overdraft. By all these categories we pray, plead, beg, urge, for health, success, prosperity, for ourselves and our friends, often with a selfishness so narrow that if our petitions were granted others would be incalculably injured. We make a virtue of an importunity that cannot be denied or put off. We would weary God out. Our hearts pant with the fervour of desire, as if heaven

hesitated and needed to be coaxed and teased. There is thus often an inordinate greed in prayer. Some prayers, of course, could not be answered, for they are contradictory or violate the order of things; and if all were answered, prayer itself would be obsolete because there would be nothing left to pray for unless for the power to conceive still greater gifts.

The Christian consciousness has rightly shrunk from any attempt to make any of the scientific tests which skeptics have proposed, especially since the day of Tyndall's prayer gauge. It properly resents any form of *experimentum crucis* to see whether of two like things under like conditions the one prayed for would have a little advantage. Perhaps the whole world as a battery of prayer with its very existence staked upon the outcome, could not make a filliped coin fall differently. Probably very few indeed of all man's prayers have in any sense been answered, because he lacks the genius to pray aright save in the most general terms. No faith can be strong enough to accomplish what is not in the nature of things, for true faith is only anticipated history. Prayer should only direct and put an edge on work, and be in the line of tendencies that are conformable to the laws of nature and of the human heart. One writer suggests that in a universe made up of spiritual beings a strong desire of any one of them would slightly influence all the others, as the earth rises to meet a falling feather; but this exiguous and infinitesimal possibility rests on a special hypothesis of the universe which will appeal to but few.

Tylor shows that prayer is almost coextensive with animism, and that perhaps all, even the lowest savages, lead lives abounding in prayer. A. J. Nutt, in "Ossian and the Ossianic Literature" (1899), says: "A nail driven into a wooden idol is a prayer, and so is a pin dropped into a sacred well." These are often selfish invocations, perhaps of their fetishes, for success in head-hunting. When we realize how man is always prone in great undertakings, in panics or in grief, to cry out for help, as if prayer were almost an automatism, even though it be a monologue or love chant, we realize how, up and down the whole scale of culture, man has always been a praying animal. Indeed, prayer has its pathology, may become a monomania or delirium, as well as worked by a machine. Criminals pray for success in crime, gamblers for lucky numbers. Prayer may be hardly more than a sob, or may lead to syncope. It may be a periodic impulse without any

muezzin or angelus. Some think its canticles based on a specific emotion or a distinct faculty. Most hymns are simply prayers. The New Caledonian kindles a fire to increase the heat of the sun which he addresses, saying, "I do this that you may be hotter." The Karens in thrashing rice call to the corn-mother to shake herself that the paddy-hill may grow as large as a mountain. Some Sioux formulae involve endearing phrases of kinship, and the wish is uttered with the sacrifice. Countless ceremonies attend prayers. Quaint forms of words are often used, e. g., in dispatching the ghost of the dead to its home. A Vedic hymn says, "Thou, O Agni, art our father, and we thy kinsmen." A Babylonian prayer begins: "I have no mother; thou art my mother. I have no father; thou art my father." Some prayers are spell narratives on the idea that talking of a thing causes it to happen. Much medicine magic aims at purification. The African witch doctor holds his fetish up over the patient and prays, "Father heaven, bless this medicine." The Klonds conclude all their prayers for special favours with the phrase, "We are ignorant of what is good for us; you know; give it to us." Giesbrecht in, "Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens," shows the wondrous power ascribed to the divine name. The Latin pontifices concealed it lest it be wrongly used, and Euripides speaks of the wise man "who knows the silent names of the gods." The Greek liturgies sometimes enumerate several epithets, or call on the God of many names. A chorus in Aesculapius says, "Zeus, whoever the god is, if this name of Zeus is dear to him, by this name I appeal." So, in India, Agni is immortal and of many names, and the Egyptian Ra has manifold names unknown even to the gods. So the name Yahveh was sacred, if not potent, and the Christian is baptized into the name of Christ. Not only does knowing the name of the deity give power over him, but to know his origin works as a charm. The Veda says, "O sleep, we know thy breath; thou art the ender, death; protect us from evil dreams," etc. The ancient Germans thought the rune the rival if not the parent of prayer, and in the Middle Ages the Holy Ghost was a name thought to make blood, skin, and bone grow again after injury.

Even in ancient England the prayer charm was used against sterility of the land, much as in ancient Greece agricultural petitions were uttered. The devotee glancing into the sky simply said, "Rain and conceive." Similar spells were used for human fertility. The

Romans were prone to invoke the spirits of ancestors, held that there was great power in repetition, dancing and in uttering the words, "*Io triumphe.*" The famous Roman address to Jupiter in the days of Hannibal's War was a legal document shrewdly drawn to bind both the god and the state. Greece had an official liturgy containing curses on certain offences against the state, and both Jews and Christians have curse formulae consecrating their victim to the lower world and constraining the very gods. A savage oath says, "May this fetish slay me if I do not fulfil this contract." Socrates commended the Spartans for not praying for particular gifts, but only for what was beautiful and good. Very lofty is Pindar's prayer: "May I walk, O God, in the guileless paths of life and leave behind me a fair name for my children," and "O God that bringest all things to pass, grant me the spirit of reverence for noble things." Euripides prays: "May the spirit of chastity, the fairest gift of God, abide with me," and in a much-used banquet song the Greeks prayed, "O Pallas, born of waters, Queen Athene, may thou and thy father keep this city and its citizens in prosperity, free from sorrow, civic discord, and untimely death." Xenophon prays, for "Good life, bodily strength, good feeling among friends, safety in war, and wealth." Socrates prays: "Grant me to become noble of heart"; Apollonius, "O gods, grant me that which I deserve"; Plato, "King Zeus, grant us the good, whether we pray for it or not, but keep the evil from us, though we pray for it." Epictetus prayed: "Do with me what thou wilt. Thy will is my will." And the early Stoics prayed: "Lead me, O God, and I will follow willingly, if I am wise, but if not willingly still I will follow." Some philosophical Christians early raised the question whether special prayers were justified, and it was on this view that the Pythagoreans at one time forbade prayer because the gods know better what to give than men do what to ask. They also held that all prayer should be aloud, so that no one would pray for anything he would be ashamed for others to hear. Neo-Platonism stressed the idea of communion with God. The only prayer of Apuleius was, "that thou wouldst be willing to keep us all our lives in the love of knowledge." The Vedic thought was that the gods uphold the sky and do all their work by prayer. A very ancient prayer is, "With my mind do I seize your mind," and again, to Agni, "May we be well-doers before the gods," and again, "Give us not up, O Agni, to want of thought; make us sinless before

Aditi; put far away the sins of the mind; enter into smoke, O sin, go into the vapours, and into the fog." With such prayers often went potent symbols of purification. Among the Iranians a real spell could accompany only a real prayer, the text of which was very potent in the hands of the "sacerdotal physician." He prays, "Give us, Ahura, that powerful sovereignty by the strength of which we may smite down the sickness demon," and then, turning to it, he says, "To thee, O sickness, I say avaunt; to thee, O death, I say avaunt." The holy word is of such a nature that if all the corporeal and living world should learn it and, learning, hold fast to it, they would be redeemed from their mortality. The Persian prayers are even higher than the Vedic in their conception of righteousness. Before rising the pious Persian prays, "All good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds, I do willingly. All evil thoughts, all evil words, all evil deeds, I do unwillingly. May we help bring on the good government of Ahura." "How may man become most like unto thee? I implore through the good mind a kingdom for myself, through whose increase I may conquer the lie." In Babylon Marduk is often invoked as the arch magician and there were experts and spells in purification, and yet lofty types of faith that "prayer absolves from sin." One of the greatest of all prayers is that of Nebuchadnezzar to Marduk on his ascension: "O eternal ruler, Lord of all . . . lead the king by the right way . . . I am the work of thy hand. Father, the great mercy which thou showest to all, grant that thy high majesty, O Lord, may now show compassion on me. Set in my heart the fear of thy Godhead. Grant me what thou deemest best, for thou it is that hast created my life." Another king prays for his first-born that he may commit no sin, and another that he may reign "according to thy wish. Let me not in my pride lose true knowledge of thee." Another prays: "Set righteousness on my lips, and grace in my heart." "Marduk is the God full of mercy who lives to quicken what is dead," and Ishtar is "the helper of the oppressed, endowed with majesty, who raisest the fallen and exaltest the trodden underfoot." Some of these prayers to Marduk rise to an almost prophetic loftiness and suggest the best of the prophets. In Egypt the idea of spells oppressed the soul, and both gods and worshippers used them toward each other, the latter sometimes with such confident faith that the prayer seems nothing less than a command. This is especially seen in the "Book of the Dead," over

whom entrancing words were used that their souls might become divine. Prayer amulets and symbols were very prominent at every stage of this most elaborate of all the cults of death. In one case the soul addresses Ammon: "I am a perfect spirit among the companions of Ra, and I have gone in and come forth among the perfect souls; grant unto me the things which my body needeth and heaven for my soul and a hidden space for my mummy." Everywhere here we find magic prayer, intense conviction, trust in pictures, words of power, and sacred texts.

In Christianity Clement developed the first theory of prayer. The true gnostic, he says, "works himself with God in his prayer so as to attain perfection." Thus prayer is not merely petitionary, but a self projection. So Origen thought prayer was chiefly communion. Still the gnostics used the old magic often suggesting the mimetic acts of lower faiths in their ritual under new names, such as prayer, blessing the baptismal water on the eve of Epiphany, with thrice dipping of the crucifix into it, symbolic of the sweetening of the bitter water with wood, in Exodus. Some of the formulae of the Church are masterpieces of synthesis of intoned chant with the subtle value of suggestion and a typical act with prayer. But we must not forget that it was the belief in demons, possession, and exorcism that sustained the spell theory of prayer in the early Christian ages. Indeed, it has so strong a hold that I know of no suggested reforms of liturgy that would entirely eliminate it.

We now often regard prayer as an end in itself rather than as a means. It is a function of adjustment to fate or fortune, often seeking to make the best out of the worst. The extreme expression of this attitude is that, although the Lord slay and doom him to hell, the saint will acquiesce, justify the divine way, and strive to accept even this fate with consolation if not with joy. This of course assumes that all evil is partial good, and involves a struggle up to an absolute standpoint. Renunciation has its own inspiration, and is the ambivalent opposite of the Titanism that when brought to bay defies heaven and dies with malediction. Indeed destiny is a divine will to which ours must give way, and this element of prayer is all acquiescence and seeks to regard evil as purification, which is more complete the hotter the furnace of tribulation. One function of philosophy is to bring us to abandon freely even the life that fate will one day require of us. This involves, not merely facing death with equanimity and dignity, but a

sense that nothing happens without sufficient reason, and that our extinction would be tolerable if it advanced the glory of God. The race is of course the end to which the individual is utterly subordinated, and so the race itself may be a means to be subordinated to a higher end, and that to a still higher one in indefinite perspective. Thus there is not only a joy but a passion in utter self-sacrifice and immolation.

Prayer psychologically considered does not presuppose invocation or any special concept of any being to whom the prayer is addressed, so that an agnostic or atheist can truly pray. "O God, if there is a God, save my soul, if I have a soul," is a real prayer. True prayer, too, may be addressed to stalks, stones, trees, and idols, sun, moon, stars, ether; and it would be easy to quote genuine cases of it to about every false deity the world has ever known. The savage who conceives things below man and prays downward, as we think, never does so according to his own idea. Anything, indeed, may be a medium through which man reaches the great heart of the world, and while the new convert may see God alike in all things, the soul generally makes a very distinct *Objekt-Wahl*, and through this seeks confidential converse, dialogue, or to make incursions into a higher realm, or to receive visitations from it. Thus the culmination of prayer is psychologically very analogous in the moral sphere to the hedonic narcosis that Schopenhauer ascribes to the moment of most intense aesthetic contemplation with surcease of all pain. This is why mystic prayer is sometimes so regenerating. "He prays best who loves best," and the acme of the communion of love is a transport which usually leaves the soul permanently changed because it has been caught up by the oversoul and received a higher potentialization. The soul has reopened the original well-spring of life and perhaps glimpsed its own final destiny, augmented every higher motivation. This makes prayer in a sense the opener of new and higher ways, the purest psychic expression of the evolutionary push-up in us. Moozumdar once told me how he insisted on a cupola on his Bombay College, in which, Christian though he was, he encouraged his students to develop the old Buddhistic cult of sitting cross-legged alone, high above the earth, in quiet, turning the soul inward, trying to escape from the great fatigue, watching the greater stars come out in the inner life as the garish little sun of consciousness set. His idea was not so much to evacuate the mind in the contemplation

of Nirvana as to reinforce it by attaining perfect nervous poise and repose as a kind of higher rest cure. Or rather the goal was to hear the still, small voice of man's truest nature, to develop some consciousness of our higher, more perfect and generic self, which he deemed the true vocation of man, which consisted in communing with and drawing out his own genius, and feeling its incubation. Western thought has often recognized, though in a far fainter way, this higher autodidactic element in the soul. Indeed, in a sense, not only the mystic contemplation striving to reach the superessential, but even the scientific bottoming on some absolute space, ether, energy; Kant's autonomous oughtness, supreme over every heteronomous motive; Schleiermacher's feeling of absolute dependence, which will always be correlated with Hegel's idea of absolute freedom; the passionate Edwardsian love of being; the love which for Jesus and Paul is the fulfilling of the law—these, and indeed all the higher impulsions of the soul, down through the whole history of the categories, testify that man has experienced something in his own nature that is authoritative, unfallen, capable of being normative in his life. Man cannot work out these themes in the form of personal vital experience without being devout. They are the permanent and essential parts of his higher nature, and the act of bringing them out is, in its most generic aspect, prayer. They are the best things in us, and perhaps the very hardest to get at because they are elements of our very personality. They give all the worth there is to every proof of immortality, and we might well abase ourselves before them, as if they were not parts of us but of God incarnate in us. Here it is that we live in him and he in us. Indeed, if man does not become one with the eternal in this realm of inner unity of intuitions, feelings and desires, he remains forever separated from it in all the derived unities of consciousness.

One function of prayer is praise, which may lapse to adulation and flattery, with which the Orient particularly exalts the *amour propre* of potentates. We enumerate the physical, metaphysical, moral attributes of the great *Autos* with abandon and superlativeness, eulogizing him with endless panegyrics for his great achievements in the past. We invoke him as over all lords, kings, rulers, with a kind of poetic license not unmixed with a consciousness that praise is the best exordium for requests. True praise involves a profound sense of sublimity, which is perhaps the best expander of the soul, even inspiring

creation in the sense of Ruskin, who insists that "all art is praise." In this direction, at least, lie some of the loftiest human thoughts and feelings. The vast modern enlargement of the universe greatly enhances this attitude toward the divine, so that of him who best knows philosophy and science it can be said, as it was long ago of the astronomer, that if undevout he is mad. The vastation of knowledge broadened with progress of the suns is a growing incitement to this devotional attitude and tends to bring man metaphorically to his knees. At an age when the spirit of criticism tends to paralyze the higher powers of appreciation, when men are prone to take greater pleasure in looking down than in looking up, and the instinct of reverence languishes, this element of praise ought to be a theme of careful psychopedagogic study and ought to be developed, for its cult is capable of a far greater function and value than it has ever had in giving man the new orientation he still lacks to the new world of science.

The most important element in prayer psychologically considered is confession. The instinct to tell instead of to conceal our faults is sometimes very strong, so that relatives and lawyers may have to contend against this impulse in clients they are defending, and suicide is sometimes a form of confession. So social is man that both his sins and troubles seem halved by sharing them with a confidant. In some temperaments the impulse to confess even sins that may bring legal penalties and ostracism or that excite feelings of repulsion, all of which silence might escape, is so sudden that it might be called spasmodic. It may be prompted by a sense of danger so intolerable that even the worst social penalty is voluntarily incurred in order to relieve the psychic tension, just as men often have such horror of altitudes that they throw themselves down from heights. I have often been tempted to coin a word, *poinetropia* (*poine* = penalty), to express the fascination that punishments for real faults may sometimes have. Plato thought that bad men in their hearts hungered for the retribution due their evil deeds; and in the annals of crime, and sometimes in common life, we certainly meet this impulsion, rare and overlaid as it usually is by the selfish instincts of escaping pain generally, and also by the Christian habit of regarding the atonement as superseding the reign of justice in the world. If in error, admit; if in fault, tell it frankly, whether to the person injured, physician, priest, friend, or God, for this is the true way of honour, chivalry, manhood, and brings great and instant ease-

ment. Confession shows good intentions to be deeper than our faults, and as in some sense sloughing off the latter as an alien and not our true self. Moreover, confession lets in the light of another's knowledge upon propensities that can flourish only in the darkness of concealment. It is reparation and balm for wounds that we inflict. We must chiefly remember, moreover, that the lie came into the world to cloak sin, and this is still its chief motive. No one lies to conceal virtue, but the first and worst lies are to veil wrongdoing.[1] Heinroth, the Berlin alienist, conceived all disease, insanity and sin included, as lies, because perversion of nature's intent in us; and Nordau and many others (for this topic has now a copious literature) have shown how deep-seated mendacity is in the conventions of modern society. Thus when an individual or a civilization gives up the lie and falls back upon the real self by robustly speaking, thinking, acting the truth and wishing to be accepted for what it really is by nature and heredity, a joy and peace so great that it is often well called regeneration supervenes. Thus sins and lies have the same root; or, in theological phrase, the same Diabolus, as their father. The worst result is when men come to believe their own lies, as they always tend to do, and when lies work themselves into the soul and remain unassimilated like surds or foreign bodies, vitiating the roots of character. To some morbid souls there comes a strange exhilaration in the blankest kind of lying, insisting that white is black when gazing upon it. This gives a sense of emancipation from reality, asserts the sovereignty of arbitrariness, and makes conscience conscious. To say the thing that is not, and deny the thing that is, seem inspiration for some moral inverts. This pseudomania to lie where the truth would better serve one's purpose, as great souls sacrifice for the truth, brings out a kind of self-consciousness that might be called mental masturbation. Of course, too, men have prayed to and devoted their lives to the powers of evil, and there have been those who strove deliberately to commit every known sin, as the history of Antichrist and Satanism shows. But we should not forget that practically all devils are ex, fallen, or emeritus gods that have been dethroned, and conversely that the best gods are devils many times refined and reformed and the highest in a series of many substitutions, and that it is a psychic trait of man, as his elimination of the missing link has shown, to abhor the second best more than he does

[1] See my "Children's Lies," *Ped. Sem.*, Vol. I, p. 211. Also Delbrück: "Die psychologische Lüge." Stuttgart, 1891.

the fifth or tenth best. If prayer is real truth in word and deed, it always involves contrition (or literally trituration) of self and of pride, which are the roots of sin and lies. For if they are not expurgated the soul is dualized. If confession to one halves, confession to many, which is harder, still more diminishes guilt, especially if voluntary. Auricular confession in the Catholic Church meets a great need for which Protestantism has no adequate substitute. Priestly confidence is inviolate and respected even by Courts in cases of the greatest crimes. It may, of course, be abused or become mechanical, perfunctory, or too institutionalized. But if genuine and contrite it is its own absolution. In Dostoyefsky's "Crime and Punishment" the detective long had proof enough to convict the criminal, but worked to bring about his full confession, feeling that this should be the goal of every detective. The ancient Jews and Teutons were too proud to confess to any but God, but the more social Southern races have long found peace in confessing to accredited men. Disclosures to God are secret, the difficulty of avowal is lessened, and there is little virtue in being honest to the omniscient Searcher of hearts. But if we consider confession for what it truly is, viz., deepening self-knowledge, it may be in itself the best autotherapy. Round terms or mere enumerations are not enough, but poignancy of regret and improvement can come only with specification. Of course the devotee who babbles to God that he is a vile wretch, polluted with sin, if taken literally would be expelled from Church, placed under a social ban, boycotted or outlawed. This kind of confession is a mere parody of the real thing, but even this seems to have for some its charm, because many have confessed to sins they never committed and had almost a mania for magnifying those they had. This, however, is easily explainable. Hystericals gratify their instinct to be interesting by inventing heinous offences with a prodigality of fancy and detail that misleads adepts. Feeling that they have done wrong beyond the possibility of complete and exhaustive acknowledgment, they magnify the errors they recall, so that the sum of sin may be sure to be offset by the equivalent amount of confession. In other words, they make the bad they remember worse than it is to cancel forgotten and unconfessed faults, the former in technical terms being overcharged with affectivity. Of course brooding distorts true proportions, while sometimes the sin is felt to be so deep-seated that convulsive efforts are necessary to exteriorize it. Some, too, become

habitual inebriates of the sense of relief that telling brings, so that they appropriate and disgorge every sin they hear of. In Jeremy Taylor's "Ductor Dubitantium," in the records of the old Fulton Street daily prayer meeting, which I once perused, and in all the literature of casuistry and autobiographies of great saints and great sinners, one finds copious illustrations of all these abnormalities, every one of which now has its close analogue in the literature of personal hygiene and autotherapy.

Remarkable new light, which has shown confession to be one of the central themes of humanistic impulse, has lately been thrown on it in the recent development of abnormal psychology, especially in the line begun by Breuer and Freud,[1] the pith of which is as follows: When a nervous system is a little loosened in its texture, as in puberty, or by reason of hereditary defect, exhaustion, or some sudden or unusual experience, death, accident, or sin, the tension thus caused often becomes too great to be worked off by the laws of associative thinking, the function of which is to adjust to and assimilate the new fact, painful though it is. It cannot be expressed by normal actions, reflexes, gestures, or words. In such a case the generated excitement overflows, diffuses, and tends to find or break out new paths. It now becomes a question of lines of least resistance, as in the nasal irritation that normally issues in a sneeze, when, if the latter is delayed the excitement irradiates to eyes, brain, glands, respiration, etc., or as a riddle may excite great tension until the answer is found. Goethe felt psychic pain after very strong feeling till he had expressed it in poetry. In weakened subjects this vent for psychic excitement may be found in digestive or circulatory pains or convulsions, in tonic or clonic cramps, etc., till one or more of these, although abnormal, become habitual. When thus these exciting causes become real psychic traumata, when they break out in these unnatural lines, when ideogenic causes thus issue in somatic symptoms, the latter physical phenomena take the place of consciousness, which may be quite lost with hardly any accessible trace. Perhaps, e. g., a series of cramps or digestive disturbances, started by a painful psychic experience, draws off the energy so completely that the experience itself is entirely forgotten. Now, when in such cases the memory of the cause and all its attendant circumstances can be brought point by point and vividly into

[1] "Studien über Hysterie." Leipzig, 1895.

consciousness, whether by question, suggestion, or hypnotism, and everything can be vividly reproduced with the attendant feelings and movements, and thus the psychic reaction be dramatically restored, then the abnormal symptom vanishes because its surrogate has been restored in consciousness. This "auricular confession," as these authors term it, plucks out the cause of the disorder which had acted as a foreign body in the soul, so that its functions are "converted" back to normality. Such patients suffer from "forgotten reminiscence," which is exorcised by this process. So in the larger racial field Mansoul has been scarred by the long and bitter struggle of survival. Not only is the soul warped but the system has experienced washouts of passion that have broken through dams of restraint and gullied the psychophysic organism with many a lesion. Sense, appetite, sex, disease, have left their marks upon him. Storms of anger have howled through his nature, so that both his conscious and unconscious life have been perverted. Psychic pestilence and contagion, like greed, drink, war, witchcraft, fetishism, fanaticism, have left some of his nervous functions more or less insane, so that his organism is a resonance chamber of the long historic travail to escape the ape and tiger in him, to get loose of Plato's dark steed harnessed to the white one, or of the body of death predisposed to leipothumia. At various points we have reacted wrongly to our environment. Not only our world but our experience has grown vastly too large for our intelligence to respond to it aright.

But deep as is the depravity, it is not total, or man's case would be hopeless. There is always a saving remnant of good. Fortunately not only the worst individuals but the worst elements of man's nature have been eliminated, and the best carefully preserved. Bad as man is to-day, he has unquestionably been vastly worse in the past, so that the sense of personal and ancestral sin that has always been so strong has never been without hope of restoration. Thus the religious conception of Jesus' suffering is more or less reflected in the depths of the soul where slumber the almost effaced and deeply overlaid traces of the goodness of man's first "intention." The first stage of cure and rescue, then, is the Aristotelian katharsis that comes by inner rehearsal of the fall, the re-experience in weakened, imaginary form of the pride, anger, lust, that seem to have done their worst for us in order to arouse the higher powers that control and correct them. Nelson long ago showed

how habitual forms of bad dreams and nightmares might be prevented by rehearsing them in thought faintly just before going to sleep. So the soul may acquire a certain immunity from temptation by reënacting its drama on the mimic shadow stage of consciousness and thus robbing it of its sting of actual sin. How deep this realization of the perversity of our conduct and nature can go is an individual matter. Some can feel guilty only for a few overt acts in their lives, and very few can realize the ravages of our remote inheritance. To do this we need to have some conception of ideally perfect human nature, and only the embodiment of this could adequately feel the full weight of sin or realize the degree of man's alienation from his norm. Of course, conviction of unworthiness and admission of it even to self means that schism has begun and that purgation may follow. The bad is set clearly over against the good, and resonances of "vague snatches of Uranian antiphone" begin to be felt. A tribunal is erected; the soul is judging with all its might and main. The law written in the heart is revived, for man is confessing to himself and the moult of his baser nature is beginning. This is the most inner and intimate of all the functions of prayer, the most saving of all works, the greatest of all rescues. It implies the highest vitality and momentum of further development. Indeed, it suggests to us that the chief function of self-consciousness is remedial because its very existence is due to our deviation from the true law of our own being. Thus the fall of man was from instinct and intuition to self-consciousness, which is like a wart made on a tree by the sting of an insect, except that when the end of perfection is attained it may be eliminated.[1] Recent writers have urged in a very sentimental way that man learned to speak in order to pray, and that as his language is the cry of the body, his prayer is that of his soul. It is inner speech "exciting our emotions." Strange as this is, we know that often abnormal functions tend to come to the front, and that as long as functions are undisturbed we are not conscious of them, so that to sense them is a danger signal which not only calls attention to where help is needed, but on the principle *ubi effluxus ibi affluxus* is itself of real therapeutic value. The conscious intellect, therefore, may have its prime function in making distinctions between right and wrong ways of thinking and acting, so that it is at bottom therapeutic

[1] Guimaraëns: "Le Besoin de Prier et ses Conditions Psychologiques." *Rev Philos.*, Oct , 1902.
A. Strindberg: "La Psychologie de la Prière." *Rev. Blanche*, Apr. 15 and May 1, 1895.

and curative. This gives us our deepest view of the confessional element in prayer. To tell the Great Companion, or an idle spectator, or a human confidant, is itself a way of salvation. To acknowledge is not only to objectify but to heterize. Confession is thus truly apotropaic, and this was the goal of all primitive, if not of every other kind of sacrifice. What is thus alienated ceases to be part of us, is already partitioned off from us, and this is the psychic root of pardon. Only the sin that is thus exteriorized or doomed to exclusion is forgotten because only this reveals the higher self which is foreign to it. It must still be punished in the body, or even in the mind, of the individual; but something higher now stands forth that had no participation in its commital, and is therefore itself exempt from either guilt or penalty. The exuviæ may still cling to us, and we suffer pain; but the other purer, more interior part of us, remains pure. Thus confession becomes, as Hegel in his "Phenomenology" says, the act of sovereignty of the soul by which it forgives itself because it has no longer any part or lot in the punishment that may supervene.

Prayer, in the modern psychological sense of meditation and self-communion in quiet hours, when we inventory our interests, powers and ideals, and commune with the deeper racial self within us, is a cult that greatly needs and, indeed, is now to some extent having a revival. In the prayer books of the Church, and lately in many new prayers composed for those in various callings and for those facing special exigencies or choices, and more specifically in the prayers composed for soldiers in the field, we realize again the pregnant sense in which man is a praying animal. Prayer should keep alive the aspirations of youth, so many of which are prone to fade as we advance in life. It should refine but never destroy them, for it is one of the chief strongholds of ideality, and rightly used gives the truest and most practical self-knowledge and self-control. When collective, it makes a unique synthesis between members of a social whole, and when solitary, as it should also always be at times, it brings and keeps us in touch with the submerged self within us and taps its measureless resources. Of all autodidactic agencies it is perhaps thus the most synthetic and unifying, bringing together feeling, will, and intellect, the conscious and the unconscious, the individual and his social environment. Nature lovers, artists, and also quite notably children, have evolved special formal prayers in both prose and poetry to express for them what are

ideal attitudes, toward the aspects of nature, society, duty, temptations, studies, vocations, etc. Sometimes individuals develop a personal mark, sign, or symbol, book-plate, bit of art or diagram, incorporating into it often the inmost secrets of their lives, which they would not impart to their most intimate friends. This is really a prayer, for it expresses their most ardent wishes. At the opposite extreme of generality stands, of course, the immortal petition of Our Lord, which is so perfect that in all its history I find but few improvements have even been suggested as possible. The chief of these has been repeatedly expressed in the wish that to the petition "Deliver us from evil" he might have added "and ignorance," so that the advance in knowledge and science should have had recognition, for this might have mitigated the long conflict between piety and reason.

(1) There is no such quintessential synopsis of the Christian consciousness in brief form as is attained in the Lord's Prayer, which is an outline of its chief attitudes toward the world and is on the whole the high-water mark of the moral developmental instincts of the human soul. To address as "Father" the background of the universe, its source, principle, the unknown reservoir out of which all things sprang, be it ether, energy, or something forever above all name or thought, marked a flash of creative genius or an inspiration richer in anticipations and more transforming in its beneficent influences than perhaps any other single conception of the religious soul. If man's pedigree is now conceived to go back through the amœba to some matrix, mother-lye or cosmic gas, it is, nevertheless, to a father, and the stages of our evolution are all procreative. Creation is an act of generation by which the great One and All transmits his own inmost essence to the world. He is here personated, and we are connected not only with his somatic but with his yet more fundamental spermatic elements. Just so far as we are true and legitimate children, therefore, we, too, are divine in the same sense that he is, and if nature in its most comprehensive sense is the total product of all his creativeness, it is no less divine than he. Otherwise, generative stages are degenerate and decadent. The offspring is not equal to the parent, or all Godhood is not expressed in creation or revealed in mind and its products. Indeed, this mode of address seems at first a product of Titanic overweaning, heaven-storming pride, which to the Greek would rouse divine jealousy and invite wrath. The emphasis here, however, is more upon

beneficence, present guidance, and parental care, so that our attitude in thus addressing the Source of all things is that of a child in frank relations to an all-powerful parent, abounding in love and inclined to answer all reasonable petitions. Pindar devoted his great genius in part to tracing back the pedigree of the successful athletes at Olympia to the heroes of an older day, Apollo, Hercules, and other deities of the Greek Pantheon. But by the appellation "father" the Christian declares that the heavenly ichor of the only living and true God flows in his own veins by direct, literal, linear heredity, and this consciousness therefore fortifies and emboldens all his petitions. Indeed, this is the greatest altitude which the soul reaches in its animistic, anthropomorphizing impulse to construe the universe into congruence with man's highest possible conception of himself. Evolution cannot be conceived or represented in a more artistic or personal way, and far as science has now removed us from the beginnings of creation, the fact that creative evolution is here represented, not as a fiat or an act of mechanical construction but as the most intimate projection of self, should make man feel henceforth forever at home in his world. It is only anaemic sentiment that interprets fatherhood according to the degenerate ways often seen in contemporary addresses to God, which often show traces of sentimentality, querulousness, over-intimacy, the familiarity born of imperfect respect, or the assumption that love means indulgence of whims until our attitude suggests that of spoiled children. Even if, as we are now told, the father complex in this higher application is fashioned on the human parent, this conception keeps fatherhood dignified and worthy, and suggests to each earthly father an added motive so to live and discharge his whole duty and function as head of his household that his children shall form the largest and highest possible ideas of him, so that when they are transferred to the heavenly All-Father they shall not be too faulty.

(2) The Father addressed is ours and not mine. This implies the solidarity of the human race, and might easily be extended to imply that of all animate and, perhaps, inanimate existence. Even though we pray alone, it is not selfish but with initial recognition that it is to a God upon whom all other creatures have the same claim as we. Mankind, especially, is a confraternity. We are all of one family, and every ideal of Catholicism and universality lurks under this pronoun. Its connotations are in fact wide or narrow just in proportion to the span

of the horizon of our own consciousness. He is the Father of even our enemy, who would imprecate us; for he sends rain upon the evil as well as upon the good. In fine, not only mutuality and brotherhood, but consubstantiality with the entire world upon the ground of genetic relationship to a common source, are involved.

(3) He is in heaven. Toward it, rather than toward the rising sun, toward Mecca, Jerusalem, Benares, or any altar, crucifix, or shrine, we should direct our prayers. Man is by the etymology of his Greek name the upward-looking being. The erect position was acquired after long experience of anthropoid ancestors whose arboreal habits freed the forelimbs from the necessity of the work of locomotion, so that they could be instruments for more intellectual tasks. Like our Aryan ancestors or the classic statue of the Greek youth, we extend our hands supine upward. We pray up into the void of space, we look away from the earth toward the nebulae, ether, and sky, on the same principle that the *raja-yoga* gazes at his navel in passing into the rapt state of contemplation, because it is our origin, and because, like all the other worlds and all that is in them, we are in some mysterious way secreted out of the heavens from which still comes our help. Indeed, to have a sense of reality above us (which we owe in no small measure to clouds and the fancies spun about them, and to thunder) acquires and implies a certain spiritualization of soul. For primitives, belief in and reverence of powers above, so vividly felt in storms, are akin to what Renan has shown to be the effect of such phenomena at Sinai upon the plain-dwelling Hebrews, viz., to make God more actually present, near, fearful, etc. The Aryan mind, too, has developed more richly than any other the mythology which personifies celestial objects and phenomena. More effective yet is perhaps the overwhelming sense of our own littleness and insignificance, most of all intensified in contemplating the infinities of time and space which an upward glance suggests. Man is profoundly uranotropic. Devoutness, reverence, humility, which are the distinctive features of the religious mind, culminate when our thoughts take this direction, and find their homeward orientation to be also heavenward. Even more than Kant's undevout astronomer, those who contemplate infinite space without devout sentiments may be called mad.

(4) His name is to be hallowed. God is thus above all name, and greater than anything that can be called thought, even in this scien-

tific age. Our minds cannot apprehend, and still less comprehend, this vastest of all possible objects, too great, indeed, to be objectified. He is the one and all; the great Pan himself personified. But worship requires some form, concept, or at least a term with some appellative significance in it. God's name may be the whole body of science, a system of philosophy, an evolutionary cosmogenic scheme of things. He, of whom all nouns are but partial names, all verbs designations of his acts, all adjectives of his qualities, should have for each of us some symbol or thought-form, or should be brought home by some special type of experience connected with some time or space, or at least some word above all others to connote some and denote all others of his attributes. All high art, all science and religion, which strive to formulate ultimates, are wrestling, as Jacob did with the angel, for the revelation of a new name, and names have always had magic power. Atoms, vortexes, monads, reals, ether, vitality, force, mind, reason, beauty, virtue, truth, entelechy, cause, infinity, and all the categories of philosophy which Trendelenburg collected, as well as the fundamental concepts of science, are part names of our polynomous Father in Heaven. The prayer here is that all these be respected and recognized as more or less holy. The Christian as well as the Jewish consciousness has been haunted by fears of blasphemy as the one unpardonable sin, and its awful prohibition is against every degree of such an offence. Of course the divine name is not hallowed when men become indifferent to or contemptuous of these higher strivings to close in with ultimate reality, the efforts of which we must not allow even pragmatism to interfere with. Not so much the agnostic who insists that none of these are names of reality, and that all noumenal existence eludes and is forever beyond our ken and reach, nor the pessimist who declares that what we know of it indicates that it is bad, malign, disruptive, or diseased, is here contemplated—but rather he who has lost the power to respect those products of human endeavour which are most worthy of reverence because seeking best to embody the divine, even if it be only an idol, an elaborate ceremonial rite, a theology, or a fruitful scientific hypothesis. The deities of other and even savage faiths, too, should be hallowed just so far as they mark stages in this incessant and weary quest of man to understand, grasp, and achieve some kind of unity of what to lower creatures seems the booming, incoherent, chaotic, snarl of things that we dare call a universe. The soul has

always sought God, and all its attempts to proximate him are not without sacredness.

(5) "Thy will be done" is not merely the invocation of a theocratic rule, but the expression of an earnest wish that pure oughtness reconstruct and flow through every sphere of life and mind. Our wills are full of picæ, whims, perversity. They are uninstructed and, above all, prone to be selfish. The divine will, of which the really educated conscience is so commonly thought to be the best oracle, is here invoked to irrigate human conduct and mind in all details both of the higher and the lower vocation of man.

We should not be absorbed by selfishness or inclination, but all our acts should have not only a supreme sanction but a supreme motivation. This is not adequately formulated, even in Kant's lofty precept of so acting that all we do could be made a principle of universal lawgiving. But it rather means acting as we should wish to act if we saw all things in their largest possible relations, and apprehended all the subtle conflicts of duties which casuistry has so tediously sought to rubricize. Nor does this imply only an ethical rigorism that requires us to act against desire, nor an exiguous prying Puritan conscience, but it recognizes a diaphoria or No Man's Land of neutral deeds, intermediate between right and wrong. It allows us to conceive that the Great Author of nature so organized it that pleasure is in very many things the best of all guides, although, because sin has entered this fallen world that has its cause, effect, or both, pleasure now has its limitations fixed by adamantine laws. Thus, if we ever have a complete evaluation of pleasures by which they can be weighed, measured, or graded as high and low, and the absolute value of each determined with reference to the chief end of man, this conflict will be eliminated and a higher hedonism become the surest guide in all issues.

God's will is benign if evolution is his work, because in the bitter struggle for existence the fittest and best have survived, while others have perished, and hence in human affairs it is best expressed in those acts and institutions that tend to bring man to the very fullest maturity of which he is capable. If man's nature is on the whole good and true, then those tendencies that are deepest and most universal are modes of executing this will, and the true nature of man as distinct from everything factitious is here desiderated.

(6) The prayer for the Kingdom expresses an idea that has

prompted philanthropy, fired missionary zeal, and inspired many an effort by deeds and books to reconstruct society. The visible Church is supposed to be its representative, and the ideal Church or the heavenly New Jerusalem is its realization. Heaven is attractive because it is conceived as a community of moral, *élite* souls existing in relations to one another which realize every noble human aspiration. Man is a social being, or, in Aristotle's phrase, a political animal, and although his attempts to organize society, the records of which almost constitute history, have failed at many periods and in many respects, the dream of ideality was perhaps never more vivid and in some aspects of it more detailed than now. From Plato to Comte, Bellamy, George, in many a philanstery and social and religious community, secret societies, sodalities, clubs, profit-sharing and coöperative schemes, to say nothing of reform movements in city, state, national government or Church, we see tentatives toward the realization of this item in the great petition. How can men best live together in such a way that the worst shall be most effectively repressed and the best most favoured, is a problem never more pressing and never more studied than now. Just in proportion as sociologists, economists, and publicists can so adjust business and society until they make a perfect placentum in which man can be brought to his greatest perfection, they are helping to usher in the Kingdom. It will not come suddenly; and probably, as the world is more and more united and in *rapport*, each part with all others, no one place or land will take great precedence. The millennial state, if social evolution ever realizes it, will not be primeval paradise, or any clannish organization of gregarious instincts, but it will be world-wide. We may sometime approximate it by gently and wisely constraining lower races to take up the white man's ways; but most truly and surely will it be realized where the instincts of each ethnic stock are developed naturally upon their own foundations. We are already beginning to see that the secret of colonization and missionary work is to allow native races the largest freedom to do their own thing in their own way, if it does not involve grave and irreparable loss. The statesman of the future, moreover, will deliberately take for his problem, not the grafting of a more highly domesticated scion into wild stock, but the legitimate development of what is everywhere, even in the lowest aboriginal tribes, found to be already begun. In plainer words, the ideal is this: when by careful and all-sided anthropological

study it has been found out just what the family, tribal, and other organizations of primitive races really are, what their myths, customs, rites, and beliefs truly mean, it will then have to be very carefully considered, on the basis of this knowledge, how most effectively, with least loss either of energy or of what has already been accomplished, the next and then the next higher step can be taken. Then we shall recognize the fact that what we now call civilization is not the only one; but that radically different civilizations that contravene perhaps many of our fundamental political, social, and even economic axioms are possible, and that there are perhaps as many undeveloped cultures and religions as there are languages capable of further development, some of which may indeed ultimately become far higher than any now known, but which are now simply arrested at some lower stage of evolution or made retrogressive, not so much from any inherent defect of the idea or system but from some accident of hygiene, location, food, or some error of misconception of crucial factors, or, alas, sometimes by suppression or perversion of good things by a stronger alien race. Real colonial statesmanship, if it ever becomes broad enough to realize this possibility, will be bringing in the Father's Kingdom in ways far more effective than cataclysmal reconstruction upon a single model, which often means the alienation of the best indigenous men, methods, and ideals. To attain the end here sought we must have a psychology broad enough to be truly called human. Indeed, every believer in evolution must realize that our present civilization, like older ones that have perished, may be sloughed off like the cast of a worm when the butterfly emerges from it. Nothing prompts the old man's visions and the young man's dream like these optimal possibilities of development of the superman in the superstate. The swan song of senescence sometimes cadences the highest aspirations of the soul, while the ideals of young men are the best material for prophecy, so that in them we find often what will be written as history half a century later. Such ideals supplement the limitations of what has already happened, by the larger complement of what will be when history really begins. The increasing purposes of God's will, which faith sees running through the ages, are often balked by popular frenzy, bigotry, corruption, and there have been stationary and retrograde centuries; but man to-day perhaps has more vital belief in the future of progress than ever before, whether on this earth or in a heavenly Kingdom, for both locations are

effective in the same direction. The conception of the primitive gnostic sect was of the preëxisting soul descending into the body of a new-born babe. Jesus, too, was said to have divested himself of ideality to become real on earth. Lotze dreamed of a state wherein his soul would some time hold high converse with Buddha, Plato, Mary, and above all, Jesus. Even if the earlier concepts of the Church are unsatisfying or even unattractive, we all look forward to a state of attainment, fulfilment, completion, where all things and persons will wear the aureole of the ideal. Dreams of Elysian conditions or of the Kingdom have sustained man in his hours of greatest pain and fear, because he has felt that all his sufferings would be accounted as investments in a heavenly bank. These antithetical and compensatory conceptions have thus had the greatest supportive power. As pre-Columbian navigators thought they could sail off on the sea, and, by direct continuity if they went far enough, reach the sun, moon, and stars, so the heavenly Kingdom as now interpreted is something that will be entered by imperceptible gradations, and there will be no break and no great commencement day as the earth slowly graduates into the Kingdom.

(7) The prayer for daily bread is for growth and nutrition, which is basal. Trophic prophecies underlie life, which has in the past been largely a struggle for food. In general, species have become extinct either because they failed to find it or became themselves food for other species. Hunger is the first and, with love, the strongest instinct. The bonds of commensality are the closest. Breaking bread together is more than a symbol of the closest brotherhood, and sometimes constitutes the act of marriage; while in many primitive tribes, as Trumbull has shown, the blood covenant, effected by mutual transfusion of blood, is the strongest of all ties. Famine and thirst bring out the most bestial qualities, and may cause one of the most dreadful forms of death. To feed the hungry is the most imperative charity, even before that of clothing the naked, and is the first duty of hospitality. Food colonies are the lowest social organizations in the animal world. There is a sense, too, brought home to us by the remarkable studies of the Pawlow school, supplemented by the work of Truro, Sternberg, and Dejerine from their very different standpoints, in which every psychic activity is due to the hunger of brain or other cells; these are fed by the satisfaction of curiosity, which abounds in anal-

ogies with appetite, while even the gastropathies and psychic anorexias are rich in spiritual analogies. All that lives, whether community or molecule, is on the way up if anabolism can do its work, or, if katabolism is excessive, begins to degenerate. Every disease, whatever its cause, involves partial starvation of some organ or tissue, which is shut off from its due irrigation by the blood, the all-feeding fluid. Food monopolies are the worst of all, and food adulteration is one of the most inimical of crimes. This petition, therefore, is not only the best of all table prayers as it stands, but is full of endless analogies in the psychic and moral realm.

(8) The forgiveness of debts is more remote from modern thought. Incurring debts is not unknown in primitive communities, where liberty and even life may be pledged to cancel obligations. The hope or promise to repay, however, enables poverty to maintain its self-respect. As property and its rites were developed, the laws against debtors were often very severe. They have been branded, labelled, pilloried, imprisoned, tortured, and even their families, relatives, and friends have suffered with them. They have been transported as convicts; and society regards improvidence, which the ants are a constant parable to avoid, with little leniency, although modern bankruptcy acts show an interesting evolution of sentiment in the direction of answering this item of the prayer of ages. Nevertheless, to forgive just debts is only one step easier than to love enemies. The evolution of property[1] shows that it arose as an extension of the ego. The rich man feels the pulsations of his own life in all he owns, somewhat as Lotze's clothes philosophy thinks one of their uses was to extend the sense of the wearer's physical ego. The millionaire feels himself almost identified with all his interests. Relinquishment therefore means restriction of the contours of his affective and effective personality, and is directly in the teeth of all instincts of self-aggrandizement. On the other hand, we are here reminded that we are all poor debtors before God's high assize. On the strict scale of debit and credit we owe our parents for food, clothing, protection, and care; we owe school or college, the city and state, for our protection; but above all, we owe to the heavenly Father not only all we have but all we are. There is no standard by which to measure this debt; but it is infinite and inextinguishable, so that all we have we should hold as his stewards

[1] See L. W. Kline and C. J. France: "Psychology of Ownership." *Ped. Sem.*, 1899.

with full accountability, for should he foreclose we should have nothing, and should lose life itself. The Stoics, even before the early Church, glimpsed this conception in challenging private ownership in anything essential for support of life and the common weal. Thus God owns us, body and soul, with absolute power so to dispose of us as he sees fit, for he made not only us but our world, and we are all his servants, either good or bad. This debt is only forgiven, therefore, when we become true sons, make his will ours, and hold all that we have and are as his factors. But it needs only insight and not mere Calvinistic blood to show that the race has drifted from this norm; that much has been overdone and much underdone; that substance has been wasted, effort misdirected; that the race has blundered along, so that real history is very different from what it should have been. We should treat others, therefore, as we would have God treat us. If our friends injure or owe us, we should be mindful of the great remissions we have enjoyed, and practise divine magnanimity. When impelled to exact even just claims upon those unable to meet them, we should simply think of our own faults and the penalties due us which we have escaped.

(9) As to temptation, it always ideally involves some moral waste; for life is easily conceived of as so pure that it can have no hold upon us, so that impeccability is more perfect if temptation has never been known. It usually involves deliberation, and always a moral conflict, suggesting the familiar proverb that the woman who deliberates is lost. While this sets forth the dangers of temptation, it is a glorification of her deeper intuitive natural instincts and automatic organization, but a libel on her intelligence and consciousness, because it implies their untrustworthiness, as if consideration, convention, the artifacts of education or environment, were less organized and therefore less to be trusted than intuition. If human nature had been radically bad, and the good superposed upon it by precept and training, the reverse would be true, and the woman who did not deliberate would be lost. Jesus thus expresses naïvely his belief in the fundamental goodness of human nature, and that it is not wise to commit virtue to the keeping of a deliberative moral consciousness where the pros and cons of right and wrong are weighed, debates with passion encouraged, and choices made as a result of careful consideration.

(10) "Deliver us from evil," has been, as we saw elsewhere, the

greatest of all solicitudes of the human soul, from the first apotropaic prayer and sacrifice to unknown powers down to our own day. All burnt offerings, all superstitious fears, especially those with a moral root, are bred of phobias of impending evil, which always threatens within and without. Not only did man struggle for ages with nature, with the great beasts of the prime, disease, and death; but his fate was jeopardized by rapacious passion, ignorance, and superstition. To escape evil prompts every effort, brings foresight, makes for survival and the accomplishment of our vocation as men. This item of the prayer expresses the perfervour of the desire not only for continuance and complete well-being, but for development. The answer to this prayer involves escape from post-mortem evil and the exemption of the soul from anxiety, the mother of all fears. It may involve, too, some deep Buddhistic insight into the ills inherent in all existence, and express the optative sentiment that we may pass safely through this vale of tears inoffensively, and immaculately innocent of every stain of finitude or even individuation. Fear of evil has been the spur that has created medicine and even science as prevision, as well as every protective immunizing or insuring agency, so that as in the former items we are touching another of the fundamentals of human life.

(11) In the ascription of the Kingdom, glory and power to God, some have fancied pantheism, although the Kingdom implies a personal ruler, and power and glory are certainly consistent with theism. But what if an all-pervading God-consciousness like that of Spinoza toward a being too great to submit to the limitations involved in personality, but in whom we live, move, and have our being, does work in the background? We ought to understand by this time that no deeply religious soul can possibly escape the undertow of this great current. God is all. Everything in the world is in a sense a mode, form, speaking-tube, or *per-sona* of him, and the ultimate reason of all the foregoing desiderata is found in the grand old Oriental refrain that God is all and in all, and that apocatastasis is the final cause of creation. At any rate, it helps us to know that if experience, philosophy, science, or the right attitude to poetry, force us to choose between personality and something higher than it rather than lower, we can fall back on assents as old as the Mana doctrine, and feel that we rest in everlasting arms, and that if our bark of system sinks it is to a vaster sea. All modern studies of the ego show that it is not simple, but

infinitely complex, at best a kind of vinculum containing various quantities, both known and unknown, carried on together through the whole equation of life for convenience, till each element receives its final evaluation. The elements of human selfhood are loosely wrought together and easily break up as in the phenomena of dual or multiple personality, while our truest self is below the threshold of consciousness, and therefore of unknown value, so that consciousness can never serve as a pattern of absolute existence. Indeed, all recent studies of prayer seem to show that the basal motivation of it is unification with the deeper unconscious elements of the soul, and back of these, with the orientation to the background of the universe itself.[1]

---

[1] A. L. Strong: "Relation of the Subconscious to Prayer," *Am. J. Relig. Psychol.*, 1906-07, vol. 2, p. 160-167. J.B Pratt: "An Empirical Study of Prayer." *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 48-67, 1911. Stephen W. Ransom: "Studies in the Psychology of Prayer." *Ibid.*, 1904. Vol. 1, pp. 129-142. F. O. Beck: "Prayer, a Study in Its History and Psychology." *Ibid.*, 1906, Vol. 2, pp. 107-121.

CHAPTER NINE

THE PARABLES OF JESUS

The following is the classification of Jülicher, the chief contemporary authority on the parables, whose rubrics are followed in this chapter:

A. Comparison parables: 1. The budding fig-tree as a herald of spring. 2. Constant slaves to duty without thanks. 3. Piping and dancing children. 4. A son asking a fish and getting a scorpion. 5. The disciple and pupil not above the teacher. 6. The blind leader of the blind. 7. What goes out of and not what enters the body defiles. 8. The salt of the earth. 9. The light on a candlestick. 10. The city on a hill. 11. The revealing of the concealed. 12. The eye as the light of the body. 13. Serving two masters impossible. 14. The tree known by its fruits. 15. A scribe instructed in the Kingdom. 16. The carcass-gathering eagles. 17. The watch set if we know when the thief is coming. 18. The faithful and unfaithful servant. 19. Receiving the head of the household late. 20. "Physician, heal thyself." 21. The sick and not the well need a physician. 22. No fasting when the bridegroom is present. 23. No new patch on an old garment, or new wine in old bottles. 24. Counting the cost of war or a tower. 25. Satan's kingdom divided against itself. 26. Agree with an enemy quickly for fear of judge and prison. 27. Take the lowest seat. 28. Children and dogs eat crumbs.

B. True parables: 29. The house on the rock or sand. 30. The neighbour importuned arises and gives food. 31. The widow and the unjust judge. 32. The usurer and the two debtors. 33. The pitiless servant. 34. The lost sheep and penny. 35. The prodigal son. 36. The brother who promised, and the brother who went. 37. The defiant tenant of the vineyard. 38. The declining guests to a feast. 39. The barren fig-tree. 40. The ten virgins. 41. Equal pay for the eleventh-hour man. 42. The loaned-out talents. 43. The unjust householder. 44. The sower on different kinds of ground. 45. Seed growing independently. 46. Tares and wheat. 47. The fish-net. 48. The mustard seed and leaven. 49. The treasure and the pearl of great price.

C. Illustrative narratives: 50. The good Samaritan. 51. The Pharisee and the publican. 52. The foolish rich man. 53. The rich man and poor Lazarus.

THE parables are probably the best transmitted and most authentic of all the teachings of Jesus, of which in Mark they constitute about one fourth, and in Matthew and Luke still more. Some of them are masterpieces of effective popular impartation. Jülicher,[1] who has given the most detailed study yet made, distinguishes three historic types of their hermeneutics. In the first period everything was allegorized. In the parable, e. g., of the prodigal son, the father's property squandered by the son stands for heathendom, the swine are demons, the robe is the state of Adam which was lost at the fall, the fatted calf is the body of the Lord broken at the eucharist, etc. Every item and idea is interpreted by itself with no reference whatever to unity, and there is no allusion to the customs of Jesus' age and land, as if these could contribute nothing to the eternal verities here dealt with, just as sometimes in a charade or a riddle every word and phrase precisely as it stands is significant. In the second period, from Origen (A. D. 254) to Luther, only essentials were allegorized. Each parable was taken as a whole and taught its own distinct lesson, and to this the occasion on which it was uttered is often the key. They illustrated Jesus' condescension to the level of folk-thought. In the third period, extending to the present, nothing is allegorized. Weiss goes so far as to say that Jesus was not striving for heuristic clearness, but was promulgating laws of the Kingdom of heaven. Their higher meaning must be intuited. They are the acme of self-luminosity, and to explain is to obscure them. Each is best conceived as a command. All belong together as more or less distinct specifications concerning the central theme of the Kingdom. While old and new methods of interpretation are still found, the old allegorization is on the wane.

Parables fall readily into four groups.[2] (1) Simple comparisons whereby one statement is made more objective by another: as, e. g., the budding fig-tree as a sign of summer, or whereas a servant who is ordered to do as he is told, receives no thanks (Luke xvii: 7-10), so every man must serve the Lord. Jesus had a genius for such illustrations. (2) Narratives or storiettes not unlike fables. These are numerous, e. g., the sower, the woman and the unjust judge, the usurer and his debtor, the lost penny, the lost sheep, the prodigal son, the

[1] "Die Gleichnisreden Jesu." Leipzig, 1899. Bd. 1, 328 p.; Bd. 2, 643 p.

[2] P. Staude: "Die Bedeutung der Gleichnisreden Jesu in unserer Zeit." Langensalza, 1903, 18 p.

unfruitful vineyard, the barren fig-tree, the ten virgins, the unwilling guests, equal reward for unequal work, the talents, the unjust householder. (3) A third class contains neither comparisons nor parables in the strict sense. Here belong the rich man and Lazarus, the pitiful Samaritan, the foolish rich man, the Pharisee and the publican. These are not strictly parables, because the story does not run in another domain, but the incident is rather an example illustrating a general principle. (4) The fourth class is peculiar to John, and is best illustrated in the pericope of the good shepherd. Such a complex of analogous statements is an allegory, always hovering in a half light in which we do not compare but substitute terms, without which the meaning is not clearly seen.

Jesus taught in parables, not, as the synoptists seem to have thought, in order to obscure, but rather to clarify his meaning. They tell us not only much incidentally about the local and temporal conditions of Jesus' life, but suggest that during his prepublic years in his solitary musings he had come to symbolize much in his physical and social environment by investing their items with higher meanings so that the parables give us glimpses of how in his own marvellous, if primitive, method of growth all things had come to speak to him of something above themselves. They give us perhaps the best of all examples of how the human soul works its way on to truth in a prelogical stage, when imagination and intuition are everything and logical concatenation has not begun its work of coördinating and harmonizing insights in different directions. If Jesus was, however, no mere poet or mystic on the one hand, nor on the other a man, with his intuitive insights utterly unconstellated, they did nevertheless converge toward one practical goal—the Kingdom, of which both the incidents of his experience and his intuitions had become so eloquent in his own soul. Apt, too, and well motivated as the parables generally are to the occasion on which they were enunciated, they could hardly have been *ad hoc* extemporizations.

They have also been grouped into chronological cycles according to topics, fulness of details, lucidity or obscurity, etc. Some have such verisimilitude that they have been thought to be actual events utilized for illustrative purposes, and most are so natural that they might have occurred at almost any time or place. As the chief theme of the miracles is the new life, so that of the parables is the Kingdom, what it is,

how it comes, who enters, how, etc. They are of various degrees of homiletic value, and the meaning of some is so obvious as to be almost commonplace, while others are cryptic and very diversely understood. They often overlap or teach almost identical lessons, or show only slight differences of aspect or relation in their themes; while it is baffling if not impossible to harmonize others, either with one another or with other utterances of Jesus on the same topic. They are the best-known and most portable of all his teachings, and some have furnished favourite themes to art.

Although a few occur in ancient Hebrew literature, canonical and other, parables are in a large measure Jesus' unique creation. His method was not that of the dialogue or of dialectic, for he rarely discussed or reasoned, nor did he ever show Socratic irony by evoking callow opinions on the part of his hearers and then gradually leading them on toward his own view by showing contradictions in theirs. He was not a midwife but an impregnator, handing down truth to be accepted intuitively and lived out, not argued about or debated. The parables show how to his mind the facts of nature and the events of human life were not merely what they seem but were transfigured, transparent, translucent, supercharged by meanings behind and above them. "A primrose by a river's brim" was not to him, as it was to Peter Bell, nothing but a yellow primrose; but rather like the "flower in the crannied wall," which really to know was to know what God and man are. If it can be said at all that the phenomenal world was to Jesus only an appearance, it is not in the metaphysical sense of revealing the transcendent noumenal entity, but as being essentially only types and symbols of moral values, and so ancillary to these that they would shortly be sloughed off and pass away to give place to a new heaven and earth when the day of righteousness came. On the other hand, the fact that the Great Parable-maker could find so much in the moral and social order of his day and time that spoke so clearly of the Kingdom suggests that though many would change or pass, many, and perhaps more, would abide when it came.

Most Protestant literature on the parables in English (Trench, Bruce, Dodds, Lang, Kirk, Taylor, Thompson, Maturin, Hubbard, Arnot, and many more) is chiefly for edification. Unless we except Trench, it is on the low level of scholarship that is content to compare parallel passages and versions in the New Testament, less often ex-

tending to the Old; very rarely attempting to extract meanings from the original language, and almost never with allusions to passages in the texts of other religions. Save in Trench we rarely find allusions to patristic interpretation, which is a rich and suggestive, if often picturesque, field. Thus Jülicher, with his vaster learning, rarely finds in English anything he deems worthy of citation. Yet from it all we can best realize how deeply embedded in the imaginal thought, and still more in the sentiment, of popular Christian experience are the personages and incidents. Like a magnet each of the leading parables has drawn about itself all the mass of meanings within the sphere of its attraction till it might be compared to a special complex or constellation, so that a large part of the moral life is interpreted in its terms. In this sense the art of the parables has become more real than history. The habit of extracting manifold meanings from them has also done much to predispose Christian scholarship and thought to interpret the record of historic events in the same symbolic way, as Farrar's "History of Interpretation" abundantly shows. While insisting on their historicity, events are regarded as also carrying one or perhaps a whole sheaf of higher messages, and facts are endlessly allegorized. In the vast body of comments on the parables, of which the above are illustrations, we find a surprising rarity of their application to daily secular duty; they are far more often brought home to vaguer hovering religious experiences. There is not so much withdrawal from pressing business and social reality as failure to reach it with the directness and force with which the inculcations of parables might be driven home to the very core of modern individual life; which raises the question whether the pulpit has actually used them without reservation, because they really touch the most vital matters of life and mind.

The new Tübingen school, culminating, so far as the parables are concerned, in Volkmar and Loman, think that everything, not only in the Apostolic Age but later, was coloured or motivated by three rival tendencies or parties—Paulinism, Judaism, and Petrinism. The last, while more or less mediating between these extreme views, is strongly anti-Pauline. In this school, from Baur down, the first thing to be determined of any New Testament writer is his attitude to Paul, the Johannin current only being more or less independent. Even Renan, who to some degree escapes this tendency, thinks that the seven chief parables of the Kingdom reflect later ideas. The parable, e. g., of the

eleventh-hour workman who received the same pay as those who had wrought all day, refers to Paul, and therefore underwent a redaction, and so did all the sayings to the effect that the last shall be first. These jealousies, especially between Paul and the disciples, represented by Peter, are thought to have strongly motivated all early writings till, later, in the interests of the Church, the traces of this old antagonism were carefully scored away.[1] Volkmar seems to think that we owe to partisan and controversial motives the very impulse to write Gospels and epistles and that the first effort of the critic now should be to know each author's tendency or bias, so that to some degree we can predict what he would select from the floating body of tradition, what he would omit, what he would bring into the foreground, what he would keep in the background, and even what he would be likely to invent or poetize. But the many variations of details in the different writers, together with the essential identity of content, can only mean genuineness and a common source, which must go back to Jesus. Æsop's fables were not recorded for centuries after his death, and in very different renderings; but they, too, show amid petty variations identity of content.

The word "parable" occurs fifty times in the New Testament, all times in the synoptists; although, subtracting parallels, it occurs but thirty. All represent Jesus as having a predilection for using this rhetorical form. Mark uses the word thirteen times for six different narratives; Matthew, seventeen times for twelve; Luke, eighteen times, seventeen of which are for the same parables as are recorded by Matthew and Mark. This "comparison" or "example" way of teaching may obscure or enlighten. The one train of thought or description is obvious, but the other is in more or less need of rebus-wise interpretation. Parables challenge the hearer to find the higher parallel meaning. They are thus in a sense Binet tests of spiritual insight, as to see a joke is a test of humour. To see only their literal meaning suggests the naïveté of childhood, even more than does the tendency to take miracles literally. Thus for genetic religious psychology they serve as moron-finders. A parable is a patent, postulating a latent meaning, always requiring some psychoanalysis, as does a dream. It does not merely involve a parallelism of happenings in two domains, as Jülicher thinks (*Op. cit.* Bd. 1, S. 80), but the lower is given to find the higher, as a

[1] See an account of this movement in my "Founders of Modern Psychology." 1912, p. 6-19.

fable is a story the framework of which supports a higher significance. Both in a sense particularize some general truths, and in both, as well as in constructing allegory, analogy, symbol, simile, etc., there must be much *Rücksicht auf Darstellbarkeit.* The synoptists called them "dark sayings" because, and when, they did not understand them. Perhaps some of them showed Jesus' own tentative efforts to bring the truth he sought more clearly to his mind, or to grasp it better, so that they might not have been all primarily pedagogic. Some of them seem to have been the results of sudden intuition. It has been said that, effective as they were, the masses were not convinced, or else they would never have cried "Crucify him." In Mark the parables constitute a quarter or more of all Jesus' words, and in Luke nearly half of all he said from his first public appearance to his arrest, but we can hardly say that this tendency grew. At least, John records not one true parable.

In the parables we see farthest into Jesus' own heart. The chief of them pertain to the Kingdom, and without them we should have comparatively little knowledge of how he regarded it. For the first thousand years the Church looked on them as essentially for edification and explanation, and refused to admit their teachings into the body of theology. This idea of parable hermeneutics which forbade their use in argument conceived their appeal to be to the heart and will rather than to the reason. Now, however, we have a parabolic theology, very much debated to be sure, but which has come in with the recognition that the parables are the most genuine and the best transmitted of all the teachings of Jesus. In them many think we have his personality and his higher theanthropic consciousness; but we must not go too far in this direction, for in the parables Jesus speaks far more of the Father than of himself. There is little Paulinism and no allusion to the vicarious atonement. Here Jesus' sense of his Divine Sonship is not developed into a sense of his divinity. The salvation that he teaches is entirely independent of his death. The Kingdom is already at hand and open, not because Jesus is trusted by the Father as about to offer himself as a ransom for sin on the cross, but because the dear Father cannot refuse to answer prayer. In other words, Jesus is here teaching not a saviour but salvation; not he himself but history later made him a saviour. (See Jülicher, Bd. 1, S. 152 *et seq.*) Thus he was a redeemer before he died, and indeed we may add he would have

been so in a sense had he not died. His self-feeling in the parables, to be sure, gives him a place in the Kingdom. He evolved laws of the Kingdom, one after another, from his own self-consciousness, and while he felt himself stronger than Satan and conceived himself as a Messiah, his concern is almost entirely with his work and not with himself. If we knew their chronological order it might shed light upon the evolution of his ideas, but the synoptists differ very widely in this respect, and as they present the parables in so many degrees of fulness, it is doubtful whether we can ever find their genetic sequence. The common Christian conception is that they represent the same level of consciousness, without traces of developmental stages. All of them together are not in themselves sufficient to serve as a basis for an entire system of theology, important as they are for Jesus' pedagogy and psychology. Most, even critics, panegyrize them as models, although they can hardly be called works of art. His was a rather dark age of Hebrew literature; at least it was far below the prophetic age, and the parables by no means equal the prophecies in form. Moreover, Jesus had higher than aesthetic ends in view. In respect to form it is absurd to compare them, as many have done, with Homer, Sophocles, Isaiah, Habakkuk, Dante, or Shakespeare, or to call them the "greatest poetry in the world." They lie rather more in the domain of oratory than in that of poetry. Compared to the above classic authors Jesus is as Æsop to the ornate La Fontaine. Jesus' thought is of the highly imaginal type, as Goethe said his own was. This instinct to compare *similia similibus* was for him an expression of idealism. The very homeliness of the parables constitutes much of their charm, and perhaps still more of their effectiveness. If there are traces of exaggeration, yet there is no caricature. The size of the tree that grew from a grain of mustard seed, the ten thousand talents, the extreme unwillingness of the invited guests, the one hour which the belated labourers served instead of two hours in a somewhat similar Buddhistic legend, the extreme joy at finding the lost penny, the severity of some penalties —these may perhaps be a little Oriental but are hardly intemperate. The treachery of the householder, the conscienceless judge, the business shrewdness of the man who found the pearl of great price, were not censured, and this Renan has thought significant, but Jesus' gallery of characters and the repertory of acts had to contain both good and bad.

The chief attack on the parables has been that they were not original with Jesus. The early Church regarded most of the Old Testament as parable and subordinated its historicity to its meaning. Some of Jesus' parables, like the "good shepherd" and the vineyard, seem amplified from Old Testament metaphors. If we look to the apocrypha or pseudepigraphy, and especially to the Talmud, *midrash*, and cabalistic writings, as has often been done since Lightfoot (d. 1675), we learn that many Christian and Jewish writers have unearthed from these sources not a few more-or-less remote analogues to the parables of Jesus, and extremists have almost derived the New Testament from rabbinical literature. Wetstein (1751 f.), Noack (1839), Van Koetsveld (1858), Muscoviter (1882), A. Wünsche, Havet, and others have stressed the haggadah as the nurse of Jesus' mind and teaching. It has always been a problem to ascertain how much of this voluminous literature Jesus knew. Scholars find a few rabbinical storiettes with a moral that suggest some of the parables of Jesus. To illustrate: A king singled out one of his many labourers who was well-favoured and who distinguished himself by industry and skill, and he walked and talked with him openly. All the employees were paid the same wage at the end of the day, and the rest murmured that this new favourite who had wrought but two hours was given the same wage as those who had worked all day. But they were told by the king that the favoured one had done as much in two hours as they had done all day. So in another tale a genius died young, and it was said that, because he had accomplished as much in the few years he had lived as most did by the end of a long life, God called him to his reward. But in general the spirit, frame, theme, and lesson of Jesus' parables are very different. If the Talmudic tales were commonly known, of course Jesus without being taught them might have caught suggestions from them. Just how far his parables were a *de novo* creation perhaps we shall never know, but that his merit is impaired by these rival claims there is little reason to believe. He surely drew less from such extracanonical sources than he did from the Old Testament, and whatever came from the former or from current tradition was probably no less transformed and transfigured.

Renan, Havet, Seydel, and many others who have since followed in their wake, think that Jesus' parables were influenced by Buddhistic literature by some mysterious way of infiltration. Buddha's life and

that of Christ are very often paralleled and their teachings compared. Oldenberg thinks that these two lives are variants of the great epos of religious founders. There is some similarity, e. g., between John's tale of the cure of the man born blind and a Buddhistic story, although in John the incident is reported as a miracle, not as a parable. The Buddhistic canon was practically closed before Jesus' day, but there was very much apocryphal elaboration afterward. Max Müller finds what he calls a striking coincidence between a pre-Christian Indic tale and that of the prodigal son, and there are many other items that suggest some relation, although the student of comparative religion knows how often legendary matter may be cast in similar moulds by different races independently of one another. The Evangelists certainly show no traces of Buddhistic influence, and the problem as to Jesus is not unlike that as to whether Pythagoras profited by the culture of Egypt. The Buddhist tales vacillate between thought and imagery, fable and allegory. They are far more rank in fancy, and so much longer that their prolixity sometimes makes them almost unreadable by Occidentals. They often abound in extreme exaggeration. The phrenologist Gall postulated a special parable faculty which he thought located in the brain just back of the upper frontal skull, near the middle of the forehead. This absurdity might be compared with that of certain apologists who assert for Jesus an entirely unique faculty which created and alone could use true parables, and who resent all rival claims as if they were infringements of patent. Jesus' parables are at least a species if not a genus by themselves, while if he drew from Indic sources, this not only does not lessen his inventiveness but gives a most useful hint to missionary pedagogy in India. Buddha lived five centuries B. C., and his cult was well established and widespread when Jesus was born; but despite the oft-traced analogies between the two men and their cults, the differences between both their lives and their doctrines are so great as to make them largely incommensurate. Moreover, the Hebrew mind was especially impervious to such influences. We can but wish that Jesus knew and freely drew from all the above sources; and if either accident or jealous design has robbed us of the evidence that he really knew in a broad comparative way and borrowed freely where it served his purpose, it would indeed be a great misfortune. If the author of Shakespeare had the knowledge of Bacon would it not really enhance his originality that,

with all the impedimenta of knowledge, his mind selected from the wide field the richest material and used it so freely and creatively? Certainly Shakespeare's lustre is not dimmed by the fact that he drew much of the material of his plays from the various older *Quellen* that Simrock has so convincingly shown to be his point of departure.

Let us turn now to the parables themselves.

A. COMPARISON PARABLES

1. After Jesus had vividly described the dreadful events attending the second coming of the Son, his disciples asked him privately by what sign they could foreknow these events. The answer, Matt. xxiv:32; Mark xiii:24-8; Luke xxi:29-31, called a parable, was that as when a fig-tree puts forth tender shoots we know summer is nigh, so when these calamities begin to occur, the Kingdom is at hand. As buds presage spring, calamities presage the millennium.

This equation of relations halts; for while the Kingdom is like spring, how can we call calamities its buds, when one is evolution and the other revolution? Though a thrice-recorded riddle it is as if Jesus, when asked to expound it, turned away from his awful picture of judgment to a milder mood, or else meant to say reassuringly to the disciples, "For you these calamities are not meant, but the new era will steal over you like gentle spring"; or else he meant to fortify them against disaster by saying that to them these horrors would have no terror, but only be signs of joy.

2. Luke (xvii:7-10) makes Jesus ask: Who will say to his servant coming in from ploughing, "Go and eat?" He will rather say, "Prepare and serve me, and when I have eaten and drunk, then you may do so." Is a servant thanked for thus doing? I trow not. So when you have done all that you are told to do, say: "We are unprofitable servants and have only done that which it was our duty to do."

Thus Jülicher thinks the disciples are told that they must be the slaves of God, not serving under a contract and unable not only to accumulate a store of desert but even to merit thanks. Supererogation therefore would be impossible. Subordination must be complete. This illustrates what Nietzsche calls the *Sklavenmorale* taught by Jesus and dear to slave-holders from whom not even thanks are ever due. The surrender of will must be complete. Some think this a Pauline

interpolation (because it is so much out of touch with its context), expressing the doctrine so stressed by Paul that our own righteousness is as filthy rags, an idea dear to Luther and to Calvin, while the self-righteousness of the Pharisees brings out the opposite standpoint by contrast. The teaching of this passage is absolute subjection and submission. It suggests Schleiermacher's feeling of absolute dependence and self-evacuation. We must be not merely the Lord's henchmen but his fags and factotums.

3. This generation (Matt. xi:16-19; Luke vii:31-35) is like children in the market calling to their mates, "We piped and ye did not dance, we mourned and ye did not weep"; for John ate no bread and drank no wine but was called a devil, while I do both and am called a glutton, wine-bibber, and friend of publican and sinner. Wisdom is justified of her children.

In both accounts the previous talk is of John, but the after-context differs so that the historic place of the incident is disputed. Exegetes of this illustration of Jesus have differed extremely. Cyril opines that the children were playing alternately wedding and funeral games, expressed by dancing and mourning, to two kinds of music, and this he infers rather from archaeological and antiquarian studies than from the fact that such games are favourite plays to-day. Part of the children, he assumes, at a certain stage of the game refused to play and were chided by the rest, which would be a very typical incident in plays and games to-day. John is funereal with a pessimistic message, says Holtzmann in substance, while Jesus represents an optimistic, marriage-like rôle. Both games were balked by the powers that be, so that the leader of one game was called a devil and that of the other a glutton. Jülicher says the moral is against *Kritikasterthum*, and the piping and mourning are the still small voice of the Spirit to which men are unresponsive. Thus wisdom is scorned. On the other hand, Jesus and John are made to accuse their hearers of not dancing to their music, playing their game, or justifying their wisdom. The moral implication is that no one can please those predisposed to censure, who will always find some pretext to pervert or find fault, and that no course of life or conduct can suit constitutional recalcitrants or those predisposed to negativism, who set their *noluntas* against the *voluntas* of others in a way which is in some sense the opposite of the servile submission taught in the preceding parable. As for Aristotle temperance was the golden mean between the two excesses of mortification of the body and Epicurean license, so the Christian life must justify itself by a wisdom equally distinct from excesses on either side. So, too, in social intercourse the

true way to fulness of life is not to hold entirely aloof from outcast classes like publicans or harlots, nor to consort with them as if we were of them. Use but not abuse all the goods of life, eschew alike intemperate temperance and abandoned license, and ignore the demands and fashions of a generation that has lost the true middle way. Look with appreciation sympathetic enough to be intelligent on all the rich *comédie humaine*. Taste every joy of life that can be felt with innocence. Be in thought, word, and deed just as full-blown and humanized as possible. Exploit and experience the whole life of man in all its modes, tenses, lights and shadows, forms and fashions, as far as individual limitations permit, regardless of the childish theories that would regulate and prescribe our conduct, using only the all-saving wisdom that is justified of her children. See the world, feel all its fulness, enter into all its moods, and expand personality as nearly as possible to the utmost limits of the race, provided we keep well within the orbit our nature marks out, equally mindful of the two poles of excess and defect. Do not dance to the infantile piping of those who prescribe a regimen in which either pleasure or pain unduly predominates. Be neither optimist nor pessimist, but rather both. Between the truth in all creeds do not conform to one to the exclusion of others and leave out the sound precepts of all faiths, parties, classes, practices. Follow all religions that have any core of righteousness, and avoid a life of prescription, for life is green, and theory old and gray. This parable seems a very crude exhortation to common sense in the conduct of life. There is often more philosophy in regulating health and moods than in many-volumed systems.

4. Again (Matt. vii:9-11; Luke xi:11-13), What father, if his son ask bread, will give him a stone, or if he ask for a fish will give him a serpent; or, Luke adds, if he ask an egg will he give him a scorpion? Thus, if you being evil know how to give fit gifts to your children, how much better does the heavenly Father know how to give fit gifts (Luke says give the Holy Spirit) to those that ask him? Just before, Jesus had been saying, "Ask and it will be given, knock and it will be opened, seek and ye shall find." Matthew adds next, "All things therefore whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets."

Bread loaves, we are told, then looked like stones, and hence the two became favourite terms of contrast; while fish, which became the type symbol of Christianity, is the diametrical opposite of the serpent, the symbol of the devil; and the egg, too, means fecundity, while the

scorpion stands for destruction. Thus it is predicating little of a father's love to say that he will not answer a request by giving the very opposite of what is asked for. This injunction to ask, knock, seek, has been perhaps more faithfully followed than any other scriptural behest. "O Lord, give me something: wealth, health, safety, success, victory, food, raiment, salvation," is the core of nearly all petitional prayer. Every wish of the human soul has taken the form of a request to heaven. The degree to which Christianity here has taken Jesus at his word and accepted his invitation to ask favours has often become nothing less than spiritual begging for what men should get for themselves. Indeed, this mendicant chapter constitutes one of the saddest in religious pathology. "You shall have whatever you ask" suggests the *carte-blanche* promise of a friendly despot to a favourite, or a gift of a magic wishing-cap. Indeed, it has been even condemned as a charlatan's bid for adherents. It contains, however, the saving implication that petitions may not be answered in kind, and that those who pray will not be given things bad for them. Luke safeguards the unconditioned promise by intimating that those who pray will receive the Holy Ghost, or what they ask for in its spiritual symbolic form. Thus the promised satisfaction of the uttered desire is qualified by God's fatherly discretion. Every wish breathed heavenward will bring some response from on high, or at least is reinforced by being expressed, so that its utterance marks a step toward its fulfilment. If we know what we want, if we try to get it, and if it is good for us, we shall get it.

5. "The disciple is not above his master nor the servant above his lord" (Matt. x:24 f.; Luke vi: 40). It is enough that the former be as the latter. Luke adds that every man that is perfect shall be as his master. If the master be called Beelzebub, all the more will the disciples have to bear this opprobrious epithet. The pupil does not stand higher than his teacher. It is enough if he equals him. All who are perfect should be teachers.

This parable bears on the jealousy of the disciples for precedence, but it tells us clearly in its gnomic way and in a spirit later illustrated in the "*Imitatio Christi*" and earlier in the instinct of subordination taught by the Stoic Epictetus, how domineering Jesus was both by nature and by necessity, and how authoritative he regarded his office as teacher. When enemies insult, the master must bear most, but his followers will have to endure their share of abuse.

The possible allusions or "improvements" in this pedagogic complex are so many that one wonders, as so often, whether Jesus himself saw all that was involved or was led to it by his genius, which was wiser

than he knew. It teaches at the same time docility, obedience, the need of perfection in the teacher, the duty of all who have attained it to teach and to rule. It warns against conceit, prepares the soul of his followers for opprobrium, inculcates the duty of every subordinate to equal if possible whoever is over him, but not to excite his enmity and indignation by surpassing him. At least all these meanings have been extracted out of or read into the passage. Did Jesus intend all this *multum in parvo;* and was it meant to teach all these lessons, or to stress some one or more of them?

6. "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch" (Matt. xv:14; Luke vi:39). Cicero, Plutarch, Philo, and many in modern times, have used this concise and expressive phrase. Matthew premises, "Every plant which my heavenly father hath not planted shall be rooted up. Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind." In both Gospels this sentence is more or less isolated and out of place. It is also anti-Pharisaic.

Leadership in thought and in action must be competent, or leader and led will come to grief. This is a sound common-sense precept illustrated in every sphere of life, but it is here given a very realistic and almost comic metaphor and shows Jesus' talent for graphic figurative phrase-making.

7. Calling all the people, he said, "Hear and understand (Matt. xv:10-20; Mark vii:14-23); not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man." And then he adds impressively (Mark), "If any man have ears to hear, let him hear." When asked by Peter or the disciples to explain, he said, Do you not see that what enters into the mouth does not go to the heart but to the belly and is cast out at the draught? But out of the heart come evil thoughts, murder, adultery, theft, covetousness, blasphemy, the evil eye, pride, folly, and false witness, etc. These defile, and not what we eat; nor, he adds (alluding to the Pharisees who were displeased at this saying), does, it defile to eat with unwashed hands.

A unique setting is given this saying by the fact that Jesus appears almost to convoke his audience like a town crier, enjoins them to make their very best effort at comprehension, as if something very cryptic and significant were coming, and then lays down a general principle

in a single sentence and is done. It suggests some new discovery. It is a kind of challenge to the understanding, a little as if it were a riddle or dream which each must work out the meaning of as best he can for himself. It implies, too, a glint of physiological knowledge, always so significant for any kind of psychology, here of the digestive tract and the phenomena of defecation, and also a deep insight into the psychology of the feelings and impulses. It is a thrust at the distinction so sacred to the Jews between clean and unclean or tabooed viands, and it causes the resentment of the Pharisees, because it implies that anything nutritive may be eaten without pollution. The really impure things are sins, all of which, like virtue, spring from the heart, the *fons et origo* of all that is really bad or good because it is the centre of the life of the soul. Thus the mouth is the excremental organ of thought, feelings, will, and desires, which spring from the heart. To make the contrast complete only the evil that escapes through the higher function of the mouth in speech, which is superposed upon its primal function of eating, should be included. Yet deeds proceed from the heart no less really than do words. To adduce our modern conception of food that is full of toxic products or morbific germs which do defile would be to go beyond the scope of the parable, although the Levitical sumptuary prescriptions here abrogated are thought to have been originally based on hygiene. Neither sacramental nor common food makes clean or unclean, but language, which reveals the soul's purity or vileness. Evil speech is worse than food ceremonially unclean. The contagion of crime is mostly oral. The utterances of a vile soul in speech are a veritable sewer against the defilement of which every safeguard is inadequate. The foul mouth corrupts and the effect of its utterance is true pollution. Moral hygiene demands the repression of all utterance of evil; for repression is to vice as oxygen to smouldering fire, which dies if it is withheld. Elsewhere bad thoughts are condemned, but here giving them language. We have two voluminous collections of popular obscenities published by groups of anthropologists respectively in Germany and France, and their precept is that, if sin were robbed of its rank vocabulary, its sting if not drawn would be at least blunted. This is sound psychological ethics and emphasizes an important item in the regimen of virtue.

The esoteric explanation of this parable, or fragment of a parable, as some think it, is plain enough. Assuming the soul to be clean, nothing external working inward can pollute it. What really degrades is efferent and has its chief seat in ejective tracts. This chimes very well with the theory of the efferent nature of all psychic activity, and here for the ethics of the present and the future is opened a rich quarry not yet adequately worked. We have a new criterion of value that

pragmatic morality should amplify, an apperception centre, a vital node of contemporary pragmatism.

8. Salt is good (Matt. v:13; Mark ix:49; Luke xiv:34), but if the salt becomes stale with what can it be seasoned? It is not fit for land or the dunghill; it is good only to be trodden under foot. Matthew makes Jesus call the disciples the salt of the earth. He tells them to have salt in themselves, and says they shall be salted with fire as the sacrifice is with salt.

Salt here is a conservative factor rather than an appetizer, and so is in fact in little danger of losing its savour as is implied. E. Jones[1] has taken great pains to prove that salt in folk-lore has a predominant sexual significance, but we think vainly, and there is certainly no such meaning here. Nor does this metaphor contemplate the destructive action of too much salt upon animal and vegetable life. It is a chemical which the systems of animals and men need and which they so crave that they accept many substitutes and often migrate far to get it. A small, quite constant percentage of it is as essential for the health of living, as it is preservative of dead, bodies. To be called "the salt of the earth" is one of the highest proverbial commendations, and this is in Jesus' sense. Salt keeps the sea fresh, and this trope implies that but for Christianity the world would putrefy. But we must not forget that a parable or simile pushed too far loses its savour. The context suggests that if the disciples lose their power of renunciation, they are degraded from a noble, precious, preservative element to dirt and mud underfoot. Christianity gives life a new zest as salt appetizes food.

9. A candle (Matt. v:14 f.; Mark iv:21 f.; Luke viii:17, and xi:33) is not put under a bushel or a bed, or in a secret place, but on a candlestick, that all may see; so your light must shine that men may see your good works and glorify the Father. You are the light of the world.

Thus the disciples are told that they practically cure from blindness all who see by their light. To a world lying in darkness they repeat the marvel of the creation of light. The admonition is against the luxury of mere self-illumination. There must be no secret cults of truth. No repression of it must be suffered, but it must be given promulgation and insights must be imparted. Preaching and teaching of the very best that is in them must be with abandon, utterly without reservations from prudential or any other motives. Christianity must

[1] "Die Bedeutung des Salz in Sitte und Brauch der Völker." *Imago*, 1912. Bd. 1, S. 361-85; 454-88.

mean *Aufklärung*, *éclaircissement*, as indeed it always has brought enlightenment, and kindled the torch of culture and science, and banished spiritual darkness. Who put their light under a bushel? Those who have intuitions or convictions which they conceal; those who kindle and feed the flame of truth in esoteric circles; those who refuse to promulgate their best and deepest thought, whether from some fear of *odium theologicum* or current orthodoxy, or diffidence of their own powers, or sluggishness; or those who seek to monopolize like a trade secret, and to use as if it were a burglar's dark lantern, the knowledge that others have a right to.

Those who refuse to patent, but give freely to the public their inventions and discoveries and refuse all monopolies of information are observing this precept.

10. "A city set on a hill cannot be hid" (Matt. v:14).

According to the early allegorizing interpretation, the city is the celestial city of the saints; the mountain upon the solid rocky basis of which it rests is Christ; the citizens are Church members; the towers, prophets; the doors, the apostles; the walls, the priests and teachers. Pure air, solidity, elevation above all that is mundane, and all manner of symbolisms which have been woven about mountain and city, have been spun about this passage. Some think that we have here an apocryphal prophecy of Zion's rule of the world; others, that it means that the light of truth in Christianity cannot be hidden but will inevitably be preached; but most commentators think it refers to the way in which good deeds shine far in a naughty world. Jesus tells his followers that they are conspicuous and observed, as well as that they live on the altitudes of human experience. The Kingdom is a mountain city, such as in a figurative sense was the heavenly Jerusalem, and such as the Roman Church was thought to be on earth. Certain it is that this parable, simple as it is, need not and should not always have one unitary and consistent explanation, but was meant to be a centre from which irradiate many lessons not necessarily consistent with one another.

11. There is nothing hidden which shall not be revealed and nothing secret that shall not be manifest. Then follows, What I tell you in darkness or privately, that speak in the light or from the housetop (Matt. x: 26 f.; Mark iv: 22; Luke viii: 17, and xi: 35 f.).

This is a Hebrew gnome. The esoteric shall be made exoteric. Some think it has an anti-gnostic purport. All riddles and parables will be explained. There must be no cloistered or concealed knowl-

edge. Some think it means that faith will attain sight. The heart will bear its fruit. Things secretly guarded in the breast will come out. Bushels will be taken off all candles, not to satisfy prying curiosity but by a law of diffusion and popularization of true science. Here once rested the dogma of the perspicacity of the Scriptures, on which so much exegesis is an unconscious satire. But this passage is futuristic and prophetic, suggesting the indefinite progress of knowledge. Perhaps here Jesus withdraws or cancels all his injunctions to tell no man. Whatever opposition it encounters the glad Gospel tidings must be proclaimed with no reservations and no vestige of timidity. Not only God sees, but all the world will and must.

12. The light of the body is the eye (Matt. vi: 22 f.; Luke xi: 34, and xxxii: 6). If the eye is right, the body is full of light, but if it is bad, of darkness. No part of the body must be dark. The light in us must not be darkness, which is great if it is a darkness made out of light.

This is one of the most difficult of all Jesus' sayings, and voluminous and divergent have been the interpretations of it. Liberal commentators think it shows a muddled knowledge of optics and represents views that are utterly antiquated. Jülicher, after epitomizing many other views, concludes that it is "an admonition to care faithfully for that which is as indispensable for the spiritual as the eye is for the corporeal life," and thinks its purport akin to that of the parable of the salt of the earth which had lost its savour. He seems to think that Jesus regarded the eye for the purpose of illuminating the whole body, so that any defect involved obscurity in some part of the body—a view nowhere found in antiquity, and as false as the very widespread and persistent view, till Harvey, that air entered the lungs and through them the arteries (air passages), and thence pervaded the whole body. Even if Jesus anticipated the modern experiments which show that retinal stimuli tone up all the bodily functions and accelerate every physiological process, while binding or extirpating the eyes puts many animals to sleep, this might help. Was he groping toward something he did not fully comprehend? Does it suggest, like many other of his sayings, a proclivity toward physiological psychology on Jesus' part, crude and ignorant but rightly oriented in the very direction in which that important science has recently developed? May we psychoanalyze some of the parables, and throwing history and criticism to the winds, read modern meanings into them? If so, possibly we have here a prelusive adumbration of Wundt's chief contribution to psychology, viz., that optical perception is the key to apperception, and that in the

distinction between *Blickpunkt* and *Blickfeld* we find an open door to the comprehension of the direct and indirect field of consciousness, so that the mind is in a sense made largely on the pattern of the eye, and this sense is the best analogue of its mode of action. We must not forget that in many passages Jesus used seeing symbolically, and that the new insights he brought into the world were conveyed to us under the analogy of restoring sight to the blind. At least he means that ignorance leaves the soul in darkness as optical opacity leaves the body inert and without the power of self-direction. The symbolization of light through all the ages has been too complex to be exhaustively treated. Until this is done this passage will have to remain one of the "dark sayings."

13. No one, or no servant, can serve two masters (Matt. vi: 24 f., Luke xvi: 13). One will be loved and cleaved to and the other hated and despised. Thus no one can serve God and Mammon, the god of ill-gotten wealth.

This reminds us, of course, of the treasure laid up in heaven and the camel in the needle's eye. It seems a popular proverb utilized for Jesus' present purpose. Some expositors assume that the two masters are hostile, which would make the task of serving them both more difficult. The slave cannot possibly be indifferent and so far as he is inclined to prefer one master he will grow averse to the other. But there should be no duplicity, no vacillating policy, no hypocrisy or reservations. Service should be complete and single. The claims of the two masters are not only divergent but contradictory. There might conceivably be alternation, serving of now one and now the other master, like doing the will of God on Sunday and serving Mammon the other days of the week. We must have one supreme goal in life, and not two or more, which would be worse yet. If one master were served in a way and at a time displeasing to the other, the neglected master would, of course, be incensed. Thus life, as in the preceding verse we are told the eye, must be single.

14. Men, like trees, are known by their fruits. Good men bear good, bad men bear evil fruit (Matt. vii: 16-20; Luke vi: 43-6). A good tree cannot bear bad, nor a corrupt tree good, fruit.

This is connected with the warning against false prophets in sheep's clothing who are inwardly ravening wolves. Luke adds that men do not gather figs of thorns or grapes of thistles. A good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth that which is good,

an evil man that which is evil; for the mouth speaks out of the abundance of the heart. Unfruitfulness is a sure sign of false piety and doctrine, and this is valid of false prophets.

This seems like modern pragmatism. Good works are the best indications of sound doctrine, and every error produces bad conduct. A wolf clothed with a sheep's skin is like thistles bearing figs, and both are impostors or hypocrites. A really good heart cannot produce bad deeds. Acts speak louder than words. As each plant breeds true to its species, so the good or the bad man lives out his life according to his inmost nature. Fruit there must be, yet the warning against false prophets implies that men may seem but not be good, although to true discernment each is sure to betray himself. A morbid complex, evil or good desires, inevitably find a vent, and all disguise and pretense are ineffective to prevent it. Only in a double life, which is against nature, is it possible for thorns to bear grapes.

15. Every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xiii: 52) is like a householder bringing forth from his treasure things new and old.

This comes at the close of a long pericope of parables, and after Jesus had asked the disciples if they had understood and they had answered. This seems to say that a Jew who understands Jesus' teaching of the Kingdom, and, as did the disciples, combines a knowledge of the Old Testament and the new message of Jesus, is like one who brings forth from a richly furnished family store-room what is most needful for each member of the household. There is always the implication that the old must not be forgotten for the new, as neologists are prone to do. Köstlin thinks Jesus here is recommending to the disciples his own mode of teaching by parables, which combines the recondite and the familiar. Would that we could think he meant to commend the genetic method that understands the new only in the light of the old and *vice versa* in the sense of modern evolution! This would be putting new wine into old bottles, which he is reported on authority that some have challenged to have said elsewhere no man does. Yet in the limited sense that stands for the most striking of all religious evolutions, viz., that of the New Testament developing out of the Old, in which it lay concealed, Jesus was *facile princeps* of cultural evolutionism. If we can only be progressive and at the same time conservative, or even as a member of either party recognize the necessary function of the other, we shall be strong. To be devotees of the past or of the future is, like all extreme positions, easiest but least effective. Paul perhaps was the best of all illustrations of this parablette, being well trained in the learning of the scribes and also a Christian.

16. Where the carcass is there the eagles gather (Matt. xxiv: 28; Luke xvii: 37).

In Luke this is said in answer to the question apropos of Jesus' statement that two will be in one bed, two grinding together, two in the field, and one will be taken and the other left. In Matthew it appears in the midst of a description of the advent of the last day. It is one of the most current proverbial, if somewhat repulsive and difficult, of the parables, brief as it is. The terrible side of the *parousia* will appear wherever there is an object of judgment, Jewish or heathen. Sin draws a penalty as carrion does birds of prey. It can hardly mean, as has been said, that the Messiah will as surely find his own as vultures find a carcass, or that retribution will overtake those dead and rotten with sin, or that Satan is the eagle preying upon his victim. Why not take it in the double sense, viz., that virtue will as surely find its reward and sin its penalty as a mouldering dead body will draw to it all those creatures that naturally feed upon it? Iniquity draws social and physical convulsions. Vengeance is waiting like birds of prey. The Hebrew mind was peculiarly prone, if disaster came, to interpret it as a punishment for sin and to search its own heart for the real cause. Jesus here says: "Given these calamities that I have described, and you can be as certain that there is a commensurate sin as you are when you see a flock of carrion birds gathering that there is a carcass somewhere attracting them."

17. If a good householder knows when a thief is coming he will watch and prevent the burglary (Matt. xxiv: 43; Luke xii: 39). The context both before and after in both Gospels is: Be ready for the coming of the Son of Man, who will arrive stealthily as a housebreaker. Here the time, as in the preceding parable the place, is stressed. The injunction is: Watch, for you know not the day or the hour, so that this is another *semper paratus* warning. The *parousia* will come when it is least expected.

Many expositors make the householder deaf, some refer to Holbein's stealthy dance of approach, while others think the thief is the devil, always striving to outwit and pilfer away souls. But if we watch we prevent the theft. Believers welcome the coming of the Son who gives rather than takes away from them. The advent, too, will be soon, although it is undatable, and no one must be caught napping. Not only is the time short, but it will probably secretly be set at just that time when most will be off their guard. Thus the disciples have the double advantage of knowing this and also knowing that

it will come soon. He who takes your soul will seek to surprise you, and you must strive to prevent him from taking you unawares. *Memento semper mori.* Never for an instant forget that you must die, and may die at any time. Always have preparations complete. Thanatophobia, which has inspired medicine, hygiene, and even the conceptions of another life, has indeed been a great muse, and here we are enjoined to live as if every day, hour, and minute would be our last. Or does it all concern the coming of another order of things in this world without death? With the indeterminate characterization of other parables is it meant to have multifarious suggestiveness?

18. Blessed is the faithful and wise servant whom his lord made ruler over his household (Matt. xxiv: 45-51; Luke xii: 41-48), and who gives to all their meat in due season, and is found so doing when the lord comes. He will be made ruler of all. But if because the lord delays his coming he smites his fellows and becomes drunken and gluttonous, to him the lord will come when least expected, will cut him asunder and send him among hypocrites where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Luke adds that the servant that knows his lord's will and does it not shall be beaten with many stripes, but he who knows it not shall receive but few stripes, for to whom much is given of him will much be required.

Here the admonition is to the virtue of loyalty in the large sense of Royce and the Japanese. Personal fealty and at the same time fidelity to a trust are commended, and also by implication fiduciary responsibility and duty done independently of supervision. There is a saving gradation of demerit because those who do not know are beaten less than those who violate their trust after being duly instructed in it. All are servants, representatives, with only delegated power, or at best vicegerents holding and administering what is committed to them in trust for a feudal lord. Heavy indeed will be the penalty for those found false. As time goes by those who are not true will begin to act, not as vicariates or attendants, but as owners, and will abuse their power, as other parables show; but that is just the moment the absentee landlord will select to arrive. Good stewardship with few specific instructions, tenancy with an indeterminate lease, and utter loyalty to the employer, though he be an absentee, are required on pain of cruel and barbaric torture.

Had, then, Jesus no trust in his followers or in human nature, that he felt it needful so often to hold out rewards and utter threats of direst punishment? Had he so little faith in men that he could

not depend upon their fidelity to him and had to make the strongest appeal he could possibly devise to fear and hope? The Stoic made virtue its own reward and vice its own penalty, but in Jesus' sayings there are very few traces of this. Even in the beatitudes each trait commended is given a prize. All are paid or penalized in natural or spiritual coin. Save only in Parable Two, there is no glint of a service of love alone; but rather that of servile duty is enjoined. Is it not as if virtue and happiness, sin and misery, did not intrinsically belong together, but must be brought together by an extraneous sovereign will, without whose intervention they would rarely and only fortuitously find each other? There is much in Jesus' sayings that almost seems to anticipate the modern doctrine of temibility, or the principle that a certain degree of pain, measurable for each individual and for each sin, would be an adequate deterrent.

19. Keep your loins girded and your lights burning (Mark xiii: 33-37; Luke xii: 35-38). Wait like servants, ready to open on the instant when the master, coming home from a wedding, knocks. Such servants he will make sit down at his table, and will gird himself and serve them. Blessed are they who are found thus waiting, at whatever watch of the night the lord comes. In Mark the lord had gone on a journey, having assigned to each servant his duty and having charged the porter to watch his return. He will come suddenly, and must not find any one sleeping. All must watch. He must not be kept waiting, or knock a second time.

Godet says that the lord is supposed to have come home so sated from a wedding feast that he cared not himself to partake of the meal the servants had ready for him, and as a reward for their promptness and punctuality divided it among and served it to them, in the same spirit of humility as Jesus washed his disciples' feet. Thus in the Roman saturnalia the master became servant and the servant master. Thus Jesus served the viands at his Last Supper. The coming of the Lord, some think, refers to the *parousia*, others to the hour of death as it comes to the individual. Some see in it an exhortation to die fully conscious and thus to receive the Lord. If the *parousia* is meant, it is also implied that it may be delayed longer than was expected. But the Lord will surely come again, and it will be in judgment, and of this great assize all the faithful must be ever mindful. No one knows the hour, not even the Son, but it will be by night when most sleep. Hence the old charge to be always ready, expectant, attentive, with lamps lighted and with sufficient oil in them, to observe

keenly the signs of the great advent, listen for the knock at the door, and open immediately; be ever alert, watchful, waiting all through the night for the great home-coming.

20. Jesus quotes the proverb, "Physician, heal thyself" (Luke iv: 23), after he had charmed the attendance at the synagogue at Nazareth, had been identified as Joseph's son, and had been asked but was declining to do miracles here as he was said to have done in Capernaum, because no prophet is accepted in his own country.

"Physician, heal thyself" is the shortest of the parables, but it is set in an illuminating pericope. If he did no miracles here he would be like a physician that could not heal himself. His repute at his boyhood home waned when he was recognized, and he was invited to heal his reputation by a miracle done on the spot. Otherwise he would be like a doctor smitten by the disease he had made it his specialty to prevent and cure. The call to show what he could do here has suggested to some the taunt on the cross, Thou that doest mighty things, save thyself and come down from the cross. Plato thought a physician must have experience with illness in his own person to be sympathetic and efficient with his patients; but we are not told that Jesus was ever ill, not even amidst his greatest trials. Those about to be executed must sometimes be carried, but he carried his own cross. If we look at his life as a whole, he did perhaps save his repute as a healer of souls by doing what were thought to be miracles of bodily healing. Luke's form of statement suggests imperfect comprehension on his part.

21. They that are whole (Matt. ix: 12; Mark ii: 17; Luke v: 21 f.) need not a physician, but they that are sick. Jesus says that he was come to call not the righteous but sinners to repentance. Matthew adds an injunction to learn the meaning of the phrase, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice." Luke gives this saying in answer to the question why (at Levi's feast) Jesus and his disciples ate with publicans and sinners.

Here Jesus appears as a moral psychiatrist associating with those whom rigorists thought depraved and so held aloof from. His attitude is not that of modern social workers who say they are studying conditions to devise ethical and hygienic reform, although he could hardly help doing this; but he is rather comparing himself to a doctor visiting quarantine quarters to help his patients. Missionary work has only

lately taken on again a largely medicinal and hygienic character. The early Church gradually abandoned its healing function when the old psychotherapy with which it began was discredited. Thus this parable proverb has new significance to-day. This, however, is not the core of meaning. It is more akin to that of the lost sheep and the prodigal. Those whom his questioners thought righteous he felt were in peculiar need of salvation, so this saying is rather a retort or confutation in justification of his latitudinarianism. Perhaps it shows how he regarded the power of conversion as later exemplified in Paul and Augustine, and in the case of the devotion of Mary Magdalene, so often before him. Thus he doubtless realized that those who had gone wrong and been set right were the most active elements in the new life; for there is a point of view from which it is better to have sinned and been rescued than never to have sinned at all, as Kierkegaard has shown. At any rate, this sketch brings out the contrast between the native, naïve Parsifal innocence and impeccable virtue, illustrated by Jesus himself, and those snatched like brands from the burning, and implies that he, unlike his interrogators, did not need to be so careful of the company he kept, because he was in less danger of being infected or tempted than they. His work of mercy was more pleasing to God than were sacrifices. His attitude is corrective compassion to those whom narrow legalism had outlawed. Sinners like those of this feast to whom exception was taken were interesting "cases," patients he yearned to save, and he would not be kept or called away from them.

22. The disciples of John and the Pharisees were wont to fast (Mark ii: 18-20; Matt. ix: 14 f.; Luke v: 23-25). When Jesus is asked why his disciples do not do so he replies that they have the bridegroom with them, but that the time for them to fast will be when he is taken away.

In this debate Pharisaic purism adduces the Baptist's example against Jesus' more liberal views of the conduct of life. He sees the device that might involve an issue between himself and John's followers but avoids it, urging that those within are celebrating high festival so long as he is with them, and that this is no time for legalism, funereal mourning, or ascetism. Fasting is out of place in the presence of the Lord of life. Stern Ebionitic pietism would be an anachronism now. A temperate euphoric abandon is in order. A bridegroom ought to be the happiest of men, and should irradiate joy. Here again we have the ecstatic motive. The soul just wedded to Jesus is transcendentally joyful, as the objective studies of those newly wedded to Jesus in Starbuck, James, Leuba, and others show. Fasting has its

important place and function in medicine, religion, physiology, and hygiene; but very likely had the Baptist himself been present and fully understood that Jesus was in very deed the Messiah whom he heralded, he would have cast off his abstemiousness and realized the double joy that folklore and custom have always assigned to banquets and to weddings. Exhilaration, elation, elevation, and euphoria of soul, anticipating the moods of the heavenly marriage-supper with the Lamb, are here sanctioned.

23. No one sews new cloth on an old garment, for this makes the rent worse (Matt. ix: 16 f.; Mark ii: 21 f.; Luke v: 36-39). Luke adds that the new piece does not match the old. No one puts new wine into old bottles lest the bottles break and the wine be spilled and the bottles spoiled, but new wine must go into new bottles and then both are preserved.

This parable has had a very checkered history. The old bottles and old garment have been interpreted as the Pharisees' cleaving to the old, as all under the old covenant, as the disciples of the Baptist, as Jesus' weak and callow disciples, and as old institutions, views and customs generally, while the new cloth and wine have been thought to mean the new joy and freedom Jesus brought, the new covenant and doctrine, the ecstatic state of mind brought by the Gospels, aggressive policies, new institutions, discoveries, etc. Many writers think both comparisons relate fundamentally to the relations between the New and the Old Testament, or the new life of Christ and the old one of sin while some think all relations between the old and the new in every domain of life are here alluded to. Many find here an admonition to break with the old, and come out. Reformers should not consort with but cut away from the old, as Paul did, and as he would abrogate the law. The passage is generally thought to be out of place in Mark, and some regard it as a fragment of a larger but lost discourse of Jesus. This impression that we are dealing with older fragments patch-worked together without regard for matching, which Luke alone refers to, is often felt. But the gravamen here is in the contrast between the old and the new, and it shows Jesus as a catastrophist rather than as a uniformitarian. He was temperamentally disposed toward breaks, crises, epochs. He would have had more sympathy, if we can judge by this passage alone, with the French revolution, that swept all that was old away and organized everything anew, than with the English way of making history, where everything widens on from precedent to precedent, and so much of the old is conserved in the new and so much of the new is cast into the forms of the old. The parable is so anti-

evolutionary, too, that some have hoped it was not authentic. The Catholic Church in absorbing the barbarians of early Europe achieved its greatest successes by putting new meanings into old forms, and changing and adapting, rather than throwing away, most that it found at hand. The same principle applies to the successful Protestant minister, to the pedagogue, and to reformers generally. Do not all leaders do just what Jesus here says no one does? How many are now engaged in putting new wine and meaning into the old bottles of Christianity, and thus conserving both at the same time? Even conversion may come as gradually as growth, and be dateless.

24. Who, intending to build a house, does not sit down and count the cost to see if he has enough to finish it, lest having laid the foundation, observers mock and say, "Here was one who began to build but was not able to finish" (Luke xiv: 28-33)? Or what king, going to war, does not first sit down and consider whether with ten thousand he will meet an enemy with twenty thousand troops, and then have to beg terms of peace? Whoso does not forsake all cannot be my disciple.

This is a paradigm of ordinary economic world wisdom applied to the Kingdom which it costs so much to enter. Do not join the Church, take any vow, as of a monk or nun, swear any fraternity or sodality oath that you have not fully realized the obligations of and estimated your moral ability to keep, etc. The motive for the prudence here adduced is fear of ridicule. It has a pregnant sense for promoters of enterprises, and its need is seen in failures in business (more than ten thousand a year in this country), in organizations, societies, etc., for all varieties of good purposes. Confucius repeatedly gave the same admonition in other terms. Jesus felt it, for he had counted the cost of his own perilous career, perhaps was doing so throughout the temptations of the desert. His modern enemies, and, indeed, some of his friends, like Renan, think he made a fatal error in his calculations of what he could and could not carry through, and lost his life because he attempted too much. This is also one theme in the modern efficiency movement. Every dictionary of proverbs, too, shows that all people have popular sayings to this effect, and not only is prudence in this respect rated high, but failure to count the cost brings misfortunes that are the chief theme of satire and ridicule. To begin only what we can finish is a kind of everyday, Ben Franklin-, Tupper-like, proverbial philosophy, desperate though the enterprise here typified is. It means abandonment to a love so intense that family love is hate beside it, just as ice itself is hot compared to the lowest

artificial temperature of thousands of degrees that physics is now able to produce.

Few intellects can compute in advance all the cost involved in choosing such a course, and this characteristic utterance of Jesus is well calculated to warn all men of ordinary mettle from attempting to lead his life. Its intrinsic difficulty makes it seem superhuman; for the context in the light of which this parable is to be interpreted is that no man can become a full disciple who does not forsake all, hate father, mother, wife, children, brethren, and even his own life, and bear the cross. We had better not try if we are not confident of the power to finish. If the head is weak, or the eye, or the heart fails, miscarriage is inevitable, sooner or later. The natural affections must actually be martyred. Thus Jesus certainly cannot be said to cajole, wheedle, or seduce. The hardihood of accepting his call would seem to require less intellect than what the world calls fanaticism. Nor does the context comport with a moral injunction to love all men, even our enemies; but here again we must recognize Jesus' tropical and perfervid nature, which scorns qualification, comparison, or balancing modulated statements. For these his heart was too hot, his mind too sharply focussed on the single point in hand, and so he often fails to consider the relations of what he says to other truths, trusting the deeper unity of his own soul rather than relying on the superficial unity of doctrine or logic.

25. When the scribes said he had Beelzebub and cast out devils by the prince of devils (Mark iii: 22-27; Matt. xii: 24-30; Luke xi: 14-26), Jesus answered by a parable, viz., how can Satan cast out Satan? A kingdom or a house divided against itself cannot stand. If Satan rise up against Satan he is divided and hath an end, and he adds that in order to spoil a strong man he must first be found. All sin will be forgiven save only blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, but such a sin can never be, but he who commits it is in jeopardy of eternal damnation. (This because they accused him of having an unclean spirit.) Luke makes Jesus ask his accusers the counter-question: "By whom do your offspring cast out devils?" and say: "If I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the Kingdom of God is come upon you." In Luke he had just cast out a devil, and adds that a strong keeper of a palace can be overcome only by one stronger yet, who will then take away his armour, and divide his spoil, closing the incident in Matthew with, "Who is not with me is against me, and who gathereth not with me scattereth."

Here we are in a dualistic, Manichean world, conceived with Dantesque or Miltonic vividness. The good and the bad, light and dark, are represented by highly developed hierarchies, each with its supreme leader and a series of subordinates graded by ranks. Most, if not all, that happens in both the physical and the moral world are incidents of their incessant and relentless warfare. One of these incidents is that evil spirits often take possession of the souls of certain people. Many of these Jesus had ordered out, and they had obeyed him and fled away. Here the insidious and damning charge is that they obey his behest because he is their superior in command. He is the leader of their side, viz., very Satan himself, and they do not obey because they are evicted by a conquering leader of the hosts of goodness. Or, according to many primitive concepts, Jesus is here accused of using black and not white magic. If this is true, he is a demon of high degree, and not divine. He is Diabolus masquerading as a son of God, and is now detected. The issue is momentous, crucial, perhaps sudden, and the alternative perhaps the most extreme that could be conceived according to the ideas of the cosmos that then prevailed. Jesus' answer is that Satan would not order the withdrawal of his own forces. He wishes to possess, not to dispossess, men. To order him out of tenements his minions have conquered and occupied, and cling to so pertinaciously, would mean revolt, weakness, and eventual ruin. Satan would never order a retreat; for this would sow the seeds of dissension among his own subordinates, and thus his house would fall. The only explanation, therefore, of these cases of exorcism, is that Satan's emissaries are forced by a stronger hostile power to give up the ground they have won, although it jeopardizes the unity and integrity of his kingdom. Thus Jesus constrains Satan and is more potent than he, and the power of God comes very near whenever he does these acts. He asks his accusers by which of these two powers they cast out devils, suggesting that the same charge they had brought against him might be levelled against them with equal force. No half-way ground is possible, therefore. All must be for or against. It must be Yahveh or Satan, for here are the polar opposites of the moral world. Therefore, to reverse all things, to attribute the works of God to the devil, or *vice versa* to put him in God's place, is the greatest, most hopeless inversion of all values. It is the one and only unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost. It is, in short, blasphemy. Frank diabolism, it may be mentioned, has had many disciples and cults with sacrilegious rites such as the Witches' Sabbath in which the mysteries of Christianity have been parodied under the motto, "Evil, be thou my good." Satanism has had its own decade and school of literature in France (e. g., Huysmans' "Des Esseintes" and Baudelaire's "Les Fleurs du Mal," Stendhal's work, and some of the writings of the very

clever Paul Bourget, who says, "We do not want to be saved and deprived of the voluptuous pleasure of going to perdition." See also J. H. Leuba (*Am. Jour. Psychol.*, Vol. 5, pp. 496-539). Here, too, we might cite the pathetic history of the conceptions of the unpardonable sin and its effects on those who are thought to have committed it. But all this would take us too far afield. The very scholarly but finicking and jejune Jülicher laboriously extracts from this parable the lesson that "the expulsion of demons presupposes the advent of God's Kingdom." To us the lesson is eternal orientation as the condition of virtue in this world of moral dualism.

26. Agree with thine adversary promptly whiles thou art in the way with him (Matt. v: 25 f.; Luke xii: 58-59). Luke says, Give diligence to this matter lest your enemy bring you to the judge and he deliver you to the officers, and then you will be cast into prison. From this there will be no hope of escape till you have paid the uttermost mite or farthing.

This seems a precept of very ordinary but sound common sense, which is uncommon enough in fact. Appease all enemies promptly for the prudential reason that otherwise you may have to go to law and be caused greater trouble. Not only the nature but the history of this parable makes it a good illustration of what is often called the elasticity of the parables, and it might be stretched into a commendation of arbitration to prevent war, a utilitarian removal of all possible causes for quarrels in their bud in the interests of peaceableness, as a precept never to make enemies when it is possible to avoid doing so, because vengeance is an infection that rankles and tends to grow rapidly to dangerous proportions. "Agree" may mean any kind of appeasement, from apology and pardon-begging to placation by the extremest self-abasement. The implication is that those addressed are either weaker or less resentful or more conciliatory than their adversary, nor is it entirely inconsistent with Bacon's injunction to avoid entrance into a quarrel but being in, to comport oneself so that the enemy will beware of one. Here only one specific aspect of a very complex situation is singled out of how the true aristocrat of the Kingdom will act. Jesus' allusion to lawyers who tend to magnify disagreements is often suggested and perhaps also his distrust of Courts and of humanly administered justice.

27. Noting how they chose the chief rooms, Jesus said (Luke xiv: 7-14), When bidden to a wedding, do not sit in the highest place lest a

more honourable man come and be given your seat and you have to sit lower down. Rather choose the lowest place, and then the host may say to you, "Go up higher." Then the other guests will respect you for the honour they see done you. For whoso exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

Weddings greatly impressed the celibate Jesus, and he evolved from them many of his highest and most sublimated insights and impartations, and the same was true, perhaps, in even a higher degree, of eating and feasts. This parable is a part of the table-talk with a leading Pharisee. Jesus announced it as a parable, perhaps in a spirit of pleasant banter. Possibly he himself occupied the lowest place at table, and if so this would have made his utterance more impressive. It has been suggested that he had insisted on taking it, perhaps not so much with design in order to give point to an admonition which he planned to give, as to explain his humble place. Perhaps, too, the host had given an object lesson by changing the position of some of the guests, raising some and degrading others; for in ancient symposia, as we see in Plato, this was often an important though very delicate matter. If so, it was all stingingly apposite and personal, but the opportunity sharply to point and bring home a moral was too good to be lost, and this applies, even though it was Jesus' seat that was regarded as the head of the table.

This has a close parallel in one of the adages of Mencius, suggesting on its face merely the conduct proper for a true gentleman, so that it might stand in any book of good manners or etiquette. It would be foolish to take a seat on the platform if there was a chance of being asked to come down and make room for others there. There seems no superhuman wisdom here, but as if by some Swedenborgian correspondence between things earthly and things heavenly, it is made an apperceptive formula of insight into the next world. The merit that takes the lowest place is just that which deserves the highest. The immanent and the transcendental are complemental each to the other. The *Diesseits* and the *Jenseits* are not copies but counterparts, if not antitheses. Jesus humbled himself in his earthly life, and was later exalted. So the beatitudes are upon the weak, lowly, humble, poor in spirit. Heaven pays well, and abnegation here brings blessing beyond. Investment in the momentary obscurity of this life buys an eternity of glory. Mundane relations are only negatives of those found in the fairyland beyond. What we have there is measured by what we forego here. This may be a parable of asceticism to which the disguises of meanness became the chosen incognitos of good sense. This at least underlies the parable, and is a meaning that finds fuller outcrops in other teachings of Our Lord.

28. To a Greek woman who asked Jesus to cast out a devil from her daughter Jesus said (Mark vii: 27; Matt. xv: 26 f.): "Let the children first be filled for it is not meet to take the children's bread and to cast it unto the dogs." She replied: "Yes, Lord, yet the dogs under the table eat of the children's crumbs." Pleased at this, Jesus cast out the devil from her daughter (a cure at a distance). Matthew adds that at first Jesus answered her not till the disciples wanted to send her away, and then said that he was sent only to the lost sheep, especially to Israel.

Here Jesus is made to seem persuaded to make an exception to the rule of helping Hebrews, first by a deft, repartee-like plea of a gentile mother who bested him by turning his semiparable on her side and against him. Matthew adds that he commended her faith in believing that not a whole ration but only a crumb was sufficient for the cure. Let us hope, too, that although realizing as he must that he was outwitted and his own simile fairly turned against him, and that by a despised alien and woman, he capitulated gracefully and as a gentleman rather than, as some urge, because he was susceptible to the other sex, although there are elsewhere suggestions of this, as in Renan and several of the apocryphal writings.

The interpretation commonly stressed is that this marks a step toward universalism in the later Pauline sense, and that crumbs under the table are among the first suggestions of missionary work. It also contributed something to the miraculous efficiency afterward ascribed in Church legends to the crumbs of the sacrament, which as the body of Our Lord came to be cared for with such superstitious anxiety. Some think that it marks not only an early but the first stage in Jesus' mind of a realization that non-Israelites were to profit by his mission, and that the parable of outcasts taking the place of those first invited stands for a later and more developed conception by Jesus of the scope of his work. In the later parables, on this theory the dogs under come to be seated at the table, and the chief priests and the Jews of high degree are not present even as dogs under it. Jesus' race feeling was intense, and he was more or less caste-bound to the end. The "children" whom he wished to sit at the table were true orthodox Jews; but of his ideal of reaching them he was soon disillusioned, and so came to put his trust in and direct his effort toward the people or masses, who were chiefly represented on his board of disciples. In the above parable he perhaps first grasped the next step, viz., of directing efforts to the still wider circle of gentiles who later, in fact, came to constitute practically all of his followers, for Christianity offers the most complete case of an ethnically transplanted religion. If so,

then this nimble-minded unknown Greek mother marked an epoch in the psychogenesis of Christianity, and she would have been fitter than Thekla to be the heroine of the spurious Acts of Paul.

B. TRUE PARABLES

29. He who hears and does Jesus' precepts is like a man who builds a house on a rock, even if he has to dig down to it (Matt. vii: 24-7; Luke vi: 41-9). Then, when wind and storm beat on it, it stands firm. He who hears and does not, builds his house on earth and sand, and then, when flood and storm come, it falls and is a wreck.

This duplex parable is in Luke the epilogue or peroration or the sermon on the mount, and might well end every sermon. Its application is plain as day. Gnosis is good, for it builds, but the structure lacks durability. Willed action carried on to the point of habituation is the rock. This is the solid basis of human nature to which the mind trusts that builds for aye. It is character, not nativistic, but made as a result of precept. It is knowledge put into the form of will and deeds, which are the language of complete men and become transmissible by heredity as merely noetic attainments are not. Wind, flood, and rain are trials; and storm, and stress, and sand are good impulses and resolutions, not petrified into character. Jesus had a *penchant* for symbols of steadfastness and perdurability. Simon was surnamed Peter the Rock, or cornerstone of the Church. Heaven and earth will fail, but no item of his word. His followers must be steadfast and immovable. As a mason as well as a carpenter Jesus felt the force of such similitudes. The discourse of which this is the end consisted of precepts to live by, which were not intended to be mere enlighteners of the intellect. They were a philosophy to be embodied in life. To live by and according to these directions is to build on the solid Rock of Ages. The same might be said of industrial, and especially of engineering, activities. These must be based on sound scientific principles or come to naught, as thousands of them in this country do for this reason. Also, so far as we are artificers of our own fortunes, sound moral principles are the rock to build on, not merely to be known and assented to. Re-education cannot be securely accomplished without adding perspiration to aspiration. To respond to good inculcations only by the phosphorescent glow of answering good purposes or wishes is nothing but leaves, not fruit. If this parable was intended to be restricted to the sermon on the mount, it shows how fundamental Jesus considered that discourse. Few commentators think the storm or flood has any eschatological reference, although it harmonizes with the doctrine of the perseverance of the

saints. The world longs for certainty ineluctable, for some *aliquod inconcussum* which cannot be moved and on which the soul can stand securely. Kant compared truth to a rocky island set amidst tempestuous and foggy seas of doubt. Men have sought it in religion, philosophy, science. Here, says Jesus, it is, so far as needed as the basis for the moral conduct of life.

30. A man goes to his neighbour at midnight and asks for three loaves to set before a friend who has just unexpectedly arrived from a journey. The neighbour aroused from his slumber cries out from within, Trouble me not. The door is shut and I am abed with my children and cannot rise and serve you. Now although he would not rise because asked by a friend, he will arise and give him all he wants if sufficiently importuned. Therefore ask, seek, knock, and you will prevail (Luke xi: 5-10).

This anecdote is a *genre* picture of lowly life. A poor man has an unexpected, tired, and hungry guest at midnight, when, as Wendt and Weiss explain, bread shops are closed. His own larder is bare, so that he cannot perform the duties of hospitality, so imperative that Tiersch explains these gave the host's request a much stronger appeal than if he had asked for his own needs. Waking the friendly neighbour in the weary traveller's behalf, the former, inert with sleep, voices his reluctance to arise and disturb his children. The disturber of sleep, however, is not in the least rebuffed, discouraged, or fearful of arousing the resentment of his somnolent friend, and so persists in his request till his well-disposed but torpid friend rises and gives him all he asks. The moral is perseveration in proffering requests.

But is the good Lord the sleepy neighbour who must be awakened as the prophet of old exhorted the priests of Baal to cry louder and again lest their unresponsive god be sleeping or travelling? If so, he certainly does not here seem more anxious to give than his petitioners are to receive; nor is he in the rôle of one who never slumbers or sleeps. This reference seems to fall in the blind spot of Jesus' purpose here, while in the fovea is the injunction that the Lord will not feel that we are imposing on him or presuming too much upon his good will if we break in upon his slumbers and arouse him and his celestial household to give us for a needy guest. The host is, perhaps, less ashamed of his imprudence in being caught unprovided in the presence of his neighbour than he is before his guest. But hospitable instincts are also probably outside the scope of the parable. The crucial point is that believers should not in their prayers simply ask and, if they do not receive, withdraw with dignity or discouragement, nor should they do

so out of deference to the Lord's state or convenience, but should keep on urging their needs, and persevere in so doing till they are gratified. To pray and not receive is always a great and crucial trial to faith, especially that of young converts, and it is against the discouragement and possible unbelief of those whose requests are deferred or unanswered that Jesus here provides a safeguard for those who follow him, even though to do so he represents the All-Father in an all too human rôle. Elsewhere importunity is represented as overcoming indifference or disinclination on the Lord's part, but here he is first asleep, and then shows the inertness that follows sudden waking. Here inclination is not absent, but only torpid. Jesus seems inconsiderate of the way in which the Lord appears. He permits him to do so in a very undivine light, excessively anthropomorphized, because in so doing he can make pertinacity in intercession seem more necessary, and more hopeful. Better the heavenly Father be thought somnolent and lazy than have believers lose confidence in the answer to their prayer. Consider the Lord as human, only too human, but do not doubt that he is at heart well disposed to answer prayer. Thus Jesus, true pragmatist that he is, meets the great danger that men may fall away and grow faint-hearted by an astonishing sacrifice of the dignity and sublimity of the Lord. The interests of men are after all his great concern. Thus we have a profound and most illuminating glance into Jesus' true mind and will. His relation is primarily with man, and not, as older theology made out, with God.

31. In a parable which Luke says is to teach men always to pray without ceasing (xviii: 1-8), Jesus tells, as if it were a true incident, of a judge who feared neither God nor man, to whom a widow prayed to be avenged of her adversary. At first he turned a deaf ear, but later decided to avenge her lest by her continued importunity she weary him. If an unjust judge was thus spurred to do his duty, how much more will God avenge his own elect who cry to him day and night? Though he bear long, he will avenge them speedily. Shall the Son find faith on earth when he comes? The widow was deserted, in sorrow and need, and exposed to we know not what trials, persecutions, or temptations, from which a just judge would desire to free her. This judge had no love of justice and no sympathy with the victim of injustice, but granted her request at last, solely to be rid of her.

In the previous parable (30) of the sleeping householder aroused from slumber to give bread to a neighbour for a guest, previous acquaintance and good will are assumed, but here these are apparently

absent so that this parable intensifies still more the efficiency of importunity. A strong and reiterated wish tends to realize itself if the object to which it is addressed is in fact not an objective deity but our own deeper, larger, and more potent unconscious nature. This injunction thus seems good modern psychology. We have constantly to spur and incite our submerged self to wake it (as in 30), or as here to worry it into activity; for the conscious mind needs its help. We objectify our racial and unconscious nature from an inveterate habit of projective or ejective thought imposed upon us by sense experience. Hartmann's philosophy calls the unconscious not only omniscient and omnipotent but beneficent; and in these Freudian days we realize what a power it is in making us well or ill, strong or weak, happy or miserable. If it were permissible to interpret these two parables in this sense they would teach rather the relative impotence of consciousness which is a product of individual experience as compared with the vaster racial soul in each of us, and suggest that when invoking a mighty alien power to vouchsafe to us what we want, it is best done by fixation upon the object of our desire. The question, however, is best discussed in the general psychology of prayer.

Jesus in his healing works seems almost powerless to resist persistency. If our efforts to obtain the things we need are feeble, they ought to be unintermittent; for as trickling water wears away a rock, so unremitting effort will overcome every obstacle. When the sum of many little efforts reaches a constant total, the lever tips, and anon the powers that rule the depths of nature and the soul are found on our side, and they assuredly make for righteousness in the end and at bottom. The deepest and oldest things in us are the best organized, sanest and most normal, and so an appeal to them is often most efficacious.

32. A certain creditor (Luke only viii: 36-50) had two debtors, one who owed him five hundred and another who owed him fifty pence; and as neither could pay, he forgave the debt to both of them. Which, asked Jesus, would love that creditor most? They answered, He to whom most was forgiven; and this answer Jesus approved.

This parable is inseparable from its setting. Jesus was dining with a Pharisee when a sinful woman entered, who wept, washed his feet and wiped them with her hair, and anointed him from an alabaster box. The host thought that had he been a great prophet, he would have known that this woman was a great sinner, and therefore resented her attention. Jesus answering his thought responded that he had something to say, and when told to speak, gave this parable. Then pointing to the woman he said to the host, You gave me no water with

which to wash my feet, but she washed them with her tears and dried them with her hair. You gave me no kiss but she has continued to kiss my feet. You did not anoint my head, but she anointed my feet. Therefore her sins which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much. Those to whom little is forgiven love little. To the woman he said, Thy sins are forgiven. Thy faith hath saved thee. Go in peace; while the guests murmured, Who is this who forgives sins?

Altogether, this prose idyll in which the parable is set as an apt and illustrative anecdote has always been one of the most cherished incidents of Jesus' life, on which the Christian consciousness dwells with great fondness. Grace is most abounding to the greatest sinners. Those plucked as brands from the burning naturally love most. The pathos of forgiveness and gratitude is the dominant motive, and art has loved to give the whole a scenic setting. Nothing could be more lucid and unambiguous than the lesson it teaches. A fallen woman is not beyond the reach of salvation. To the Lord her sin is like a debt forgiven; and no wonder that the easy, spontaneous assumption of the power to forgive sin as a creditor might forgive a debt gives his fellow diners pause. Some think the woman is Mary Magdalene who thereafter followed Jesus with such touching fidelity and devotion. Her act is voluntary, abject, and self-humiliating, and an act not only of pathetic but of costly devotion.

This story contributes to one trait of vulgar converts, viz., ostentatiously magnifying the depth of the iniquity of their previous lives in order to impress others with a sense that they had had forgiveness to an exceptional degree, as if they had been objects of peculiar, divine favouritism, and therefore could love with greater fervour; so that it has often been asked whether it is not better to have sinned much, if only one is surely forgiven, than to have sinned little or not at all. This is a peculiar trait of the revival psychosis. But a debt, even if forgiven, is still in a sense due, and no power can truly forgive it. Pardon, too, is always relative and personal. An avenger may refuse to retaliate, but this is not all of forgiveness. Would a man of Stoic pride or of true honour consent to be rehabilitated or relieved from paying a price by an act of insolvency or taking a poor debtor's oath, or even having another pay a debt that he had incurred? The Nietzsche superman says, If I have deserved hell by my own life, it is hell that I want, for I could never be happy in heaven if I did not merit it in my own person. To think I can sin and evade its consequence by hiding behind the skirts of Jesus is not an invitation to sin, but to accept it is to abandon manliness, and only a craven soul can accept a salvation that is not his due. By this doctrine a man is sold not so much to sin as to priestcraft, and the sale of indulgences is inevitable. The only true redemption is to pay the penalty in full, and that also is

in fact what every sinner always did and must always do. In nature or psychology there is no such thing as a vicarious atonement. The soul that sins dies, and it was Paul, not Jesus, who taught anything at variance with this. Let us rather follow those who hold that in forgiving the sinful woman Jesus only meant that he would not condemn her, but saw saving goodness in her penitence. He sympathized with, trusted, and pardoned her, but had no thought of unlocking the door of heaven to her. Again, if Jesus is loved ten times as much by those he has forgiven ten times as much, then one great sinner's love is equal to that of ten who are forgiven little; while those who need no forgiveness, if such exist, would experience no love. But here comes in the law of compensation. If after leading a sinful life we are converted, we instinctively strive to atone for the past by doing supererogatory good enough to compensate for the badness of our previous life. What is this deep instinct but an impulse to work out our own salvation, to which we are impelled even though we have confessed and received absolution? In the Catholic confessional an ever larger part of the help which the penitent receives comes from the human sympathy and encouragement extended by the priest, and less can be ascribed to the sense that post-mortem penalties are removed, indefinitely helpful though this sense is to those who can still whole-heartedly believe it. Sin is unsocial, and its very act tends to isolation, which for gregarious man is always painful. Thus, to have a true friend take us by the hand, express confidence and good will, and act toward us as if we had never gone astray—this is the only forgiveness, and this alone may rescue. But of this elsewhere.

33. A king (Matt. xviii:21-35) took account of his servants. One owed him ten thousand talents, and as he had nothing to pay, it was ordered that he and his wife and children be sold to make good the debt. But the servant fell down, implored pardon, and promised to pay all, and thus he aroused the king's compassion so that he was forgiven all. This same servant went out and found a fellow servant who owed him one hundred pence, and seized him by the throat and demanded payment. His victim fell down, implored patience, and promised to pay all; but he was not heard, but cast into prison till all was paid. The king hearing of this summoned the servant, rebuked him, and asked why he had not exercised to his debtor the same pity that had been shown to him, and in anger gave him over to be tormented till the ten thousand talents were made good. Thus will the Lord do to you if you do not all from your very hearts forgive every one who trespasses against you. Forgive as you have been forgiven is the obvious moral.

We are again, as in the preceding parable, in the realm of debt and credit. Creditors in that day had almost unlimited power over their debtors and often used it flagrantly, requiring their full pound of flesh. Creditors were often also extortionate and usurers; hence this parable must have gone home. In a sense there is nothing specifically Christian here, and various parallels are found in the teachings of the Old Testament. In the context Peter had just asked how often if a brother sinned, he should be forgiven, and had been told seventy times seven, and then follows this parable. It is doubtful, however, if we have the true context here. At least the cruel servant is only forgiven once and then condemned beyond redemption, as if Jesus would place those guilty of such iniquity as this in as low a circle of the inferno as Dante did. The heinousness of the offence of the pitiless servant appears here set off by the damning fact that he had just been forgiven a vastly greater debt, so that his inhumanity to his own debtor immediately afterward is so incredible that it has been variously explained. The reason we must forgive debts to the poor is not because they deserve it, or because it is good for us to do so, but because the dear Lord has forgiven us all a far greater debt. The servant was not forcibly collecting debts owed to him in order to pay what he owed the king, because this obligation had been cancelled. As he who gives to the poor lends to the Lord, so to forgive a debt to one unable to pay it is to pay our own debt to the Lord, and the natural impulse to remit a debt to others after a larger obligation which we have been ourselves under has been remitted shows the conduct of the servant in a very dark light by contrast. Modern society recognizes the principle here taught in its statutes of limitation of debts, and also in its bankruptcy laws.

Behind the debt and credit terms of the parable, however, lies a larger lesson of forgiving all kinds of trespasses as we have been forgiven them. Some commentators waste much ingenuity in discussing the significance of this largest sum of money, ten thousand talents, mentioned by Jesus, and think he uses it perhaps as a child uses millions as the highest number it knows, and thus it stands in Jesus' mind for the immeasurable debt all sinners owe. Others discuss the "tormentors," usually opining that they refer to the powers of hell. Others discuss the cause of the change of mood of the servant, who must have at first been greatly exalted and happy when he was forgiven, so that some special experience must be assumed to account for his apparently sudden change to cruelty. Some postulate that the remission he had experienced was given publicly, and that he was taunted by his co-servants with accepting a gratuity, or that he excited their envy by being an object of favouritism, and that this angered him. Still others think that after having laboured so long under a debt that

seemed to him hopeless, he was suddenly rid of it, and developed a new or revived an old but abandoned ambition, perhaps a strong childish wish, to become rich himself, which now became possible; and so he took this cruel way to attain his end. Still others think his black moral perversity only a fit image of man's treatment of the Lord, and imply that if he was morally insane so are all unregenerate men. It shows also the two personalities of the Lord, the loving and forgiving on the one hand, and the punitive and vengeful on the other, and how readily the one attitude passes over into the other.

Over against all such subtleties we must not forget that this, like most of the other parables, is a humble effort to teach homely, practical truths to the populace, and thus most scholastic efforts to explain it are nothing but sophistic pedantry that detracts rather than adds to its force. Mercy and compassion, tenderness and pity, could stand out in no stronger contrast than over against poverty and debt, so common and so pathetic in this age of Roman exaction, which had reduced to direst need so large a part of the population even in this very fertile land. All are debtors, and if under the law of justice God should foreclose, the best of us would be bankrupt and sold for debt; but he remits freely as he would have us do. Hegel's "Phenomenology" makes forgiveness the very essence of religion, marking its emergence from within as the soul's act of sovereign majesty, making the done as though it were undone. To repent is to alienate and estrange ourselves from our past—to cast it off as a nullity. Such is the vigour of our nature and the power of God that man can eject his baser self, as the cell extrudes the polar globules that it does not need. Thus we moult sin, even when it is well entrenched. Forgiveness, therefore, is a good measure of the stages of moral and religious life. Freedom to become bad involves the power to become good again. Penalty for ejected sin retards the magnificent stages of its expulsion from the soul, while pardon, if hearty and reiterated, accelerates them.[1] Perhaps confession as now understood by alienists has this strange therapeutic power. If the debt cancelled is great, the joy of its remission is also great.

34. Despise not these little ones (Matt. xviii:10-14) for their angels (or souls) always behold the Father's face. The Son came to save the lost. If a man have one hundred sheep and one go astray, he leaves the ninety and nine, seeking the lost one, and if he find it, he rejoices more in that one than in the ninety and nine that went not astray. The Lord does not wish one of these little ones to perish. Luke (xv:1-10) gives this parable a different setting. To publicans and sinners who drew near, and to the scribes and Pharisees who

[1] See my translation of Rosenkranz's "Hegel as the National Philosopher of Germany," p. 146.

murmured that Jesus received and ate with sinners, he gives this parable of the lost sheep. Here the shepherd returns with the sheep on his shoulder and calls his neighbours to rejoice with him because the lost is found. Matthew adds that there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repents than over ninety and nine just men who need no repentance. Luke also adds the story of the woman losing one of her ten silver coins. She then lights a candle, sweeps and seeks till it is found, and then calls her friends to rejoice with her. So the angels rejoice most over sinners who repent. How much more is a man worth than a sheep or a piece of silver? The parent or teacher having a sick or even imbecile child cares more for it than for all the others who are normal, for need and helplessness increase love.

If this doctrine applies to degenerate man, it is anti-eugenic, for care is most worthily and most profitably for mankind bestowed on those who are best. But pity drew the Christian God from heaven to earth, and human as pity is, it tends to make the Church a hospital or asylum. Matthew's prelude concerning the little ones always beholding the Father's face suggests that the errant was loved more because, by repenting, he became again as a new-born child. To be lost cannot mean that the Divine One does not know where we are, but that we have escaped saving influences. Here the spirit that has made missionaries and slum workers is inculcated. The sinner is still God's property, and is loved as an individual. Reproached by his critics as he so often was for it, Jesus really loved sinners and publicans, whom the Pharisees held aloof from. Luke, the sympathetic physician, as we might expect gives this parable a somewhat higher colour. Cyril called the owner of the flock the Saviour. The lost sheep is Adam with all his posterity; the ninety and nine that stayed in the fold are the hosts of unfallen angels, vastly outnumbering man; the incarnation is the start in quest of the lost; the lost penny had God's image on it, although it was obscured by rust and dirt.

Would it not, in fact, be better shepherd-craft if one sheep were lost out of a flock of a hundred, for the shepherd to spend the time and energy here given to finding the strayed one to caring the better for the ninety and nine that remained, instead of leaving them uncared for while seeking the lost one, that might be found to have impaired value or to be dead in the wilderness? Yes, but for the infinite worth of each soul which is here implied. Could not the woman earn several pence with the same effort spent in finding the lost one? Yes; but there would have been one less coin in the realm to circulate. These and the next are parables of pity, and not of prudence.

35. The younger of two sons (Luke xv:11-32) asked his father to give him his part of the inheritance. He received it, journeyed afar, spent it all in rioting, and when a famine fell, had to herd swine and became so hungry that he longed for their food. And he reflected that even his father's servants had bread while he starved, and resolved within himself that he would go home to his father, to whom and to heaven he would confess his sin and plead that he was not worthy to be called his son, and beg for a servant's place. As he approached home, his father saw him afar, pitied, ran to meet, and kissed him, whereupon he confessed his sins and his unfitness to be called a son. But the father ordered the best robe, a ring, and shoes to be brought for him; killed a fatted calf, and held a feast because, as he said, "This my son was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is found." But as the elder son, who had been working in the field, drew near and heard of the festivities and was told what it all meant, he was wroth; and when the father invited him to enter and take part he would not, but said, I have served and obeyed you these many years, and you made no festival for me as you have done for your younger son who devoured his living with harlots. To him his father answered, Son, thou art always with me, and all that I have is thine, but it is fit that we should make merry; for thy brother who was dead is alive, was lost, is found.

This is the most comprehensive of all the parables, and was once called *evangelium in evangelio;* while Luther with his Pauline doctrine of justification by faith neglected, and many, indeed, have objected to, it as almost rewarding dissipation and vice. To most Christian teachers this has been one of the very dearest of all the parables. It has also been deemed theocratic. The older son has been called the Jews, the younger, the heathen. At one time the older represented angels, and the younger, men. There are two sides, if not indeed a real dualism, in all religions. This grievous sinner was freely forgiven without and before any atonement had been provided by Jesus' death. For this reason the parable is a stumbling block to those who make justification rest solely upon faith in Jesus' death and Resurrection. The prodigal in a sense saves himself. His spontaneous and internal regeneration is purely subjective, and is accepted by the father. Beyschlag says that his salvation, however, was unevangelical and unapostolic. In another sense we may say that not the Holy Spirit, but hunger and poverty, converted this lost son. We seem to have here a

contradiction of the motto, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. There was perhaps some Oedipus-like, if unconscious, father-hatred which prompted the son's departure with his patrimony, and his home-coming may have been a compensating revulsion of feeling. But it all seems on his part a matter of calculation. He was "down and out," and preferred even a servant's place at home to the dire extremity in which he found himself. The father's forgiveness before any confession or expression of regret and his extreme joy at regaining his rakish son have seemed to some to smack of senility and infatuation. The older son's wrath, too, was perhaps not due to a natural sense of justice alone, for with this feeling we can all sympathize. Another mainspring of his conduct may have been a desire, perhaps unconscious, to be himself the object of such manifestations of love from his father as were lavished upon the renegade younger brother. Only infatuated wives welcome back their erring husbands so precipitately and unquestioningly. Does this parable in some sense place a premium upon sin, and discourage steadfast devotion to duty? Thus in this parable we have, as many have thought, the same dangerous lesson as in the preceding one of the lost sheep and the penny. On this doctrine a fallen angel, weary of hell and returning, would cause more rapture in heaven than a large company of unfallen saints. This parable has long been one of the favourite themes of art, of hymnology, and revivalism, and has been made the theme of romances and dramas galore because man pities his own estate. Of all the Evangelists Luke records most of these teachings, and tradition has said that he illustrated them in his life as a physician. It has often been hinted, but without good ground, that perhaps he had experienced salvation from great sin himself. He alone, too, records the parable of the good Samaritan to illustrate the love of neighbour as of self. The priest and the Levite passed by the stripped, robbed, and wounded man, but the Samaritan bound his wounds, after washing them with oil and wine, took him to an inn, and on leaving left money for his further care and promised to return. In all these cases there is special love of the disinherited, the sinful, the victims of wrong, those who have suffered social wreckage from their own or others' passion. To the chief of sinners grace most abounds. The graver the disease, the greater the cure, and the more affection would both physician and patient bear each other. Nothing better shows the power of Christianity than its rescue of desperate cases, and perhaps nothing so enlists Christian enthusiasm as this work. Christianity, above all other religions, is thus one of hope in the very teeth of despair. This is the true resurrection from death, and of this every other resurrection is only a symbol, or a parable crassified, it may be, into literal reality by the very weight of meaning it has to bear. The grave and hell yield up their prey to Jesus; but just as it is easier

and more truly divine to forgive sin than to heal the body, so to revive those dead in trespasses and sin is a mightier miracle than to reanimate a corpse.

How does this constellation of instances comport with the lesson of the parable of the sower? The down-trodden, the despised, whom Jesus would make special efforts to find and whom it gives peculiar rapture to save—are not those most apt to receive his teaching? If they were so, then, at least, it would seem that some of the disciples would have come from this class, and there is little indication that this was in fact the case with any one of them or of any other of his near and constant followers. None of them had been prodigals, lost sheep, or objects of any special work of rescue. It was not any of the special qualities engendered by such experience, such as Paul or Augustine had, that Jesus primarily sought for in his chosen apostolate. Quick as such cases are to learn, and eager as they may be to atone by zealous propaganda for their own past, they are not the best human material for laying the foundations of the Kingdom, serviceable though they may be in the later work of building or decorating, and Jesus knew or felt a very real difference between relatively unfallen and specially restored human nature. Reformed drunkards may conduct whirlwind campaigns for teetotalism; but they are not likely to be wise leaders of their great cause, and still less so to expound the philosophic doctrines of true temperance.

Perhaps a fitter title for this parable would be "A father's love." Some think this, and more think the parable of the unjust judge, may have referred to some real and notorious contemporary incident. But we are not told of the future of the prodigal, whether he became respected and powerful or soon died from the natural results of his debauchery, despite the parental forgiveness. On the other hand, we must not conceive the father as fatuously and senilely blinded by love to his son's sins. If we are here taught that the vilest sinner may return, and that the Father will not disown or disinherit, but welcome and lavish openly affection upon the penitent, we have surely a doctrine that may easily be abused. Nature's penalties are inevitable.

36. A man (Matt. xxi:28-32) had two sons, and he said to the first, "Son, go work to-day in my vineyard"; and the son replied, "I will not," but afterward repented and went. The second son given the same command, said "I go, sir," but went not. Which of these two sons, asks Jesus, did the father's will? His auditors replied with apparent unanimity, The first. And Jesus said, publicans and harlots will go into the Kingdom before you (for they are like the first son). They believed John and you did not. Luke (vii:29-30) adds that the

people and publicans heard John, but the Pharisees and lawyers rejected him.

Expositors have always treated this parable with the greatest reserve, because they have found it very embarrassing. There was, of course, but one answer to Jesus' question concerning childish obedience. The lesson is clear. Actions speak louder than words. To obey is of more consequence than to promise, resolve, or contract to do so. Those who make a pledge and then fail to keep it are worse than those who orally refuse to obey and then, on second thought, do so. True service is in deeds, and not by word of mouth. There is less harm in breaking a bad promise than a good one, although to promise and also to do is better yet.

37. A man (Mark xii:1-12) planted a vineyard, hedged it, provided storage for the wine, built a tower, let it out, and travelled to a far country. In due time a servant was sent to the husbandmen for rent, but he was beaten and sent away with nothing. Another servant was sent, who was stoned and wounded. A third sent on the same errand was killed, and later many others were sent who were either beaten or killed. At last the owner sent his favourite son, feeling that the tenants would surely respect him. They, however, conferred, reasoning that, as this was the heir, if they killed him the vineyard would be theirs. This they did and cast him out. What, therefore, will the lord and owner of the vineyard do? He will destroy these tenants and give the vineyard into other hands. Thus the stone rejected by the builders becomes the chief stone, for such are the marvellous things of the Lord. Those who heard this parable, knowing it was against them, sought to seize Jesus but feared the people and so left him. Matthew (xxi:33-36) adds to this narrative, God's kingdom will be taken from you and given to the nation bringing forth fruits. Whosoever falls on this stone will be broken, but he on whom it falls will be ground to powder. Luke (xx:9-19) also repeats the same parable with only slight differences of detail, this unique conformity indicating a common older source, adding only that when they were told that the vineyard would be given to others the people cried out, "God forbid."

The commonest and most frequent interpretation makes the vineyard God's Kingdom on earth. He himself is the absent owner; the Jewish hierarchy are the tenants; the servant-messengers, prophets;

the beloved son, Jesus; the new tenants, the gentile nations. On this view Jesus foretells his own death, the rejection of the Jews, and the conversion of the gentiles. It is God who, having established his own plantation, departs. The revolting, Messiah-murdering hierarchy who fear the people is here definitely rejected after a manifestation of extreme patience on the Lord's part and after repeated and cumulative provocations. The so-called theocracy, the chosen people, has proved a usurper. The promised land is not to be Jerusalem, and the people of the covenant have forfeited it. Israel, which thought itself the *élite* among nations, is proscribed, condemned, and executed. The antithesis some think a double one, viz., between the hierarchy and the common people, and also between the Jews and the heathen.

This proclamation is a *mene tekel upharsin* for those who have betrayed a sacred trust. The rejected stone (the Son) is reinstated and given the chief place as the Rock of Ages. The Son's murderer seems a *vaticinium ex eventu*, and so the authenticity of the parable has been challenged as a product of the theological thinking of the primitive Church instead of the definite proclamation of Jesus himself. Certainly the Jews never did or would say that Jesus was the heir, for this would be an acknowledgment of his Sonship, which they never made. He was not slain as God's heir. Liberal scholars, therefore, usually conceive that Jesus gave some parable concerning a vineyard, but that it was radically reconstructed later; and the very unanimity of the synoptists is thought suspicious, indicating an agreement on the part of the survivors of Jesus to give the fragment of tradition which is at the core of this parable a Pauline cast. It surely could not have come from Jesus in its present form.

Some think that instead of a direct conscious reference to Jesus' death we have here only an accidental coincidence with no designed allusion, and that the abuse and murder of the servants refer to the treatment meted out to prophets or to the Baptist. Of course, as in all the parables, its very nature is only supposititious, not factual, and we find little aid from legalistic or archaeological scholarship, or indeed, from the context. On its face it seems minatory to a priesthood which had arrogated divine authority and usurped proprietorship, where it was only vicegerent, and which had crushed by force reformers, those sent of heaven to exact tribute due to the Supreme Ruler whom they should loyally serve. It very likely epitomizes the stories of prophets sent to kings to remind them that the state was still a theocracy and Yahveh their liege lord. It is perhaps spiritual rather than temporal power that would usurp divine right and dominion, and so it illustrates in Semitic wise the same fatal *hubris* or pride that in Hellenic story always brought down Jove's thunderbolts or invoked the avenging fates or furies. This parable is a lighthouse erected where the sirens

of ambition lure to the breakers of pontifical assumption. The heavenly Father whom Jesus revealed, although the God of Love, is also the jealous Deity of the old covenant, exquisitely sensitive to slight and insult, and quite capable of laying aside his clemency and wreaking vengeance. Although afar, he is not oblivious, but will have his due and depose and crush all faithless deputies.

38. A king (Matt. xxii: 1-14; Luke xiv: 15-24) sent a servant to call the bidden guests to come to the wedding of his son, but they refused. Another servant was sent to say that the oxen and fatlings were killed and all things ready; but some of those bidden scornfully went their way to their farms and their merchandise, while others abused, and even slew the messengers. Then the king was wroth, and sent his armies, and destroyed the murderers and burned their city. Servants were sent out again to find more worthy guests, and gathered from the highways the good and the bad. When the king came, he found one with no wedding garment, who was speechless when asked why he came thus. Him the king ordered bound and cast into outer darkness where there was weeping and gnashing of teeth; for many are called but few chosen.

The invitation declined by all on account of other occupations was repeated at the last moment by the embarrassed host; but this second time his messengers were insulted and slain, and he, angered, wreaked vengeance upon the recusants. Then, as the feast was already prepared, all without distinction were invited to fill the table. The refusers have been identified with the hierarchy, the Jewish race, the rich or those reared with Christian opportunities, while those who actually partook represent conversely the non-official Jewry, the gentiles, or those outside the Church respectively. On the first two suppositions the destruction of the temple and the fall of Jerusalem or the dispersion have been thought to be prophesied in the king's act of vengeance. This is, however, both less certain and, if meant, less important, than the fact that Jesus was rejected by the rulers of the synagogue. In view of this he is alternately indignant and pathetic. Disappointment and incomplete foreknowledge seem involved in the very essence of this parable. The invitation of those who came is an afterthought as if they were heaven's second choice. If it worked well, then the course of events was wiser than the king's original purpose. This tone of disappointment, indeed, pervades much of Jesus' career, and there are many expressions of baffling defeat which were genuine and not affected. They seem to make the theological theory that he had a clear,

higher foreknowledge doubtful; or, at least those views of his divinity which interfere with his humanity and render the incarnation incomplete. His primary intention was not to be a saviour of the gentiles; and we here see in the destruction of his rejectors his fury and unassuaged indignation. It was an ominous threat by a man of war and retaliation, not, however, without sufficient cause. He came to his own with a doctrine of life that was the needed food for their very souls, but was summarily rejected. To prepare it had cost him long and hard travail of soul, and he had felt assured it would be welcomed as Gospel indeed; but it was met not only with indifference but with scorn, and so, as if piqued, his gift was offered to and accepted by those in whom he had less interest. This was also a prominent feature in the experience of Confucius, Buddha, and to some extent Mohammed and is of most foreign missionaries to-day. Their disciples were not those they most desired to reach. All great reforms are marked by similar discontinuity. Those who are called are not those who come. New races and classes take up the burden of progress, and the old are ploughed under. This extension of the scope of his principle of new bottles for new wine Jesus does not here appear to see. It is this that makes every great step in advance more or less paroxysmal. A fully developed cult resists transpeciation, and every appeal back to first principles must be to those not preoccupied but open and candid. The highly specialized social soma must die, and new germ plasma must develop new organisms. In choosing as his disciples plain men of the people, and in appealing to the masses, Jesus recognized this law. It is not flattering to those who accepted his call that they seem to be an afterthought. But in this parable it is not they whom he has primarily in mind. He is addressing those in high places in Israel. Thus here, as always, we must remember that each utterance of Jesus is aimed at a specific end, and often he has an individual or a small group only in mind. This method is to be evaluated by its efficacy for the special purpose for which it was used. Thus Socrates felt to the prytany and Luther to the Church of his day.

The treatment of the man without a wedding garment may have been aggravated by the king's indignation against the absentees and suggests that one in the new circle lacked appreciation of the honour he received. The incident is not easy to interpret conformably to Jesus' love of the poor and his lack of respect for forms. Some have thought it showed that he was not himself entirely emancipated from formality. Others have symbolized it as a reproof to those who think faith can suffice without works, or, again, as referring to those who would accept the privileges of religion covertly without being known to others by any outward badge. Ritualists have even seen here commendations of vestments in worship, the importance of which is

measured by the severity of the penalty for not having them on. The more obvious lesson, however, seems to be that piety demands some outward token by which it can be known, some external conformity that distinguishes the guests of heaven from those in the common world. The extreme punishment suggests that the meaning may lie in a still deeper stratum of life, and teaches that piety should always be clad in conduct and cannot be a matter of mere sentiment; that true worship cannot dispense with outward forms; or that religion must transform life. If, however, it is the gentiles that are here invited, the allusion gains a new and interesting pertinence, for their pagan forms of worship would be very likely to offend. On the whole, however, we incline to this latter view that Jesus here reprimands a pagan novice in whom the new faith had not yet found a better expression, but who would adore the true God under the form of worship belonging to Jove, Ishtar, Semiramis, or some other heathen deity. If this is the pith of the parable, the mediaeval Church was lax in conforming to it, and indeed it is doubtful if the Church ever went as far in tolerating the man without the wedding garment as modern religious pedagogy and psychology would warrant.

The unusual diversities both in the settings and the items of the two synoptists have suggested to some that Jesus repeated this parable on different occasions with variations, although there is no reason to think that he did this in any case. More think that it illustrates the freedom of treatment of a single clear parable under the influence of strong allegorizing propensities, and perhaps that Luke's version of it is most elaborate as well as, of course, more Pauline-Calvinistic. A man without a wedding garment some, e. g., Weiss, think a displaced reference to the guests first invited, while others, e. g., Ewald, think it a fragment of a different but lost parable. It shows Jesus' high initial hope for his race undergoing progressive disillusionment.

39. A farmer had a fig-tree (Luke xiii: 6-9) and sought fruit thereon, but found none and told the dresser to cut it down, as this was the third year he had come and found it barren; but the dresser pleaded for one more year in which he would dig about and dung it, and only then, if it was still barren, cut it down. The implication is that this intercession prevailed.

Thus Jesus, the dresser, pruner, gardener, might plead with the Yahveh of the Old Testament prophets of impending judgment to suspend it a little longer. The tree might be old and decayed, yet it might bloom again. It may typify an individual, a family, a Church, a race, or all mankind, for in this little silhouette is the multiplicity of

allusion that characterizes most of the parables that Jesus did not himself explain. Men, like trees, are known by their fruits, which are good works, and in the divine economy if a person or institution is sterile it has no longer any *raison d'être.* But as barren wombs have sometimes been made to bear, and patient mulching may fructify a tree that has for years borne nothing but leaves, so to a religious community that has been unfruitful there may come a good and prolific year again. The barren tree has certainly borne so rich a fruitage of song and homily that the very vocabulary of Christian experience would be impoverished without it. It teaches that the end of life, indeed, the only things that justify its continued existence, are moral deeds and the graces of religious character. God has no other measure or standard of values. The luscious leaves of the fig-tree, the old pulpiteers have told us, are mental culture, accomplishments, knowledge; but all these are not even worthy of mention, and are no justification for prolonging life.

40. Ten virgins (Matt. xxv: 13; Luke xiii: 25-30) awaited summons to a wedding by night. Five forgot to put oil in their lamps. At midnight when the bridegroom was announced and this omission discovered, the wise maidens refused to share their oil lest there be not enough for both, while the foolish maids who had to go back for it found on their return that not only was the door shut, but they were refused admission and were told that they were unknown. They were not prepared for the untimed but impending arrival of the Son of Man, the heavenly Bridegroom, and the exhortation is to watch with all preparations made in advance.

In its form this is a simple admonition as to schoolgirls to be forehanded and provident on penalty of missing a festivity dear to every maiden heart. But its content and mission are a significant warning to be ready always for death or for the coming of the bridegroom of the Church to his own. The eschatological motive is dominant and loud. Be ever ready, though the hour steal on one unawares like a thief in the night. Had the householder known at what hour the burglar would enter he would not have suffered house-break, and the evil servant finding that his lord's return was delayed would not have beaten his fellow servants and rioted until, at the unannounced return, he was cut asunder, and sent among hypocrites where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. The Lord may come suddenly at cock-crow or later and find us sleeping, as the flood found men eating, drinking, and merrying. The coming of the Kingdom will find two men in a field,

two women at a mill; one will be taken and the other left. We must use every safeguard against surprise. This is a drastic, nerve-tensing, anxious moral. Even the sects that have lived under a sense of the impending end of all things, like a Damocles sword above their heads, have found easement in setting the day, if not the hour, when the crack of doom was to come. To live each day and hour as if it were the last has always been a Christian rule of life. From the Baptist, Jesus had learned the potency of interpreting all in terms of here and now, instead of putting everything important afar in time and space. Thus present realization was one of the secrets of Jesus' power as well as a measure of it, as we elsewhere see. The very essence of greatness is to presentify it, to see everything actualized here and now and in me. This is in a sense the quintessence of religion, and in another way also of psychology.

It is not only hard to enter the Kingdom, but (Luke xiii: 24-30) it may be too late before we know it. When the master has once shut the door the tardy seeker will knock and plead that it may be opened, but the master of the house will say, I know you not. They will urge that they have eaten and drunk in his presence and heard him teach in the street, and again he will say, I know you not. Depart, all ye workers of iniquity. They shall weep and gnash their teeth when they see Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the prophets and people from all the points of the compass, in the Kingdom and they themselves be thrust out. Many that are last shall be first and the first last.

Open as the entrance to the Kingdom now is, there will come a time when it will be forever too late to gain entrance. Those who knock after this hour has once struck will be ignored, condemned, and sent away. They shall see the great men of old and many strangers from afar that seem to them interlopers, with the Great Companion whom they knew in daily intercourse, but he will no longer have compassion or hear their cry, and they will be eternally banished from his presence to woe. Though they thought themselves the elect, they shall find that they are castaways.

This hallowed fable Jesus devised, like others of his pedagogic masterpieces, to warn against procrastination. Again we hear the tocsin, *now*—and he paints in a few strong strokes the consequences of delay. It is hard to believe that so sympathetic, indulgent, and inviting a friend, who begged and pleaded with and would accept all, will soon turn to heartless adamant against the entreaties of old associates; but they are forewarned and so will have no excuse and must not be astonished. This hardly seems to comport with post-mortem probation, and it must be a rather exiguous exegesis that finds it here. Moral reforms seem to all easy, at least for a time; but habits grow entrenched and freedom fades from reality to an illusion till, at some

awful but unknown moment, as we proceed along the way of life on which no return is possible, we pass the last fork of the road all unwittingly. Every one has his own moral dead-line, one perhaps for each besetting sin, after passing which there are only might-have-beens, regrets, and vengeance. This ethicodynamic principle, drawn here as Jesus loved to do in eschatological colours, is as true as the psychophysic law, though not yet expressed in terms of calculus. The law of progressive habituation, already among the most interesting and practical of the chapters in modern psychology, is outlined negatively and given a moral point of ultimate reprobation. This, too, is one of the supports of the familiar doctrine of grieving the Spirit till it takes its final departure. To be almost persuaded; to be chronically on the brink of the great choice but never taking the decisive step, slowly creates hovering indecision as a habitus, well personified by Bunyan in Mr. Facing-Both-Ways. The process goes on without knowledge or realization, and there slowly supervenes the gradual abatement of even desire for good, so that Jesus here, with true artistic instinct, represents the seekers as realizing their position just at the critical moment *after* it is too late, so as to heighten the pathos of it all. He chooses the psychological moment of inception into the hopeless state when hope and desire have not yet faded.

41. A parable of the Kingdom (Matt. xx: 1-16) is that of the employer of labour who engaged men at six in the morning for a twelve-hour day, at the stipulated price of a penny. At nine, twelve, three, and five o'clock he engaged others. Those employed at the eleventh hour, who had wrought but one hour, were both paid first and given the wage of an entire day. When, last of all, those who began earliest and had borne the labour and heat of the day received only what was promised, they murmured, not that those who had worked less time were overpaid but that they had themselves received no more compensation than the contract price. The employer answered that he had kept his word; they must be satisfied; he had a right to do what he would with his own. "The last shall be first and the first last: for many be called, but few chosen."

The moral here has some connection with that of the prodigal, the lost sheep, and the penny. Those who enter the Kingdom late have the same usufruct of it and are even preferred, at least in the order of payment, over those who began early in the morning. The interpretation is often made that a death-bed repentance is as profitable as a life of service. Salvation is all God's gift that he may bestow

according to his sovereign pleasure, and frail man must not cavil or repine.

To modern sensibilities this lacks something of sweet reasonableness, but so do many of the hardships that seem bound up with man's relation to the laws of nature. As a matter of policy such practice would soon bring confusion into any modern industrial group. The warmer welcome for the tardy penitent than for one who has never fallen is a hard doctrine. This Galilean fisher of men was perhaps baiting his hook well to cast it far over toward Satan's dominions, exulting especially over every catch drawn out of the slowly closing net of the great enemy over whom these were trophies of victory. A premium upon eleven hours of sloth would soon reduce the length of the working-day to one hour: but perhaps this is further than the scope of the parable goes, for the day here represents the entire life of man.

42. A man (Matt. xxv: 14-30; Luke xix: 11-27) on travel bent gave five, two, and one talents to his servants according to their ability. Those who had five and two respectively doubled their capital, but he who had but one hid it in the earth. The master on returning listens to each and rewards the first two alike. They have proven faithful in a few, and so are made rulers over many things and introduced to the Lord's joy. The man with one talent pleads in his excuse that he was afraid of the master, as he was a hard man. He is told that if the master is exacting, all the more should he at least have put out the money to interest. As a punishment his talent is taken away and given to the man who has ten; for to those who have shall be given, and from those with little even that shall be taken. The profitless servant is then cast into darkness and torment.

Talents are the power of doing good that increase by use, and it is implied here that as the man of two was rewarded in the same way as was he of five talents, so the man of one, had he doubled his gift, would also have had the same reward, proportionately, as the others would have had the same penalty had they followed his course. Throughout Christian history perhaps the most pervasive lesson of this parable is that there are differences of ability among men—that they are not equal. Second to this, although probably the chief meaning Jesus intended it to convey, was that he of one gift should strive as hard, and by so doing have equal merit, as he of five. According to the purport of other parables, perhaps he would meet even greater reward than the others, like the eleventh-hour labourer. Certainly the temptation to inactivity is greater for him. He is, to be sure, poor in spirit, and

comes under a special beatitude which he has not realized, but it is censorious apathy like his from which social discontent and even anarchy sometimes spring. Common average ability, and even subnormality, thus carry no exemption from common duty.

In this, as in the other mundane parables of Jesus, there is no mystery, and we feel in the study of them no sense of superhuman wisdom. All is simple, human, homely, clear, central; and nothing in the whole sphere of morals is easier to comprehend or, we might add, harder to fashion daily life and thought upon. In our age of the lust for power, which Nietzsche thinks man's supreme passion, to feel weak is supreme misery and brings peculiar temptation to balk. It has never been so discouraging to be small or average, to renounce all distinction and public applause, to live obscurely with content and fidelity, as in our democratic days, when all seems open to all who can attain. Jesus was no equalist, but he lashes the recusant and recreant who will do nothing because they cannot do much. Those of this type who are faithful indeed deserve special praise; for even if they have not overcome special temptations it is hard to rise to their full opportunity to live, which really is found in the possibility of living more unselfishly, tranquilly, and with purer motives than others. We wish Jesus had given us also a parable rewarding a man of one talent who had used it to the uttermost, for his reward would doubtless have been greater than that of all the others.

43. In the parable of the unjust steward (Luke only, xvi: 1-13) a rich man's agent is charged with wastefulness and summoned to account. Fearful of losing his position, and being unable to dig and unwilling to beg, he makes friends of his master's creditors by summoning each and accepting from one his note for half and from another for four-fifths of his indebtedness. This he does so that, if he is deposed, he may find favour with those whose debt he has dishonestly reduced and who are thus made parties to his crime, and will also be bound to him by ties of gratitude. This deed, which modern law has punished as fraud for centuries, the master, who is also a loser, commends, ignoring its injustice to him, because it illustrates sagacity and fidelity to unrighteous Mammon in details which would be commendable if the cause were great and just. A steward thus circumstanced must choose between faithfulness to the master or to his debtors, for he cannot serve both.

This has never been a favourite parable for the pulpit, and often seems the despair of exegetes and ethical apologists. Some have even thought it misunderstood or misreported. The latter part of the

narrative appears either to have covert connotation or to reflect a confused state of mind on Luke's part. A few negative critics have not only challenged Jesus' soundness here, but have charged him with commending flagrant and palpable chicanery, and have hinted that in his Oriental environment Jesus' conceptions of equity and business integrity had remained undeveloped. Others more favourably disposed interpret the owner as God and the steward as Jesus, the great remitter of man's debts of sin; but this has difficulties, for Jesus' stewardship is not imperilled nor is he obliged to choose between fidelity to sinful man and to his Lord. Neither is there any reason to think that he would commend such methods of equalizing wealth. Instead of collecting debts that creditors acknowledge to be just, the steward conspires with them to defraud, thus corrupting them, and while he himself does not directly share the spoils of the rebates, he expects to receive the full value in good will and favours, should he need them. If we assume the rich lord to be Satan himself as the prince of this world, and the creditors those sold under sin whose obligations to him Jesus reduces, then we have a meaning which comports well with the mediaeval conception, which long abounded in many a monkish tale of duping and outwitting the devil. But on such a view we cannot explain the lord's commendation of the act. The moral context welters with confusion. Again, Jesus, it has been said, was an unpractical idealist who felt strongly the need of more of the same worldly sagacity in the administration of the affairs of the Kingdom that controls mundane affairs, and if this be so the parable is a crude expression crudely reported of this conviction. Still others have thought that Jesus here and elsewhere implies that property is robbery, and so pitied poor creditors that he commends even questionable means toward the more equitable distribution of wealth. Wendt[1] says this prudent agent is commended for providing by present needs for his future welfare. We must so use the goods God entrusts to us to secure heavenly reward. The Lord owns all; we are only his trustees, and instead of wasting the fiduciary resources in our hands we should use them in conciliating the claims of those who owe us. By these means if we are reduced to beggary we shall have deposits in the bank of their gratitude. Thus we have here counsel to spendthrifts foreseeing utter bankruptcy and providing for it by liberality to their friends while they yet have the means. But at best the parable is tortuous and confused, inconsistent with the teaching of the other parables of husbandmen and their agents, and either belonging to the decadent stage of Jesus' parable method of teaching or, probably, an imperfect record not understood by Luke; and, at any rate, as it now stands, of but the slightest significance to us.

[1] "The Teaching of Jesus." I, p. 235, II, p. 377.

44. Of all the parables, the number of which is estimated according to different criteria all the way from thirty-two by Briggs to fifty-three by Jülicher, the one most classic in form, clearest in meaning, possibly the first, and at any rate the one which Jesus himself explained most fully, is that of the sower (Matt. xiii: 3-32; Luke viii: 5-15). As he sowed, some seed fell by the roadside and was trodden down or devoured by fowls. The word is heard, but Satan snatches it away lest it be understood and believed unto salvation.

The beaten path is the heart waxed gross, the eye that sees not, and the ear that hears not. Spiritual dullards are utterly unimpressionable and hopeless, and perhaps this refers to the scribes and Pharisees, whose souls the devil had seared. Wasted and unappreciated truths are like pearls before swine, and great teachers like Plato have shrunk from proclaiming their best truths to those utterly unfit to receive them. Souls smitten with the mildew of *nil admirari* and indifference, who abhor all that is new, have always been the terror of great teachers and reformers. Dread of them has caused all the differentiations that have been made between exoteric and esoteric teachings, and had something to do in leading Jesus to devise his own invention of a new type of parable which, like a cathedral window, looks dull and dingy to those without, but to those within is beautiful with light. Of all the conservatives, reactionaries, and obscurantists, moral and religious cynics are the worst; and who that is smitten with the love of the ideal does not shrink from their presence as from profanation? They chill, blight, disenchant, are precipitate to criticise before they understand. The preachers of the simple life in "Vanity Fair"; of exiguous honesty to the promoters of frenzied finance; of exquisite chastity, even in thought, in the gilded halls of licensed prostitution; of philosophic temperance in a saloon; of the conclusions of science concerning the ultimate constitution of the universe to the superstitious and ignorant, are sowing by the wayside and wasting both effort and seed, for those whom they address are, at the best, hearers only and not doers. Perhaps Plato might have given them some credit because he held that theory goes part way toward practice; but for Jesus even a little knowing without doing only adds condemnation. The seed does not even sprout, but feeds the enemies of the crops.

Second, there are stony places with poor and shallow soil where the word is heard and received with joy; but when the sun of tribulation, persecution, or temptation is hot, the tender shoot withers to the root. The impregnation of souls thus symbolized is followed by early miscarriage. Offence and abortion are easy. The superficial who pave hell with good intentions; the neologists, or culturists ever seeking

some new thing; people with quick perceptions, easy apprehension, ready expression, with a veritable lust for the easy first stages of knowledge and with as veritable an aversion for thoroughness; those with only the dry light of intelligence, in whose souls there is no irrigation or even seepage from deep perdurable enthusiasm which is the water of life; the neuroticism that always loves to begin and never can finish—these constitute a true psychic type which is alternately the hope and exasperation of the true teacher. The religious smatterers and backsliders who put their hands to the plow and turn back; who begin to build without counting the cost; who take lamps with no oil in them; who say "I go," but go not; who are almost but not quite persuaded; who in youth give precocious promise which is never fulfilled—these, no doubt, were often the despair of Jesus, and it was such followers who discouraged Buddha and angered Mohammed. This class illustrates dementia præcox in religion. Their piety is a kind of air-plant, perhaps an annual rather than a perennial growth. It was those of this diathesis who balked at martyrdom in the early Church, and have made up the great body of recanters. Here the mediaeval dogmatists found the true sin against the Holy Ghost.[1] This is often, too, the tragedy of great truth for little minds, of all-sided culture for cheap souls or those with a single facet. The Gospel seed can never ripen on thin soil which cannot improve itself. Thus, back of this parable there perhaps lurks a fatalism that makes the redemption of such acreage impossible. To raise such a question, however, is to press the parable beyond its legitimate scope.

The third class of hearers is parabled as thorny ground where weeds and tares representing the care, riches, and lust of worldly things spring up and choke the wheat. These, another parable teaches, cannot be removed without uprooting the crop. Here the soil is rich and deep, but rank with other growths sown perhaps at night by the devil, the god of weeds. The guilt of this class is clearer, for not talent but will is lacking. In place of the *summum bonum* they have chosen *secunda bona* or at best moral *allotria*. There is no conscious *noluntas* for good, but only *voluntas* for other things—perhaps the will to power, fame, wealth. Their high idealism has faded into the light of common day, and in its place have come sordid greed, tuft-hunting and pelf-hunting. They have apostatized to other gods, or their piety is smothered in some isolated compartment of the soul where it is dormant save on Sundays or in stereotyped ways. Business has supplanted Bethel. Religion, which should be supreme, is subordinate. They have declined the Bridegroom's invitation with many an excuse, and have become servitors of practical utilities, worshippers of Mammon, and so the way to heaven has narrowed down for them to the dimensions of a

[1] See one of the most desperate and pathetic illustrations in the account of Francesca Spiera by Philip Schaff, "Die Sünde wieder den Heiligen Geist." Halle, 1841, p. 173-210

needle's eye. One world at a time, and now this, is perhaps their maxim. To-day in academic life it is this class who ask the money value of studies and courses, and disregard culture values. A life of high living and plain thinking has no charm for such. They build barns, lay up store of goods, eat and drink, and forget that their souls may at any moment be required of them.

Lastly, fertile soil stands for those who hear, understand, and do; those who have waited, longed, and are ripe and ready for the word; the wise to whom a hint is sufficient, for whom even parables are hardly needed, and who intuit at once their meaning and are fittest for esoteric impartations by the rich and condensed language of hints and chapter heads. Tribulation only increases their faith, and conviction is prompt, complete, and lasting. All that sprouts comes to full fruitage. The law was originally written on their hearts, and needs only a touch to bring it out in consciousness.[1]

This brilliant parable is the key to several others, and supplements much other teaching. There is nothing enigmatical about it, and perhaps it least needed Jesus' exposition. Dull indeed must have been the disciples who required this detailed explanation of it. These four kinds of ground stand for four pedagogic temperaments as characteristic and distinct as any of the types of modern genetic psychology or ethology. Every teacher of new and higher truths could supply a generous anthology of illustrations of each one of the four from his own experience. Indeed, these supplement our present knowledge of the psychology of the learning process somewhat as Plato's myths do his philosophy. These are ways in which education does or fails to do its proper work of supplementing heredity. These are the four great reactions of the soul to truth. Here all the Herbartian interests may be subsumed. Pedagometric scales might best be established along these lines. This is Jesus' confession of his educational policy, and it probably gives us a key to the principles on which he chose his disciples and the Seventy, focussing his best endeavours on the inner group of the fourth class, for the mostly lost and unrecorded instruction of whom the world must forever mourn. Had this been accessible, how different the conceptions of Christendom concerning his life and work might have been, and what labour of painfully reconstructing from popular utterances his inmost creed might have been saved!

The wealth of pedagogic experience and insight in these few apothegmatic phrases is nothing less than amazing. In this confessional revelation we get nearest to the heart of the Great Teacher and can realize how deeply he must have pondered the ways and means of impressing his doctrine, as he had to do, without the aid of writing,

[1] Tradition would have us infer that Jesus' teaching is illustrated by the definition of a college as Mark Hopkins on one end of a log teaching Garfield on the other.

tests, or organizing a mere school in the classic sense. How apt for his and for all subsequent time was his choice of the agricultural simile of grain-growing! One wonders whether Jesus felt that all these types were illustrated among his own disciples. In this parable no censure of any of these four classes is implied for it is all a question of native quality, of unfertilized soil. The seed always and everywhere grows as best it can, and it is only inherited ability typified by the soil that differs. Elsewhere, but not here, are manuring, digging about the roots, and pulling up tares considered. Here Jesus seems almost fatalistically resigned as to the nature of the soil, and this was doubtless his attitude as to the very diverse endowments of his immediate followers. From the nature of the records of his life, and from his frequent rebukes of dullness of apprehension on the part of his followers, must we not infer that he had most of all at heart yet another or fifth kind of companions who could not be classified by a figure of speech drawn from the domain of vegetable life, viz., those who dimly felt the power of the truth he taught and strove to their uttermost to comprehend but constantly fell short, and, owing to their inherent limitations, incessantly misconceived him? With Boswellian devotion, but with a pragmatic shortage of understanding sometimes suggesting even the typical pedant of Faust, these biographers could be only fags of the Holy Ghost while striving to their uttermost to be its oracles, understanding even the parables only when an explanation was vouchsafed them. Would that Jesus had left us his own luminous explanation of other of his parables instead of trusting them or us to supply it! Indeed, it seems strange, incompetent as their comments upon his teachings often show them to be to give such interpretation, that if he had any forefeeling that his inculcations were to be transmitted to future generations, he did not more often explain himself.

45. The Kingdom (Mark iv: 26-9) is as when a man casts seed into the ground, goes to sleep, and rises day after day, while the seed springs up and grows, he knows not how, whether he wakes or sleeps. The earth bringeth forth fruit of itself, the blade, the ear, and the full corn; but when the fruit is ripe, man puts in his sickle to the harvest.

The growth impulse of nature supplements the work of man. The seed seems buried in the dark, cold earth till the springtide when nature rises again, and it sprouts and grows all summer. Man sleeps, but nature does not. We know not how the great spirit of life works. It is thus, however, that the Kingdom grows by the profound laws of evolution far below consciousness, if we only plant good seed betimes.

The Kingdom, then, here is like a crop. Nothing is said of the nature of the soil, of fertilizing, watering, or weeding; but the stress is on the growth impulse of which man avails himself, and this growth is here and not hereafter. The Kingdom will grow and ripen inevitably without attention on man's part, as if it were in the inmost nature of things to do so. Man must do his part, and God and nature will do the rest. Man does not even need to watch. Growth proceeds very slowly and surely, stage by stage. Such has been the law ever since cibiculture and the domestication of plants began.

This parable is often thought to symbolize the part that good impressions play if made upon the soul very early in life—which, even though they seem to be lost, are really germinant. Although those in whose hearts they are growing know it not, they will bring harvest of good deeds in time. From this point of view we are dealing with the under or unconscious soul in man, which once fructified does the rest of itself. This parable, therefore, seems to be strongly anti-Pauline, for it means that the inborn nature of man is pure and good in itself, and not depraved or corrupt. Thus, not only our vegetative and autonomous but also our instinctive and intuitive nature, receives seed like good ground, and stimulates it to grow and ripen. This is quite in accord with the later psychogenetic and psychoanalytic view of the prepotency of infantile impressions; for the unconscious in us is the childlike, and the childlike is the unconscious. No good in this plastic age is lost.

46. Another parable which Jesus himself explained is that of the tares (Matt. xiii: 24-30 and 36-43). The Kingdom is like a man who sowed good grain, but while his workmen slept an enemy sowed tares, so that both sprang up together. The servants came to the owner and asked, Did you not sow good seeds; whence, then, these tares? He replied that an enemy had done it. When asked whether they should pluck up the tares he said, No, lest the wheat also be uprooted. Both must grow until the harvest, and then the reapers will be ordered first to gather the tares, bundle, and burn them, and then bring the wheat to the barn.

When he had sent the multitude away and the disciples were alone, they asked him to explain, which he did by saying that the sower is the Son of man; the field is the world; the good seeds are the children of the Kingdom; the tares, of the wicked one; the enemy that sowed them, the devil; the harvest, the end of the world; the reapers, the angels, sent

forth to gather sinners, who would be cast into a furnace with wailing and gnashing of teeth, while the righteous should shine as the sun in the Kingdom.

Here again Jesus is the sower, and the seed is growing according to its soil; but by a scurvy trick the god of weeds steals in by night and inseminates the ground with his undomesticated, outlawed crop; and, contrary to the mediaeval legends, wherein he is always worsted, he here outwits the Lord, so much so that before the latter knows it, the weeds have taken such root that to pull them will uproot the crop, the more as the more abundant and rank are the weeds. Thus, as the mischief is done, nothing remains but to await and harvest what of the crop is unchoked, and burn the *Unkraut*, as in John's preaching the winnowed out chaff is burned; or, as elsewhere from a full net the good fish are saved and the bad thrown away. Here forbearance and the awful fate of the wicked are set forth. It is not here taught that good needs evil to bring it to full maturity, but God's tolerance of sin is ascribed to his tenderness for the good. Against the faith of ancient Israel it is here frankly assumed that sin is not punished in the present life; though here the parable, if taken too literally, halts a little, for many weeds may be uprooted to the advantage of many a crop without serious jeopardy, as society often promptly punishes evil, not only without injury to the good but to its great advantage. If the tares and weeds are not persons, as we are told they are, but qualities in each individual, the meaning becomes in some sense clearer. It is vain, however, to speculate what would happen if all the human tares were weeded out by Divine Providence. A fatalism, too, is implied, because the tares cannot be transmuted into grain, but from each seed only its like can grow. Hence, the implication would make Jesus' mission to save the lost nugatory. The purport, however, is consoling because of the certainty of the future penalty of the wicked after their lush and unpunished life here. Even where sin abounds we must not doubt the ultimate justice or doom of evil. This is another form of the draft Jesus so often loved to draw on the great bank of the future, failure of which would have left him and his cause bankrupt indeed. Its credit is called faith, and his system of doing business with it is what we call eschatology. The key-word of this parable is, *Wait*; possess your souls in patience. The evil are but laying up wrath, and the longer the delay the more terrible it will be when it comes. Heavenly laws work slowly but surely. Sin will end, not by the gradual selective process of elimination of the unfit, and the natural survival of the fittest; but at a certain point there will be a supernal intervention of divine agents with fearful and swift execution of judgment. Here again, despite the injunction to patience,

we see Jesus' convulsive or catastrophic diathesis. At a certain point the powers of righteousness will break loose and sweep away all that offend, with the besom of destruction. Over and over again he tells of weeping, wailing, gnashing of teeth, fire, sword, thunder, lightning, earthquake; so that nothing in all earth's sad litany of woes and horrors is in his view too terrible for the foes of the Kingdom, and the world lives in the aura of a great convulsion from which a new earth is to emerge like a butterfly from the ugly chrysalis. The great metamorphosis doubtless seemed to him now near, now farther away, but rarely beyond the life of some then living, and he eagerly scanned earth, heaven, and the souls of men for signs and foregleams of its coming. Despite its terrors it was a consummation to be devoutly wished and prayed for. This tension between the real world and that of his ideals grew painful at times. Such polar opposition would at some point become insupportable; and then, when the crisis came, all who offended would be destroyed in dreadful but rapid stages and the chosen would shine forth, for the glorified world could produce no tares or weeds.

So far this article in the program of Jesus is unfulfilled, and many a crop of tares and wheat in varying proportions has grown together for two millennia. The Christian world has everywhere practically ceased to expect a harvest of fire. The conception of it has become impotent, and if it is anywhere held to it is relegated to the post-mortem world. The method of evolution has discredited that of revolution, although if the best only survive, the result is even more certain though longer deferred. The essentials of Jesus' faith are confirmed, and the minor matters of means and method changed. Impetuous souls like his, with perfervid ethical passion, still occasionally lose their temporal perspective and see all that they hope and strive for near at hand. But the more we study this psychosis, the more clearly we see that Jesus' belief was no distemper, but only a conscience inflamed with true zeal, putting our own faith in the form which perhaps at his age was both most artistic and morally effective. Thus optimists have still but to follow the council of this parable, wait without doubting, and never cease to sow good seed for fear of the weeds of diabolus.

47. The Kingdom (Matt. xiii: 47-50) is like a net cast into the sea, gathering all; and when it was full they drew it ashore, and sat down and gathered the good into vessels and threw the bad away. So, at the end of the world, the angels shall sever the wicked from the just, and cast them into a furnace where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Selection is the theme here. Sorting weeds from grain, chaff from wheat, leaves from fruit, symbolizes what might as well be illustrated by parting small, rotten, pest-injured specimens of any kind of crop, wild or cultivated, from those that are perfect, or dross from good metal, or inferior or diseased animals of every kind from those best fitted to survive; and the same principle of sortage might be applied to human families and races. Evolution is always doing this. We might now interpret the Church as the net gathering fish from the world, and some have suggested a proportion between the relatively few fish caught in a net compared to the vast numbers in the sea, and those really Christian compared to the population of the world. Some think the Church the vessel in which the good are put. So, too, opinions differ as to what the catch itself is. It may be death, and the sorting may be the judgment. At any rate, it is now too late to convert bad works into good; for the fish are already dead, and have only to be separated. Perhaps there are as many standards of selection as there are species of fish. Bad fish are very bad and very dangerous, and this fact may have been an unconscious determinant and contributed its quota of reinforcement.

48. The Kingdom of heaven (Matt. xiii: 31-32; Luke xiii: 18-19) is like a grain of mustard seed, the least of all seeds, sown in the earth. But when it is grown up it is the greatest of all herbs, and the fowls of the air can lodge in its branches. Again, it is like leaven (Matt. xiii: 33; Luke xiii: 20-21) which a woman hid in three measures of meal till all was leavened.

This optimism takes no heed of any adverse influences. The tiny seed becomes a very great tree, and the leaven pervades the whole mass. Scholars have found out that in Palestine mustard never grows more than twelve feet high and that birds never nest in it, and so other authorities have believed that another larger tree-like plant (*Salvadora persica*) was here suggested, which has some similar qualities, and which often grows twenty-five feet high, bearing berries which birds love. If the tree is the Church this is somewhat more fit, but hyperbole is still involved. A mustard seed was in current Hebrew proverbs a symbol of smallness; yet many think Jesus' botanical knowledge was here at fault. Other exegetes have dwelt on the taste, colour, form, medical effects, of mustard seed in a very irrelevant if ingenious way, but the meaning that from small beginnings great things arise is the central thought. Some say the tree is the Messiah, others that it is the very few true believers; the ground is the earth or its people; the birds of the air are the population of all climes that

enter the Kingdom, etc. Some think that the tree is Paul, and others, the Gospel. The leaven is a more culinary parable, the ephah being the largest of the then-current standards of measurement. It suggests a departure from the unleavened bread sacred to the Hebrews. Heathenism, too, is about to be leavened. It signifies fermentation. Both of these parables mean only that Jesus' ideal will be completely accomplished, and we are here simply given a convenient and portative expression for the current growth and universal prevalence of the new dispensation, so humble in its beginnings. Its development is to be quiet, without convulsion and unobserved. It should be remembered that Jesus here is not philosophical but prophetic.

49. The Kingdom of heaven (Matt. xiii: 44-47) is like a treasure hid in a field, having found which, a man keeps secret but sells all he has and buys the field. Or again, it is like a man seeking precious pearls, who having found one of the greatest value sells all he has to buy it.

As one sacrifices all minor treasures for one very great one, so all else should be gladly given up for the Kingdom. For its sake everything ought to be renounced. Such a procedure is only business shrewdness. Perhaps the secrecy concerning the field containing the treasure is aimed at the exclusiveness of the Jews, while some think that this refers to the inwardness of the higher life. Both find the prize and set its true high worth upon it. There is here no tedious seeking, but having found, there is the greatest effort to possess the prize. Discipleship costs much. Here, too, salvation is bought by those who attain it, and is not a gift. Catholic theologians find here a similitude of the monkish life with its three vows of renunciation, viz., property, family, and will. Everything should be offered up gladly for the Kingdom. It is spoken of as if it were a possible private possession, and so perhaps it means the Kingdom within rather than that without. Something priceless becomes my very own property. I am not a collector, but am impelled to own one only thing of transcendent worth.

H. Unser,[1] describing the parable of the pearl, tells us that in the liturgy of the early Church Christ was made the "pearl born of Maria." The ancient folk-soul conceived the pearl as born of lightning striking the sea, and it was thus always conceived in a mussel shell. It is thus a precious stone made out of flesh, and was thought to symbolize God born of the body of his mother and not, like others, a product of carnal intercourse. As the bivalve opens to let in the "moon dew,"

[1] "Vorträge und Aufsetze." 1907, p. 219 f.

as other folklore has it, the pearl is born, and the lightning only loosens it from its attachment to the shell when it is ripe. This is a widespread Syrian myth, going back to the time of Jesus. Thus, too, Aphrodite was born with the sea for her father, and rose to the surface in a shell, as she is so often represented in art. She was known as goddess both of the sea and of pearls. The pearl was Aphrodite's *Doppelgänger*, and there are many symbolic relations that have evolved and that Unser traces to sea-foam and amber. This conception of Christ was motivated by anti-Docetism. This putative origin of the pearl made it a symbol of the annunciation and the virgin birth of Jesus. So, too, the spark of the Holy Ghost in the pure water of baptism generated the new man in Christ.

C. ILLUSTRATIVE NARRATIVES

50. A lawyer (Luke x: 25-37) asked, tempting Jesus, what he should do to inherit life eternal, to which Jesus replied by the counter-question as to how he read the law. He replied that he found in it the behest to love the Lord with all the heart, strength, mind, and to love thy neighbour as thyself. To which Jesus retorted, Do this and thou shalt live. But, inquired the lawyer, who is my neighbour? To this Jesus replied by a parable. A man going from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves, who stripped and wounded him, and left him half dead. Soon a priest chanced to come by and, when he saw, passed by on the other side. A Levite did the same. Then came a Samaritan who, when he saw him, had compassion, bound his wounds, poured oil and wine in them, set him on his beast, brought him to an inn, cared for him overnight, and on leaving in the morning gave the host two pennies to care for him, promising to pay when he came again whatever more was spent. Which of these, asked Jesus, was the true neighbour? The lawyer answered, He who showed mercy. Then, said Jesus, Go thou and do likewise.

This illustrative narrative ends without telling us whether the victim of the assault recovered, or whether the Samaritan performed his pledge to return and pay, but the point is made. Love God and thy neighbour, and thou hast life eternal. To this Jewish theologian "neighbour" is made a distinguished title, and the Samaritan, though a heretic and half heathen, is commended, with implied disparagement of the priest and the Levite. If it were, as some think, a true incident, who would or could have told it? Surely not the half-dead victim. Neighbours thus extend beyond racial or creedal circles. Although, as

Jülicher thinks, Luke's setting was wrong, the meaning is clear. The self-sacrificing expression of love has in the sight of God and man supreme value, transcending all claims of birth and office. Pity more deserves salvation than all the merits of high officials who are selfish. Money, time, and effort were lavished upon the stranger by the alien. Harms finds in this parable only common kindness and no specifically Christian meaning, while others say Christ is himself the Samaritan, the victim is man as the assaults of sin have left him, and the kindness extended to him symbolizes salvation. Some make Paul the Samaritan, others think it chiefly a satire directed against the Jewish hierarchy. Few parables have been so completely incorporated into the Christian consciousness, or are more beloved. It exemplifies one of the best traits of human nature, viz., the sympathy with suffering that makes the whole world kin, or the "feeling of kind" that motivates human solidarity, or the fraternity of truly gregarious man. It is the instinct that has built hospitals, established free clinics, out-patient wards, nursing agencies of all kinds, the Red Cross work, relief for victims of plague, famine, floods, fires, and earthquakes, and as I write, aid for the suffering Belgians. The very name "Good Samaritan" has not only redeemed this discredited race, but connotes all shades and varieties of acts of kindness to the unfortunate. Theologians and poets tell us that this was the very motive that drew Jesus from heaven to earth. All in need are neighbours, and should be cared for as we would wish to be cared for in their place. Make such service a part of self-love as against the vicious precept and practice of ruthless self-maximization. It means mutuality and social service, so that the roots of this apologue go deep down into the animal world, as many records, all the way from Espinas to Sutherland, have shown. Even to keep those socially unfit alive helps to bring out the highest qualities of human nature, and without dependents and defectives normal man would have been far lower down than he is in the scale of altruism.

51. Apropos of those who boasted that they were righteous and despised others, Jesus tells (Luke xviii: 9-14) the apologue of two men who went to pray in the temple. The Pharisee stood and thanked God that he was not like other men, extortionate, unjust, adulterous, or even as this publican. He fasted twice a week and gave tithes of all he possessed. But the publican stood afar and would not even lift his eyes to heaven, but smote his breast and cried, "God, be merciful to me, a sinner." He and not the Pharisee went home justified, for whoso exalteth himself shall be brought low and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

By confession of sin, and not vaunting our self-righteousness, should we approach God. The prayer state of mind is not that of self-laudation, but a cry of mercy from moral humility, and not with pride. This state is the beginning of holiness, as the Socratic conviction of ignorance is of wisdom. In both cases discontent with self augurs growth, as complacency does arrest. A conviction of sin and demerit is one of the striking traits of Christianity, and exists in no such degree in any other religion. Few things Jesus said probably so shocked the complacency of his Jewish contemporaries as that these hated agents of a rapacious and extortionate conqueror, of whose depravity the Jews had the liveliest sense, should by the mere inarticulate expression of his unworthiness be justified of God before the representatives of their own orthodoxy. The publican's prayer meant self-abandonment to divine mercy, and just this extremity makes the Christian God's opportunity. No such self-abasement is involved in any phrase of the model prayer of our Lord. But in the self-conviction of our own righteousness the psychology of conversion has already seen the crucial moment when the soul becomes filled and suffused with a righteousness not its own. The old consciousness is sloughed off, and a new and better one emerges from within. Our dead self is a stepping-stone to our higher life. Indeed, self-consciousness itself is at bottom a witness to and a measure of the degree of man's departure from the true norm of his nature. This acknowledgment of aberrancy and aberration is the culmination. The fruit of the tree of knowledge reveals good and evil, and the only function of true wisdom is to bring sin to light, shed it, and leave us better. There is no true knowledge that is ethically indifferent. This is the psychic quarry where Paul wrought best and deepest, and few of Jesus' precepts suggest so much beyond and above the range of our present knowledge of the soul. If in some respects we seem abreast of Jesus in our insights, here in the psychology of sin we have a vast deal yet to learn, and the best of us can only dimly feel that in this direction Jesus far transcends our ken.

52. A man (Luke xii:13-21) asked Jesus to tell his brother to divide his inheritance with him, but Jesus refused, saying, Who made me a judge and divider for you? Beware of covetousness, for a man's life does not consist in an abundance of the things he hath. A rich man's ground yielded bountifully and he thought, What shall I do to provide room to store my harvests? I will tear down my barns and build greater, and when these are full I will say to my soul, Soul, you have much goods laid up for many years. Eat, drink and be merry. But God said to him, Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee,

and then whose shall these goods be? Such a man lays up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.

The fate of the foolish rich is here set forth. His folly consists in planning selfish enjoyment when death is unwittingly at hand. In his castle-building revery he forgets the need of God's constant grace. In planning to secure and enlarge his possessions for his personal enjoyment he forgets the Lord of life and death. This warning against greed is not specifically Christian. This large owner had no thought of others, for he was a hard-hearted egoist and thought not of laying up treasure in heaven. The gem of this otherwise aesthetically homely parable is the soliloquy. In fact there is nothing to indicate that rich men just planning to secure their future enjoyment are prone to die; and yet retiring from active affairs to a life of idle self-indulgence is always hygienically a very critical step. To say, "I will henceforth impupate myself and live for personal pleasure," is moral death. Perhaps all who do this deliberately ought, in the interests of the general social well-being, to die at that point, for mere luxury makes men parasites. A sybarite is a drone in the social hive, and in the social economic order is ripe for death. Such a resolution is unintentional suicide. Otherwise God might have demanded not his soul but his property that night. In the sense of this parable all who hoard for selfish enjoyment are fools compassing their own destruction, for true life is love and service to others.

53. There was a rich man, Dives (Luke xvi:19-31), clothed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously, and there was a beggar, Lazarus, full of sores, which a dog licked as he lay at the gate, desiring only the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table. Both died, and the plutocrat in hell saw Lazarus in heaven, cried for mercy, and implored Father Abraham for a drop of water on his finger-tip to cool his parched tongue, for he was tormented in the flames. But the patriarch replied, You had in your life good things and Lazarus evil, and now a great gulf which no man can cross is fixed between us. Then, at least, said Dives, Send some one to warn my five brethren lest they come to this place of torment. No, replied Abraham. They have Moses and the prophets and should hear them. But, said Dives, If one goes to them from the dead they will surely repent. Not so, said Abraham. If they hear not Moses and the prophets they would not be persuaded by one from the dead.

The awful imagery of this parable is branded on the very soul of Christendom. This world will be turned topsyturvy in the next, its pleasure will become agony, and its glory shame. The lowest shall be supremely exalted, and the last become first. Rewards of this earth bring penalty in the next, and the very lowest is there supreme. All is fatally fixed beyond all hope of further change. There is no intimation that Dives had any guilt save that of being rich, or that Lazarus had any merit save poverty, unless Dives ought to have known and relieved the suffering of Lazarus; but the next world is represented as simply one of complemental reversal. Wealth here is repaid with hell there, and pauperism with heaven. There is not the slightest mitigation, and all probation has passed. Literature abounds in descriptions of an *au rebours* world where plebeians become princes, kitchen drudges have all the wealth of fairyland, diamonds are stones and stones diamonds. But these are usually thought mere dreams or fancies. Nietzsche describes not only a transvaluation but a retrovaluation of worths, and Plato sketched a counter-world where all laws are reversed and time goes backward, or where men worship what they have burned and burn what they erstwhile worshipped, where truth becomes a lie and a lie truth, the hated are loved and the loved hated, the devil is God's ape, the witches' sabbath parodies the sacraments, and hell is a reflex of heaven. Contrasts and antitheses are tonics and stimulants. Here all this counterparting or dualism in both philosophy and the imagination is focussed down to a single scene setting this world over against the next. No one can doubt that the general view here illustrated has had the greatest social efficacy, and has not only made the hardest lots tolerable, but has provoked asceticism and every form of self-stupration. Hardship and pain have been wooed as muses, that by paralleling the state of Lazarus his fortune also might be ensured. Misery otherwise utterly unendurable has been borne, and instead of arousing reactions that nothing could resist has found vent in visions of compensating joy and glory. Crafty oppressors, temporal and spiritual, have used this reciprocity formula to cajole their victims. When a future of compensation has been doubted, and men have even begun to think this life perhaps the be-all and death the end-all, society has undergone its most radical revolution as a result, and priests and piety have fared hardest of all because felt to be arch-deluders. If death were the close, or the next world only a prolongation of this under similar circumstances or something yet more pallid like that of the Homeric shades, how different would have been the history of Christianity, how weakened the sense that justice rules the universe! Without heaven and hell the morality of all those ages when the chief motive of virtue was to escape punishment would have suffered, though perhaps such rewards and punishments have made men purblind to the

inner oracle and to the old Stoic ethics that virtue is its own reward and should be followed if it lead to the inferno. We should have had no Dante or Milton. Jesus far more than any other developed and gave the world a moral heaven and hell. He made them definite, real, longer, more durable, and more important than anything mundane, and if he had done nothing else than organize all the fragmentary superstitions of a life beyond the grave so as to utilize their combined power most effectively for good, what incalculable service to the race so long as and wherever this superstition exists! This sublime frescoing of the hereafter had most to do with bringing the barbarians into the Church. By itself alone it is perhaps the most stupendous work ever achieved by an ethico-religious genius. It has quickened sluggish consciences that nothing else could touch. No one who knows the human heart can have patience with those who, because there are a few pure and lofty souls that can live out the best within them without the aid of hope or fear for the future, argue that more harm than good was done by using these immense powers to stimulate righteousness and repress evil. Even a fear of fire scorching and crackling the flesh is needed for moral degenerates and perverts, and in all men the power of the boundless future and the long-ranged view of life, the standpoint of the hereafter, are all the better developed for this drastic pedagogy and all the traditions and theosophemes that are grouped about it. With all our boasted science the best of us are still more or less in the nursery-tale stage as to ethical values, and if these were only the black man and the goblins of childhood both their deterrent and stimulating influences would be in the right direction. What the world most needs is a fixed and indissoluble association in our very neurons between sin and shuddering horror, so that the nerves shall tingle and crepitate when we do or contemplate wrong. This is to fear aright. It is to have the strongest of all human impulsions, the dread of pain and disease, directed toward its chief cause. For the ethical psychologist the place or state of future weal or woe based on rewards and penalties is not a question of objective reality but of subjective need, and because he cannot doubt the latter he holds with regard to these beliefs a Kantian view that they do truly exist, since the practical reason is higher than the theoretical. If the latter doubts, the former, which is a higher tribunal, affirms, their unassailable reality for the will, and in this form they should be preached from the pulpit in new and stronger terms.[1]

Of these fifty-three parables, three seem marked by ignorance or error, viz., (7) what enters the body does not defile; (11) the eye filling

[1]See also C. G. Griffenhoofe: "The Unwritten Sayings of Christ." Cambridge, 1903, 128 p.; and especially L. E. Browne: "The Parables of the Gospels in the Light of Modern Criticism." Cambridge, 1913, p. 91.

the body with light; (48) the mustard seed becoming the greatest of trees; but still the meaning is clear and the moral remains unaffected. Some are obvious, if not almost commonplace, admonitions of ordinary worldly wisdom; like (6) the blind cannot lead the blind; (14) a tree is known by its fruit; (24) counting the cost before building; (26) agreeing with an enemy betimes; (27) taking the lowest place. Dearest of all adown the centuries are perhaps (35) the prodigal; (50) the good Samaritan. The danger of being too late is especially stressed in (40) the ten virgins, in (53) the rich man and Lazarus, and in several others. The efficacy of importunity stands out in (30) the friendly neighbour roused from bed; (31) the woman and the unjust judge. The largest number, however, are based on or connected with the rights and duties of tenants and landlord, e. g., (2) duty of unthanked servants; (13) serving two masters; (18) the loyal and the disloyal tenant; (19) sitting up late for the master of the house; (32) the usurer and the two debtors; (33) the pitiless servant; (37) the defiant tenant; (43) the unjust householder; while still others refer more or less to this relation.

This group of parables suggests from its closely related themes that Jesus' ideal in youth and in early manhood may have been that of being the lord of a manor; perhaps inviting guests to a feast; loaning out talents according to ability, with a definite theory concerning pay and the eleventh-hour labourers; abhorring usurers; counting the cost beforehand; demanding an undivided and also an absolute service; wise enough to build on a rock, and not on the sand; shrewd enough to be reticent in purchasing a treasure found in a field; interested in tares and wheat; an owner of sheep; pleasingly conscious that seed once sown grew while he slept; also with knowledge of the different kinds of ground; pleased when the fig-tree budded as a herald of spring, and condemnatory if it was barren; piqued if his dinner invitations were refused; issuing orders to brothers, one of whom obeyed and one of whom did not; welcoming a vagabond son back; yielding like Aristotle's magnanimous man to wise importunity; healing up quarrels quickly before lawyers and courts magnified them; using precautions against thieves; loaning money wisely; leading a life open as day, and with nothing in it to conceal, etc.

On this view the parables, which are so authentic and reveal to us so much of the soul of Jesus, suggest that his youthful dream was

to command servants, stewards, tenants; to be a master thrifty yet kind, wise in building, just yet sympathetic—in short, a noble country gentleman, a position Bismarck later called the finest on earth for the development of all-sided qualities of manhood, and the fullest of opportunity for the highest culture, the choicest virtues, and the greatest usefulness. Something like this was very likely the rôle Jesus came to fill in his own youthful reveries, and he lived sympathetically into this adolescent imagination far more fully than into any other. On this view, in the parables we see how he had idealized the opportunities and duties of some such position in life. This is borne out not only by the theme but by the lesson and meaning of the parables. Now as the "visions splendid" by which the youth had been attended were delayed in their realization and finally recognized as impossible of attainment, two diametrically opposite tendencies gradually supervened in Jesus' soul as a natural and inevitable consequence of his unconquerable and aggressive spirit. On the one hand he came to hate the rich who could have realized such ideals but whose interests had grown sordid; who failed even to see these opportunities, and who seemed to him both culpable and despicable because instead of making the very best, they made the worst use of their means. On the other hand, he came to aggrandize his dreams of living as a great country lord into being the head of a far greater Kingdom extending over all Israel, in which ideal conditions should prevail—a conception which the events of his life caused him to vastate and to sublimate until it began to take the features of a terrestrial if not a cosmic and heavenly Kingdom, partly realized on earth under his leadership. Thus, in a word, we find in the parables a psychoanalytic key to the secret of the evolution of Jesus' idea of the Kingdom, which was later developed as the Church visible and invisible. All this the world would have lost had he achieved in fact the day-dream of his youth. This processional of genius, doubtless more or less unrealized by him, he has unconsciously revealed in the parables, the theme of which thus constitutes an unwitting confession on his part as well as a series of admonitions. As prophets found their inspiration in days of calamity for which they over-compensated by portraying the glories of the future Zion, so the thwarted and repressed ambitions of Jesus' youth and manhood surged back and up into the inward realization of a new theocracy, and even a new paradise, in which his reign would be as benign as it was sovereign, and where

justice and mercy would be supreme. To this Kingdom nearly all the parables directly or indirectly relate.

It was a kingdom and not a democracy that Jesus would found, and most modern Christian socialists of the Rauschenbusch type seem quite to forget this. The political, industrial, social, and ecclesiastical institutions, as Jesus conceived them, were hierarchies stratified into ranks or classes from the prophet, priest, or king, down to the meanest and most menial servant whose sole obligation it is to obey and who has no claim even for thanks. Men could take, or were assigned, places high or low. Jesus never entirely outgrew the patriarchal idea. The head of his Kingdom was no constitutional monarch, but more like Plato's wise and good tyrant, or a father to all his subjects. All its citizens must love and serve one another, and be more than just, that is, merciful, to one another. Democracy existed before Christianity, and so did socialism and even communism. The Kingdom of the parables is no republic, though the fraternal bond of sympathy must exist not only between equals of the same station or caste but between all, high and low alike. If Christianity made each individual of transcendent value there remains, nevertheless, an uncalculated difference between the value of individuals even where degrees of merit are the same. Of course, if it is hard to harmonize the three synoptic Gospels, it is indefinitely harder to harmonize the teachings of the fifty-three parables. But their general drift and trend is unmistakable. If in some the Kingdom comes like a convulsion sweeping all away, in others it comes as gradually and naturally as the seed germinates. To some institutions it is like dynamite; to others it comes as rain or fertilizer. So, in our infinitely more complex civilization there are charitable, philanthropic, reform, and other efforts better and vaster, and there are also worse tendencies and institutions, than it ever entered into the heart of Jesus to conceive; but here and now, as there and then, there are, and should be, both catastrophes and benign evolution. There are still rank tares fit only for fire, growing with the wheat, ignorance, and superstition along with science and true culture, animality beside spontaneous spirituality. But although the perfect Kingdom as Jesus conceived it is still far from realized, there has been progress toward it since his day, and therefore the objurgations and condign sentences he pronounced upon the state of things he knew, it is only fanaticism or pessimism to apply without qualification to our

civilization to-day. Thus Jesus' youthful reveries of an ideal manor and its feudal lordship and its manifold orders of service, vast as it came to be in his mind as the months and years of his life went by, and far vaster yet as the conception of it has since become, have all attained reality enough to give the world its most precious hope as it continues to grow from age to age, although perhaps aeons yet must pass before it fills the earth.

CHAPTER TEN

THE MIRACLES

The higher criticism and miracles—Why Jesus became a miracle worker—(A) The healing miracles—Their technique and conditions—Their results—The first healing—Blindness and its symbolism—Deaf mutes—The lame—The withered hand—Dropsy—The epileptic at the synagogue—The pool of Bethesda—Possession—The demoniac in Gadara—Allegorization—Leprosy—Malchus's ear—(B) Resurrections—(a) Jairus's daughter and the youth of Nain as adolescent—(b) Lazarus—(c) Jesus' own resurrection—(C) Cures at a distance—(D) Nature miracles—(a) Cana and the symbolism of water made wine—(b) The miraculous draught of fishes—(c) The feeding—(d) Stilling the tempest—The psychology and pedagogy of the miracles from the standpoint of geneticism—The laminated soul—The miracles as sarcophagi.

AS TO the documentary evidence of miracles, the oldest Christian writings are the only undisputed epistles of the chief missionary, Paul, to the churches he founded at Corinth and Galilee and to the Petrine Church at Rome. These four seem to have been written from twenty-one to twenty-seven years after Jesus' death. Second comes Mark, thirty-five to forty years after the Crucifixion, which was compiled from earlier, chiefly Petrine, traditions. Third, and at about the same date, come the logia, lost but partially reconstructed, and containing chiefly Jesus' sayings. Fourth comes Matthew, 70 to 100 A. D., based on Mark and on the logia, but adding some new material. Fifth come two treatises written between 70 and 75 A. D., by a Greek disciple of Paul. The first is the Gospel of Luke, which sets out to be more complete, exhaustive, and scientific than those that had preceded, and the other is Acts, containing events from the narrow circle as Jesus left it up to the climax in the establishment of the Church at Rome, which utilized at least one older source. Sixth came a "mystical and devotional treatise on the Incarnation thrown into biographic form," which we know as the Gospel of Saint John, written probably

soon after the end of the first Christian century, or some seventy years after Jesus' death. All the Gospels were thus derived and edited compilations written from an older source (which can be traced back to probably from twenty-one to thirty-two years after Jesus' death), while our first three Gospels took form fifteen or eighteen years later, except John, which came about a quarter of a century later still.

As to the oldest source, Paul does not even allude to any miracles done by Jesus. The then-unwritten Gospel, as he knew it, consisted almost entirely of the story of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus. He knew little else concerning Jesus' life or teaching, nearly all of which was developed later. His detachment from this source was due to his absorption in the events of the last week of Jesus' career. The Gospels, giving Jesus' previous life, were from his point of view an afterthought. The supernatural elements Paul believed in were the gifts of the Holy Spirit, wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, prophecy, and tongues, more or less correlated with the ecclesiastical offices. Thus the authority that goes back nearest to Jesus' own day contains nothing more miraculous than faith healing, exorcism, etc.

As to Mark, while it gives more growth and unity, the chronology and selection of incidents are both somewhat perverse. The Church preceded the Gospels, and hence even Mark is more apologetic and theological than historic. Before he wrote, the word "gospel" meant a message to faith. Mark consists largely of Petrine traditions. Its author was probably John Mark, who came into contact with Jesus only during Passion Week, and whose house was afterward a meeting-place for the disciples. He also accompanied Paul on his first missionary tour, and he very likely came under Peter's influence later. Under the latter's influence he extended the life of Jesus backward beyond Paul's ken, and most of these additions could have been and probably were supplied by Peter. Thus we have in Mark two parts, first the events of the last week, which John Mark very probably saw at first hand and from which Paul started, and secondly the rival Petrine reminiscences of the previous career of Jesus. The miracle stories belong to the latter, and centre about Jesus' early period in Galilee, which is more obscure.

While some still dispute the existence of the above lost source, called "Q" (*Quelle*) or the logia, the Oxford students have sanctioned it, and Harnack has even attempted to reconstruct it in a document of

nearly two hundred verses, chiefly made up of Jesus' teachings. Besides these it contains only six incidents of which two are miracles, viz., the healing of the centurion's servant and the casting out of the dumb devil. Thus it is about as free from miracles as is the latter part of Mark; and both the above miracles are those of healing although one seems to be by a most mysterious action at a distance, which anti-supernaturalists think a coincidence and cite parallels.

Matthew used our Mark and "Q," and also added other material. Here detailed criticism shows that the only evidence of most of Matthew's miracles is Mark, and there are some traces, though very slight, of a tendency to exaggerate these. What he adds is least trustworthy.

Luke claims to have been written by an educated gentile companion of Paul, and marks a new stage of tradition. He assumes a new method, for he was not an eyewitness, and refers to the failure of other attempts by those who did not know Jesus at first hand. To this physician-evangelist Jesus is less Messiah than saviour and healer of the body and soul, and thus to the miraculous tales he brings no new evidence but various new motives. He does not omit any previous records on grounds of incredulity or lack of evidence, but amplifies and strongly emphasizes nearly all the supernatural events, and most of those which he adds are extremely marvellous and rest on hearsay and tradition as they had been developing for about twenty-five years.

John cares less for the facts than for their meaning. If the Gospel that bears his name was not written by him in his old age, reviving and embellishing old memories, it was doubtless composed by one or more authors who reached the facts through their faith rather than *vice versa* as with the synoptists. The farther we go back from the Passion Week, which has no miracles, the more miracles we find. In John, Jesus himself is miraculous. His story is of the Incarnation of a preëxistent divine person who as God's vicegerent had created the world that he now visits. He could supernaturally read the thoughts of all; he vanishes or passes mysteriously through crowds; he is a stranger to and quite aloof from the Jews. The divinity of the Johannin Jesus did not depend on supernatural birth, and so this is not mentioned. The judgment, too, is not impending, but came with the advent of the Paraclete. Of historic crises or developmental stages, such as the baptism, temptation, transfiguration, etc., which are marked in the synoptists, there is no trace; but Jesus is quite divine from the

beginning, and is thus independent of time and space. John's seven miracles are saturated with symbolism.[1]

The above represents in the barest and most summary outline the results of the higher criticism in their chief bearings upon the problem of miracles. It is precisely here, where these studies end, that the problem of geneticism begins, which is how and by what motivation did these few actual cures which Jesus performed come to be magnified into the prodigies recorded by the Evangelists, why are they so clung to, and what is their positive value and meaning to us? The higher criticism only informs, but does not edify. The religious instincts and needs can never be satisfied with negations. We accept all the real results of criticism, but charge it with blindness to deeper meanings. Thus religious psychology comes to the defense of miracles. They made the fortune of Christianity and are still precious to believers. Despite their historic falsity they have a high significance for piety and also for psychology, for they are made, warp and woof, out of soul-stuff and are thus in a sense both more valid and valuable than if they had been actually performed. What seemed their negation thus really rescues them to higher purposes, and from this standpoint they are invested with a new and hitherto undreamed-of truth. All religions have miracles, which are the dearest children of faith. Even the wildest of those in Brewer's "Comprehensive Dictionary"[2] are psychologically explicable and constitute valuable data for our science. But those that evolved in the early decades of Christianity are unique and in a class by themselves, because, from the psychogenetic viewpoint, false as they are, they are by no means mere creatures of imagination, nor products of superstition. They take us to the shrine of the inner life of Jesus, on which every one of them sheds light, and without which the world would never have realized much of the best that he was, did, and said. Let us, then, approach our problem by a few general considerations.

It was a peculiarity of the Jews that any great leader to be accepted must accredit himself by working miracles. Thus the great men of old had done. Thus only, too, could Jesus ever meet the popular ideals of a Messiah, or fit the specifications of prophecy as his biographers had a veritable passion for making him seem to do, often

[1] London, 1901, 582 p.

[2] This is well epitomized for our purposes in J. M. Thompson: "The Miracles of the New Testament." London, 1911, 236 p.

in very trivial details. Not only the multitude but the disciples again and again "desired mighty works" as a sign; but if they had not believed that he did miracles, it is very doubtful whether they would have recognized him as sent from God. In the first two so-called temptations he seems to have considered and definitely rejected this function; but the Pharisees challenged him to do them, the populace awaited them, and even the disciples assumed that he would do them. There were no hospitals or asylums, and the sick were all about, while the troublesome times preceding had produced, we learn, an exceptional number of neurotics and psychotics, so that every characteristic type of mental aberration was constantly met with. Every one assumed that a religious teacher must also exercise the functions of a healer. To this end the patients and their friends constantly importuned Jesus, while his closer followers were intensely prone to ascribe the natural stimulus of his presence, touch, or handclasp, or even the cases where the betterment was slight or temporary, to supernatural healing power.

This Jesus deprecated, and obviously sought to avoid the reputation of being a mere curer of the body. He often refused to attempt marvels, sometimes with evident resentment, and rebuked the spirit that demanded it. He told those who thought themselves cured to tell no man, commanded the evil spirits that would proclaim him to hold their peace, escaped when pressed by the crowd who sought cures, said to them who thought he had healed them, with equal truth and modesty, "Thy faith hath made thee whole." But he could not escape the superstition of his day. He must either accept the reputation of theurgic power or else abandon his divine mission. This seems the alternative, although we do not know how clearly and sharply it was present to Jesus' soul. How far the rôle of miracle-doer was forced on him by the pedagogic necessity of his day, and how far his intimates and biographers misrepresented him, we can never know. Perhaps the latter was true of the physical and more utterly unbelievable miracles, and the former of the more credible therapeutic marvels. To do the latter he was of course strongly impelled by sympathy with suffering and distress, and he also very clearly saw that these were the best symbols of just the spiritual work he sought to do, viz., to open the eyes of the spiritually blind and the ears of the deaf, make the lame walk, and bring health to the sick, if not life to the dead. Perhaps

he even learned to use some of the most fabulous nature marvels ascribed to him as parables, set in scene object-lesson-wise, of higher truths.

But if the repute of a wonder-worker made his success in his day and through the earlier centuries of Christianity, now we have to see and realize that the religion of Jesus is losing its hold upon the cultured world precisely because of the deeds imputed to him that made his early followers accept him. This crass literal interpretation is today the chief handicap that prevents the acceptance of his teaching or the admiration of his life. Our modern mind cannot worship without subtle psychological, even if unconscious, reservations, not to say stultification, a being whose claim rests upon multiplying loaves of bread, changing water to wine, walking on the water, raising the dead to life, healing instantly a group of lepers at a distance by a word, etc., for such things belong to the shadow-land of fiction and not to that of historic fact. The future of Christianity demands the emphatic and authoritative repudiation of such encumbering infantilism, necessary and inevitable as this was at the beginning of our era. Miracles will perhaps always have a high value as illustrations of the state and disposition of the mind of those nearest to Jesus and their successors. They are also serviceable as types of higher psychic meaning. But even the latter cannot be seen and felt until every vestige of the credulity that accepts them in any sense or degree, as literal, physical events, is purgated from the soul and our faith thereby made purer and clearer. Nothing would sweep away so many modern repugnances to Christianity as this complete katharsis of theurgy. None sin so grievously against the true spirit of the person and doctrine of Jesus as those who champion the effete orthodoxy that thus materializes the spiritual.

(A) *The Healing Miracles.*—P. Dearmer enumerates forty miracles of healing by Jesus in the Gospels. Of these twenty-one were recorded by one Evangelist, eight by two, eleven by three, and none by all. Matthew reports twenty-one, six of which are peculiar to him; Mark records eighteen, three of which are his only; Luke twenty-four, eight of which are peculiar to him; and the only four by John are mentioned by him alone. Keim's enumeration does not differ very much from this. As to the genetic order of the miracles it would be sad if we must indeed abandon all knowledge. The Gospels differ very widely in their sequences, and some writers now, according to

the fashion of certain ages in the past, have selected one or another Evangelist as the norm. Some group them by an artificial system that either ignores or disallows the historic process. Miracle cycles, too, are sometimes centred about the Galilean or Jerusalemic periods. We can distinguish by various attendant circumstances some four of them as early, and some six or eight as late in Jesus' public career; and on the cycle theory perhaps the greatest of them centre about the second of the periods, perhaps near its end. The Cana and Capernaum miracles, which the three synoptists placed first, many regard as parts of an artificial program.

The records in those Gospels supposed to have been written last do not suggest a gleaning of miracles hitherto unrecorded, but give abundant evidence that the miraculous element was on the increase. The same event is elaborated later, as if during the period between the first and the last even of the synoptists, the taste for the supernatural was growing. Thus, as we pass from Matthew or Mark to Luke and John, the demands on our faith are augmented. The diseases are of longer duration, and graver, the cure is wrought on more persons, and sometimes the point of death seems to have become death itself. The healing methods are more circumstantially recorded and thus often made more mysterious. Haupt gives an exquisite case of the growth of a Mohammedan miracle four times recorded. In the first the prophet at a certain point in his story rests under a leafy tree. In the second record, years later, he stands under it as if expectant of something supernatural. In the third Allah led him to the tree, while in the fourth he caused it to grow for the purpose. The many discrepancies in the parallel records respecting detail in the Gospels are very suggestive of growth, and yet the unanimity that is dominant furnishes now one of the chief arguments for a common source older than any of our Gospels. There is repeated allusion to a large number of unrecorded miracles, but if the source were unlimited there is reason to believe that those recorded would not so often be the same. Recent criticism holds that the actual authors of our Gospels were themselves in no case witnesses to the mighty works they describe. Some of them, at least, wrote after this source had for some time been dry. The double and triple narratives show how very fluctuating was the tradition, so that in several cases we are left in doubt whether the record is of the same or of different events. A few miracles are perhaps figures of speech, or parables taken literally, like the draft of fishes, or the threat

against the barren fig-tree which later appears as the stupendous miracle of its being withered at a distance by a curse. Some moral precepts may have been developed into a visible description, as if Isaiah's prophecy of the healing of the blind, deaf, lame, lepers, were factualized. Symbolic picture-stories undoubtedly exist, but not to an extent to justify Herder's belief that all the marvels were pictures of ideas. We have (1) sometimes a material event as a starting point, core, or minimum of truth at its lowest potence. Jesus often deprecates the lust for sensuous marvels because he wishes his truth to attain a higher power, and the difference of the spiritual meaning in the different synoptists accounts for some of their discrepancies. Thus we have (2) the meanings which are to be embodied, the stilling of the storm, e. g., by the captain who will bring the ship of the Church into a safe port, the blindness which is really of the heart, not of the eyes. (3) Another germ from which some of the miracles were developed is plainly traceable to the Old Testament, while others sprang from the psychic life of Jesus himself, who healed from sheer compassion. (4) Healing was one of the chief functions of the traditional Messiah and one of the signs by which he was to be known.

One centre of intellectual interest is *how* Jesus effects his healings. He often touches or lays hands upon the sick, lifts them up, anoints, uses saliva, puts his finger in the ear of the deaf mute, prescribes washing or bathing, takes his place at the side of or has him stand forth, inquires as if making a diagnosis, prescribes rest and diet. Paulus thinks he had all the medical skill of the Essenes and used their remedies. Others hold conversely that his reluctance to heal was due to his conscious lack of knowledge of the art and still others have urged that he yielded to pressure and acquired later some hasty knowledge of it. Venturini assumed that the disciples carried about a portable medicine chest. Some of Jesus' patients or their friends deemed manual contact especially efficacious, and it is the later records that amplify methods. Besides using the rationalists' herbs and tinctures Weiss thinks that Jesus was charged to an unusual extent not merely with animal but a higher personal magnetism of a peculiar kind, and develops the theory that the progressive loss of this by his cures, his mental activities, and his anxieties, caused his death. Gutsmuths thinks Jesus had a power of voluntarily transferring nervous force in some kind. Renan thinks some of the miracles deliberate jugglery justified

by their moral or pedagogic end, while Rothe postulated some as yet unknown but nevertheless natural force.

More potent than all these physical therapeutic agencies, unless it be touch alone, was the power of the spoken word: "Be thou clean"; "as thou hast believed"; "arise and walk"; "come forth"; "thou art loosed"; "stretch forth thy hand"; "take up thy bed and walk"; "thou art made whole"; "go in peace"; "sin no more"; "thy faith hath saved thee"; to the filthy spirit, "come out of him." Thus there was no set formula, but all these phrases show intense confidence and authority on Jesus' part, and this naturally inspired assurance or faith on the part of the patients. Sometimes it seems as if the whole energy of his soul went forth in such words, motivated by his indomitable faith in himself and his mission. This is more apparent in the later writings, indicating growth in the belief of some specific magical power. The word alone without physical manipulation is more common in Jesus' healing miracles than in those of the ancient prophets.

Again, cure presupposes not only a strong *desire* for it on the patient's part, but an intense *belief* that it will be attained. The sick crowd about Jesus or are brought by friends. They beg, cry out, fall down, or their relatives entreat for them. The centurion asked for only a word *in absentia*. Faith is shown in the many forms that this desire takes and is measured by the obstacles that are overcome. One is let down through the roof. The blind will not be silenced, but cry out yet louder. The woman for whom physicians could do nothing is certain Jesus can heal her. So great became his repute and fame that assurance in advance may have preformed or initiated the restorative work. On his part the chief demand was just this intense faith. "Do ye believe that I can do this?" "Be it according to thy faith." Where it is faint he encourages it in the germ by promises, and where it is absent he reproves. In faith on the patient's part he often sees the complete and sufficient cause of the cure, and without it he sometimes can or will do nothing. Like the physical agencies, it is, of course, possible that where not mentioned it is implied or presupposed. In one remarkable case he heals by forgiving sins. If the omission to mention faith is more frequent in the later Gospels, this may imply a growing belief in Jesus' own initiative, as if the human coöperation were increasingly felt to be subordinate, or as if to heal

without it meant more glory to the physician. This is the trend most marked in John. Faith of friends is often effective. The demoniacs felt instant alarm as if dimly conscious from afar of Jesus' power, and were both attracted and aroused to a high pitch of excitement by his very presence. They not only leave all activity to him but abjure him to depart, so that instead of coöperation of faith there is here intense resistance to be overcome, and yet there are traces of schizophrenia, for while the evil spirit that possessed them objected to the cure, the remnant of sanity that remained in them not only believed but desired it.

The *result* of Jesus' healing activity is instantaneous as well as sometimes telepathic. Cures were usually signalized by immediate and sometimes intense physical activity, and also by praising and proclamation. This of course intensified the impressiveness of the miracle; and if what we know of the effect of psychic trauma and shock detracts from the credibility of some of the cures, it certainly adds greatly to that of others. All the Evangelists imply that such events had never been known before, although they do not, Keim urges, intimate that they were in any case opposed to the unknown laws of man's higher nature. They were not investigators; and if they were credulous, this quality was the outcrop of just that belief that worked the cure. Thus the defects and exaggerations of the record permit our doubt as well as our faith. These writers used their reason upon their second-hand, but to their mind well-authenticated, data on which their conclusions were based. While Jesus certainly preferred to heal the soul rather than the body, he perhaps accommodated to the demands of those about him to be healed of diseases, because of a growing insight on his part into the closeness of the bond between the psyche and the soma, growing thus more completely into the sphere of interest of those about him. There has been much but vain discussion whether or not the records of his words and doctrines are more or less distorted than those of his deeds. Some have urged that these great works made the Incarnation more complete than if he had preached more and done less; but surely biographers are less liable to go astray in reporting the things done by those of whom they write than in setting forth their undocumented opinions, because in the latter the subjective factor would inevitably have more scope.

Padolean gathered many instances to show that a pure and

devoted life of sanctity not only has always been thought to have great therapeutic power, but in his opinion really has it, and to prove that a morally perfect life heals by infection quite apart from the natural influence of a magisterial will upon an oppressed one, and independently of any theory such as that the psyche is so bound up with the soma that to cure spiritual distempers the body must be first made whole. If faith meant to Jesus a summons that he could not resist, and if he had to heal by an inner necessity of his nature, as we are often told, then why is he represented as healing now with an almost Buddhistic calm and imperturbability, at another time as if with an outbreak of rage against Satan and his morbific agencies, and yet again as healing with sighs and groans as if beside himself, or in a nervous paroxysm, or making an intense agonistic effort? It is entirely impossible to correlate these differences of his attitude with differences in the nature of the disease or with the degree of illness of his patients. Moreover, now he represents his cures as God's work, and again as so genuinely human that his followers could even surpass him. He was as far as possible from any consistent theory or method, and we do not need to adduce Hume's theory that a miracle from its very nature is incapable of being proved because the best possible human testimony is less infallible than nature's laws. The evidence of the Gospel records of some of the miracles is not only impugnable but suspicious from every point of view. So flimsy, indeed, is it that it offers only a very poor pretext for the wish to believe to gratify itself, and yet this desire is often so strong, especially toward healing miracles, that even a hint suffices. Furthermore, the accounts of Jesus' healing activities are given a somewhat higher degree of plausibility in recent decades by psychotherapeutic studies, so that it is safer to assume in some of these instances a nucleus of fact than it is in the nature miracles. We now pass to the discussion of the chief individual miracles grouped into classes.[1]

The First Healing.—With four of his disciples then chosen, Jesus proceeded, directly after the temptation, to the home of Peter and Andrew, where the mother-in-law of the former lay ill of a fever, which most exegetes who have ventured any conjecture think probably, owing to the nature of the country and the modern health conditions there,

[1] C. W. Waddle: "Miracles of Healing." *Am. Jour. Psychol.*, 1909, pp. 219-268 (with an excellent bibliography to date). As a typical modern cure see Flournoy: "Une Mystique Moderne (Documents pour la Psychologie Religieuse)." *Arch. de Psychol.*, 1915, T.15, 224 p.

was malarial. Matthew says that Jesus went in and touched or took her hand in greeting, and she arose and ministered as housewife to her guests. Matthew's narrative is simple, human, and natural, the "cure" unintentional, and the result perhaps a little surprising to Jesus himself. The bystanders thought it marvellous, and the impression it made on them reflected into his own mind may have given him his first sense of power as a healer. The credulity of the town folk grew to a most embarrassing degree that day. Even the other Gospels show the beginnings of mythic accretion and elaboration. Luke and Mark add various items, e. g., of the guests. Jesus was told about the invalid, his aid was besought, the fever was said to be great, he rebuked the disease, lifted her up; the cure is said to be immediate. The later recorders evidently thought, as the Church has since done, that this was a miracle, and so very likely did the four companions of Jesus; but it is only honest candour and not carping to remember how many persons, and especially housekeepers, have responded to sudden calls made upon them as hostesses, to entertain distinguished people, and that while so doing they have forgotten all sense of illness. This woman knew, perhaps, that this was the master her son-in-law and his brother were to follow, and she naturally wished to send them off from this parting visit with pleasant memories, for there would be time enough to rest and recuperate when they were gone. Moreover, the very presence of the hero of the hour, as Jesus certainly was that day, and especially the impressiveness of his magnetic presence in itself—such things are often the best medicine. And, again, there was the added stimulus of an approaching throng.

As the sun was setting there were brought to Jesus at this humble home all the possessed and those with diverse other illnesses, and all the town gathered; and Mark says he healed many of diverse diseases and cast out many devils. Matthew says he healed all with his word, while Luke says he laid on his hands and healed every one, and many from whom devils were cast out acknowledged that their healer was Christ the Son of God. None remained ill in that region that night. Matthew even adds that thus a prophecy might be fulfilled to the effect that he took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses. This idea of prophecy-fulfilment is, of course, always suspicious because Jesus' feeling that he was fulfilling ancient predictions or decrees, imparted to his chroniclers, made them, however unconsciously, tend to fit their

records to these old vaticinations. In this thrice-attested twilight clinic we seem to have real healing power, of the genuine effectiveness of which, in view of so many modern instances, we need not be incredulous, although, as so often, the impression of it increases with the successive Gospelographers, Mark, as usual, being most temperate and Luke most prone to amplify without critical restraint. Mental healers of many types and theories, Emmanuelists and still better of late, men like Dejerine, Dubois, Marcinowski, and Rosenbach, have accredited the power of the soul to cure many of the ailments not organic or bacteriological, that it can make. Jesus' methods were more like those of a consummate medicine man, being chiefly without set method, but direct and immediate, and this had been an epoch-making day in his career which, had we its date, the Church would perhaps still celebrate. We have probably as yet by no means sounded all the powers and wonders that the imagination when strongly appealed to can work in casting off or defying disease, and we have still to lay to heart the lesson that even savage medicine, which this was far above, though in the same spirit, has yet to teach modern therapy. Finally, of no single day of Jesus' career, save only the second preceding the Crucifixion, have we so full a record, sketchy as it is.

Blindness.—Isaiah represents that the joy of being permitted to return from the Captivity was so great as to heal diseases. But as the prophetic program of a return and a re-establishment of the old glory of Jerusalem was not carried out, such expectation of cures of the blind, deaf, and lame, as he specifies, was extended on to the day of the Messiah. Hence, when Jesus was recognized as the Messiah, there was an accumulated store of expectation which constituted a large fund of popular faith for him to draw upon. The healing of prophecy was always and purely symbolically meant, but in the above process of postponement the conceptions of such cures were more and more grossly materialized. Hence such structures as the evangelical legends of healing were ready in a moment by a touch of suggestion to take on a literal form. Making the blind see in prophecy always meant spiritually, but the Evangelists interpret each miracle of this kind which they make Jesus perform as literal and sensuous. They not only often lack all spiritual insight themselves, even where this meaning is obvious, but sometimes take the very greatest pains that all be made to appear historical and physical only. In the story of the cure of the blind

man of Jericho, Luke, and still more Mark, add picturesque details which contribute to give it an almost Defoe-like verisimilitude. Mark, who began this materialization of psychic miracles, saw nothing else in them; but John, in whom this tendency culminated, sees also along with the natural a spiritual and ideal meaning. And it was the force of his conviction of the latter which impelled him to amplify and historicize the former. Jesus' life is the light of men. To the still incorrigible unbelief of the Jews, Jesus was come that "they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blind," thus equating the two processes although he did not literally put out eyes, that is, he did no penal miracles of this kind. In the literature of modern psychoanalysis we do, however, have cases in which mental blindness is the result of the will or wish of the unconscious part of our nature converted downward into diseases of the eyesight, into which we take flight. John made his stories as real as testimony knew how to make anything in his day, because he dimly saw at the same time that the incidents were supercharged with symbolic meaning.

Thus, that the blind should be made to see is not only one of the traits of Isaiah's Messianic age, but it is the very life of the Logos-Christ who was the light of the world shining into a darkness that comprehended it not. Moreover, from the gnostics to Wundt's parallelism of perception and apperception, vision is the closest analogue of knowing. Visual imagery is one of the most inseparable elements of the higher thought processes, and blind-mindedness involves the gravest kind of mental imperfection. Thus it was nothing less than a foregone conclusion that Jesus, the great and good Lucifer or light-bringer, would have to be thought a healer of blindness. Indeed, from the imputation of this power he could not escape, however much he might desire to do so.

In the first or Bethesda cure of this kind (Mark only) a blind man was brought to (not sought by) Jesus, imploring him to touch him, in accordance with the widespread view that healing influences emanated from famous men. Jesus led him by the hand out of town, whether to make a better private diagnosis, or to make an unobserved experiment, or to keep the case a secret one, and spat in his eyes saliva, then thought in folklore to have great therapeutic power, instead of being deemed as now a prolific source of infection. Even yet saliva is a popular remedy in many lands for eye troubles. Jesus also laid his hands upon him

and asked him if he could see. He replied he could only see men as trees walking. After a second imposition of hands, however, we are told "he saw every man clearly," and was told to go home and say nothing of it in town. Rationalists have often objected that a second imposition of hands meant a limitation of the infinite divine healing power, and it is a fact that one element in the aggrandized cures which Jesus is reported to have wrought is that they were immediate and not like this in stages, as if in order for more effective demonstration. But the implication was that there were no spectators and that even knowledge of how the cure was wrought must have come from either Jesus or his patient. Perhaps, said Paulus, Jesus somehow manipulated out of his eyes some very aggravating dust or possibly some morbid growth that had rendered vision imperfect; or, says Venturini, he may possibly have removed a cataract with his fingernail, and perhaps he made two steps in the operation because, as we know now, to heal too suddenly would have been dangerous.

In the Jericho restoration from blindness recorded by the three synoptists, Matthew and Mark say there were two, while Luke says only one blind man, Bartimæus. Mark says it was on the way to, and Matthew and Luke say it was on the way from, the city. Mark makes his blind man arise and come to Jesus at his call, casting off his garments, and there are other discrepancies, although the weight of opinion is that we have here different versions of the same incident and not different cures.. The blind men cried out to Jesus as son of David, and continued to do so all the more when told to hold their peace. Jesus asked what they wanted him to do. They replied, to restore their sight. Matthew says he pitied them and touched their eyes, while Mark and Luke say he pronounced them cured by virtue of their faith. Their sight was immediately restored, and they followed Jesus, and the people glorified God. Here nothing is implied of the nature or cause of the blindness, or how complete the cure was. This surpasses Elisha's removal of the penal blindness inflicted on his enemies as a result of his prayer. These patients not only wanted to be cured but had faith, neither of which is intimated in the Bethesda case. Venturini makes the gratuitous assumption that Jesus healed their eyes with a tonic lotion he carried to purge away the irritating dust which in those regions was so detrimental to vision. In both the above cases there is no hint of symbolic significance. The healing is a purely

physical restoration to sight, as marvellous as in the very few modern instances of restoration from congenital cataract by a surgical operation, although Jesus acts with none of the delicate apparatus or complex methods of procedure of modern ophthalmology.

As in the series of three resurrection narratives, as we shall see, so here John caps the climax by a third which is far more wonderful and better attested than any other, as if to make all others superfluous. This patient is blind from birth. As if referring to an even-then-current belief that the blindness of the newly born was due to parental infection, Jesus was asked whether in this case the affliction was due to the sin of his parents or to himself (as if congenital disease could be due to any sin of its unfortunate victim). Jesus replied that neither had sinned, but that this patient was born thus in order that in his cure the divine power might be shown forth. For this reason the blind man was not brought to but discovered by Jesus, who, stating that he was the light of the world, made a mixture of clay and spittle and applied it, telling the man to go wash in the pool of Siloam, which meant "sent," as he was sent. This he did and came seeing. Here we are told of no petition to be cured either by the patient or his friends, but the restitution to sight seems to have been made on Jesus' own initiative. The scene of this miracle is placed in Jerusalem also on the Sabbath and as if to make this only case of healing blindness which John records a perfect and unimpugnable bit of testimony, the restored patient is made the subject of a formal and rather elaborate hearing. First came the question of identity. Some said it was the blind beggar that they had often seen, and others were not sure of anything more than a resemblance; but he declared, "I am he." Interrogated as to how he was cured, he replied by telling just what "the man called Jesus" had done, and how he washed and saw. He was asked where Jesus then was, but did not know. Next he was taken to the Pharisees, who asked the same and received the same response. They wrangled, some thinking that the healer could not be of God or he would not have violated the law by healing on the Sabbath, while others maintained that no sinner could perform such a cure. The patient was again asked what he had to say of his curer, and he replied that he was a prophet. Doubting whether he had really been born blind, his parents were summoned, and they testified first that he was their son and second that he was born blind. But in this affidavit they averred that they

did not know who opened his eyes, and advised that the son be asked for he was of age, because, knowing that any one who confessed Christ would be excommunicated, they were afraid. They were thus made unwilling witnesses, and hence all the more credible. Again the patient was called and told to praise God though he had been cured by a sinner, to which he stoutly replied that whether his healer had been a sinner or not mattered not to him. He only knew that whereas he was blind he now saw. Told again to describe his cure, he refused, asking tauntingly if they intended to become Jesus' disciples. They replied that they were disciples of Moses, but that he was a disciple of Jesus, adding that they knew not whence this fellow Jesus was. The patient, however, averred that Jesus must be the Son of God for since the world began no one ever heard before of a cure of congenital blindness. For his temerity in thus taunting them the patient was called a sinner and expelled. Then Jesus sought him, asking if he believed him to be the Son of God. "Who is that?" the man asked; and when Jesus replied, "I am he," the man believed and worshipped. Jesus declared that he came "that those who see not might see and those which see might be made blind." "Are we then blind?" asked the Pharisees, and they were told that if they were blind they would have no sin, but because they see their sin remains. Then after a Johannin discourse the Jews are left, still disputing, some saying that he was a devil and mad, and others saying that a devil could neither discourse as he had just done nor cure the blind.

These three are the chief and only circumstantially described accounts of healing blindness, although Jesus is elsewhere represented as healing many other cases. The case John reports is the *chef-d'œuvre*. He attests the literalness of the cure far more effectively than the synoptists do theirs, but he, unlike them, also sees its symbolic significance. To any oculist or ophthalmologist any and every such cure is too preposterous to be for a moment considered. Neither atrophied centres, optic tracts, the retina, nor diseases of the anterior media in the bulbus, can be made normal without long treatment or very delicate operations. Hysterical or functional blindness like Paul's of course may be overcome perhaps spontaneously, but this is contra-indicated here and would be no miracle. We have the rationalistic explanation that Jesus knew the secret of spectacles and carried in his medicine chest, that Paulus thinks was always present, an assortment of glasses; and he

holds that the stories we have are only an exaggerated account of thus remedying myopia, which is now exceptionally common among the Jews, and perhaps was then. This, indeed, is hardly more absurd than to say, as one commentator does, that as glasses are made of silica, the account of mixing saliva and clay was the best account John knew how to give of what Jesus really did, viz., making glass and fashioning it into lenses on the spot.

True miracles are things which are absolutely false. They never happen. There are of course phenomena of a higher order than what is yet known; but they are not these, for these are only fabrications, and that of a low order. Forever grateful as the world must be to the authors of the four Gospels (for they constitute by far the best part of the New Testament), their merit does not consist in themselves, for they did not write infallibly and had no inspiration save that which came from the exalted and inspired character who was their central theme. They give us well-meant and painstaking reports of the most impressive life that the world has contained. Compared to their theme and task, their intelligence and performance are wretchedly inadequate and often misleading. If their blindness had been removed how much more precious their records, for to see Jesus through them is to see through a glass darkly.

Why, then, the persistent credulity of so many who should know better concerning this class of marvels? The answer is, because these records are so overdetermined by the higher meanings which they embody. The teachings of Jesus are so illuminating that once to understand them is like light banishing darkness. One who has really accepted the rule of service in place of the rule of self is like a being restored to sight. The ethical and altruistic viewpoint is so like a new morn that there is no possible symbol so pat and apposite to express it as the restoration of the master sense. Jesus is the great opener of the inner eyes to the loftier power of spiritual truth, and the believer materializes this unique and only fit metaphor of the new life. He takes it literally just so far as he has not yet grasped the meaning of the higher illumination it stands for. These miracles are cryptograms which most of us cannot yet fully decipher, but which, when once they have delivered up their message, will be of no further value. The only definition of light is the excitation of the optic nerve. Now suppose there were no eyes in the world, and that at a certain stage

of evolution eyes suddenly came into existence; with them would of course be born all the phenomena of the visible universe, its colours, shades, contours, perspectives, etc. These miracles thus would be the best illustration and fittest for general currency of the new psychic world which Jesus' doctrine revealed. Such cures, therefore, are only parables misunderstood as history. They are degraded, and as it were fossilized, because their significance has been lost or dimmed. Thus it is the literal believer who is blind and in need of this cure. They are vessels of vulgar clay, precious only because of their content and useless when it has been appropriated. Their perennial lesson to us is that there is a higher life, more intense, efficient, and ecstatic, viz., that of self-sacrifice and of serving instead of ruling, loving instead of hating or fearing; a life that is to our present one as wine to water; as crawling about near the bottom of this dark and dirty sea of air is to Plato's empyrean ether above in which the gods lived; as health is to disease; as strength is to weakness; as winter to summer; as death to resurrection; or here, in a word, as darkness is to light. These are the meanings that have kept alive the bizarre fantasy of this type of cure, and the very power of persistence of so preposterous a tale in this civilized age is a witness which only the psychoanalyst can rightly evaluate of the high potential current of meaning that flows through it.

As a lofty and intricate building needs a more solid foundation than a cheaper one, so the miracles became in the folk-mind more crassified than the parables, simply because they have more to support and because their meaning is more fundamental and generic and more focussed on the one central theme, while the parables are more specific and detailed in their meaning. Every miracle stands for a more cardinal truth than any parable. The one and the same general truth to which every miracle points is a higher, more evolved superman state, a more socialized condition farther on in the developmental scale, while the parables are devoted to specifications concerning attitudes and conduct or doctrine ancillary to the supreme lesson of the Kingdom.

Deaf mutes.—In the Gospel Greek the same word means deaf and dumb, but only Mark connects them: Matthew and Luke represent Jesus as speaking in his answer to the emissaries of the Baptist only of cases of deafness, while in their own accounts they speak only of dumbness restored to utterance. Matthew (only) tells the tale of a man brought to Jesus with a dumb devil, which was cast out and he spoke.

The multitude wondered, for "it was never so seen in Israel," while the Pharisees said he cast out devils by their prince, Beelzebub. Then Jesus went "to all cities and villages" preaching and "healing every sickness and every disease among the people."

In another, or some think a different, version of the same case, Matthew tells of a man blind and dumb who was restored, and the people asked if this did not show that Jesus was the son of David. In Luke's amplified account Jesus replies at length to the charge of casting out devils by Beelzebub, by saying that if he did so Satan's house would be divided against itself and would fall; also, if he can do so he must be mightier than Satan to spoil this strong man's house. He tells of an unclean spirit evicted and restlessly roving till it finds its old habitation purified and then it returns, taking with it seven other vile spirits. To those who do not desire to multiply miracles more than is necessary, as the scholastics before Occam did entities, it may be noted that the fact and nature of the illness, the association with sin, the controversy with the Jews, the presence of the crowd, the approximate stage of Jesus' ministry in which the event occurred—all these are the same in both. If the two are different cases their similarity suggests stereotyped forms of apperception and description, while if they are different versions of the same cure, very great liberty in the treatment of fact and fallibility of human testimony is indicated. Woolstan and Paulus crudely interpret the Johannin account as of a slothful impostor or malingerer whom Jesus detected and sent away. The disease was evidently not grave enough to have affected the invalid's mind, and functional paralysis of hypochondriacal and hysterical origin is often overcome by stimulus or excitement strong enough to arouse dormant volition, as the crutches for centuries hung up at many a shrine bear witness.

Another patient whom Matthew calls a lunatic and also possessed, as Luke, too, does, Mark calls also deaf and dumb. Here the disciples fail, and Jesus goes to their aid and calls the deaf and dumb spirit out of the man, a cure mentioned elsewhere among those of the possessed. Mark (only) tells of a deaf man with an impediment in his speech whom Jesus took aside, put his fingers in his ears, spat, touched the tongue, looked up, sighed (as he did elsewhere only in raising Lazarus), and said a talismanic Aramaic word, *Ephphatha*, be opened, and straightway the string of his tongue was loosed, his ears were opened,

and he spake plainly. Charged not to tell, he told all the more, and the people said of his healer that he "hath done all things well; he maketh the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak," just as prophecy expected of the Messiah.

Here again it seems almost remissness and also somewhat out of character that the Johannin Jesus, who was the living word or divine *Logos*, does no miracle of this kind. Perhaps John, whose Christ did so completely all that symbolism required, thought that curing the defect or loss of audition was so obvious and elemental an act and so charged with symbolism concerning mental deafness to spiritual truth, that it was quite superfluous and that such cures could be assumed. Others have said that perhaps John on the other hand underestimated the value of volubility, preferring a laconic yea and nay. To Jesus, hearing the word meant doing it; and for him, unlike Plato who thought knowing half way to doing and therefore good in itself, hearing without doing augmented guilt. To more insightful miracle-makers the removal of deafness would mean augmented power of understanding, such as faith gives, while the removal of dumbness would mean power to proclaim the new salvation. Their first act was to disobey the injunction of silence by an uncontrollable impulsion to use their newly acquired power of speech, the use of which on any other theme would betray the fact that they were restored to the world of sound and phonation. Of the phenomena following complete restoration from utter and congenital deafness we know nothing, for there is no such case on record; but this would be a no less eloquent simile of the birth of a new and higher mental function of comprehension than restoration from total blindness. Had these patients been long quite deaf they would of course have lost in a corresponding degree the power of speech, so that the parabolic scope of these cases is limited. On the whole, there is somewhat more probability of a germ of material happening here than in the blindness cures, although there is an uncritical exaggeration, and no gleam of suspicion on the part of the narrators of any higher meaning.

The Lame.—Isaiah said that in that day "the lame man shall leap as a hart," and cures of palsy, paralysis, and cripples were to be expected in the process of validifying the new dispensation. The muscles are the organs of the will and have done everything man has accomplished in the world. Loss of the power of free, voluntary movement

hampers the passion for power and brings in its place a sense of weakness, which is proverbially miserable and has its own type of pathos and its own copious higher symbolism for whatever of the many types of lameness clinical diagnosis distinguishes. Thus, artistic and pedagogic as well as pragmatic tendencies could not fail to work unconsciously if not purposively to give us specific cures by the great physician of these very numerous, but, of course, in the Gospels not well differentiated, classes of cases.

All three synoptists, in ways the discrepancies of which as usual clearly show developmental stages, tell of Jesus preaching to a crowd that flocked from far and near. It was so dense that the four bearers who had brought the palsied man to him had to mount the flat roof and break it open so that they could let down the patient on his bed. This show of faith pleased Jesus. Strangely enough, as if recognizing a case of luetic tabes, and anticipating modern medicine, he thought the disease due to infection from a sex disease and so first of all pronounced the patient's sins forgiven. Accused by his enemies of blasphemy in arrogating to himself the power of forgiveness of sin, which belonged to God alone, he gave them to understand that this first phase of the miracle was harder than to cure the disease, and we are almost given the impression that the latter was the extemporized result of an afterthought to silence those who objected to his act of pardon. So the patient is told to arise and go home. This he did, carrying his bed, and glorifying God as did the crowd, which we are left to imagine parted to let the erstwhile bedridden victim of sin pass. Here Jesus not merely prevented but removed the slowly developing pathological results of a sin as if he were remitting a penalty, thus interfering with the normal moral order of life. If the disease was of syphilitic origin he created a fiat immunity as lord of bacteria, thus outdoing Beelzebub, the god of flies. Jesus, all agree, came to redeem the world from sin and provide a way of remission, ransom, and atonement, so that having sinned, a man may again be restored to righteousness and purity and escape the otherwise inevitable punishment. The world, it was assumed, was under a curse, which Jesus makes void by providing a way of escape. This is the chief theme of Paul, but the effects of this salvation, although inwardly so transforming, become chiefly apparent in the next life. This metamorphosis of regeneration needed to be figured and objectively demonstrated *ad oculos* by a

salient and ostensive instance, and also to be made more manifest by appearing instantaneously. How could even a modern symbolist devise a more apt, striking, and portable fable of the new life? for we are now very near the focus of the Christian consciousness. If it was progressive paralysis or paresis, an incurable germ disease of which only a fatal termination can be prognosticated, Jesus here not only suspended but reversed the law of cause and effect and wrought the only cure of this disease in the New Testament. The implication that, if he can forgive sinful acts that bring disease, he can far more easily and on the instant efface the bodily ravages of the infectious *bacilli* and toxins, is obvious, for are not all the hundreds of diseases now listed the results of sin, either personal or ancestral? His Kingdom is that of Hygeia, morally and therefore physiologically perfect. He is thus documented as the Divine Biologos, in whose presence lethal agencies are obviated. The very word "health" means wholeness or holiness, and all morbific agencies must flee if his attention is once focussed on them. In the Kingdom all sickness is driven away, and the fond dream-wish of the folk-soul to be completely and superlatively well is realized in a way beyond the wildest dreams of modern Christian Science.

The Withered Hand.—The three witnesses again tell of the man with the withered hand in the synagogue on the Sabbath. Knowing that he was watched to see whether he would heal him on the holy day, Jesus made the patient stand forth and asked the people whether one should not lift a sheep out of a pit and save life rather than kill, do good rather than evil, on that day. There was no answer. Then at his command the man stretched forth his hand and it was whole like the other. The Pharisees then took counsel how to destroy him, not for healing but for doing so on the Sabbath, so strict were their laws and customs on this point.

This miracle is less striking than its Old Testament precedent. Jeroboam stretched out his hand against Elijah, and it stiffened so he could not draw it back till, at the prophet's prayer, this penal miracle was set aside by a second miracle of grace. We are not told whether the cure meant power to move the hand, or whether instantaneous restoration of the atrophy was involved. The latter would mean that the shrivelled member grew suddenly in size, weight, and fulness, as well as came under the power of the will. Such growth would involve regeneration of tissues and might make this in a certain sense

analogous to the miracle of the multiplication of loaves. If the affliction was merely hysteroid, the cure has abundant parallels and was no miracle but an unusual restoration misinterpreted. But, if instead of being sprain, rheumatism, or inflammation, all of which have been suggested, it was unilateral wasting with atony or contractures involving both cerebral and trophic nerves and gradually bones, after a long train of symptoms according to modern pathology,[1] then this instantaneous reversal of a long train of degenerate and necrotic processes was a little like resuscitation, not of the whole body but of the limb only. The more we know of the nature of this disease the more impossible is it to conceive any such cure.

Dropsy.—Again, in the house of a chief Pharisee was a man with dropsy; and again Jesus, knowing he was watched, asked if it was lawful to heal on the Sabbath, and repeated the query, if an ox or ass fall into a pit should he not be rescued on the Sabbath? But there was no answer. So Jesus healed his patient and let him go. This trouble was in some sense the reverse of atrophy. There are, however, practically the same objections and the same defense, and the difficulties and possibilities of the two cases are analogous.

The Epileptic at the Synagogue.—In another Sabbath healing (like the above, in Luke only), a woman who had been bowed (some think a hunchback) for eighteen years was healed by imposition of hands and pronouncing her cured, and she became at once straight and glorified God. The ruler of the synagogue protested that there were six other days in the week, in any of which cures should be done rather than on this day. Jesus replied calling him a hypocrite because he who would water his own stalled cattle on the Sabbath was less kind to his fellowman. Much more should a daughter of Abraham, bound by Satan, be loosed. At this Jesus' enemies were ashamed, while the people rejoiced.

The Pool of Bethesda.—John (v:1-16) caps the climax in this series of miracles. The scene is brilliant, at the pool of Bethesda (to the existence of which scholars find no other contemporary allusion, and which may be a purely imaginary place). Here it was not only on the Sabbath but in Jerusalem and at a feast. It seems to have been a kind of hospital-theatre with five halls (which some think analogous to the five Books of Moses), full of patients with diverse diseases. An angel occasionally troubled the waters (as geysers spout and bubbles often arise periodically

[1] Osler: "Principles and Practice of Medicine." 5th ed., p. 928 *et seq.*

from mineral and aerified springs), and whoever stepped into the water first, after one of these visitations, was healed, whatever his disease. It was, therefore, a very popular curatorium in which the healing seemed to come directly from heaven. Here Jesus found a man infirm, not for eighteen but for thirty-eight years (the same number of years in which the children of Israel wandered in the desert). As he lay there Jesus asked him the superfluous question "Wilt thou be made whole?" and was answered that when the waters moved there was no one to put him in, and others stepped down before him. Jesus commanded him to arise, take up his bed, and walk, which he straightway did, when Jesus quietly left the multitude. The Jews told the patient that he had violated the Sabbath law in carrying his bed, and he defended himself by saying that the healer commanded it. Asked who had cured him, the deponent replied that he knew not. But Jesus met him later in the temple and commanded him to sin no more lest a worse thing befall him. Then he knew it was Jesus, and so informed the Jews, who sought to slay him because he had healed on the Sabbath, although the angel who troubled the waters was doing so.

Working on the Sabbath to John seems to symbolize the never-resting activity of his Logos-Christ. The defense for so doing in his miracle is drawn from the bucolic exigencies of pastoral life. Even a citation of David eating the shewbread of the temple, which was set apart for the priests, is not quite in point, but what is shown forth is the incessant creative, regenerative, divine power. Thus John's story of the cure of a bedridden man is, like his narrative of the blind man and the raising of Lazarus, the superlative instance of the series, but this has the most gorgeous scene-setting of any miracle of Jesus. The latter now and here triumphantly demonstrated his ability to give strength to the weak.

If the therapy of the agitated water be interpreted as a natural tonic bath, Jesus here shows his *vis creatrix* to be vastly superior to that of nature, and, if it was the work of an angel, superior to his. By dramatically selecting one patient from the large number and signalizing his case by an immediate and complete cure, he must have excited jealousy and envy in the other visitors at this spa. If he had merely enabled him to enter the pool he would have in a sense seemed ancillary to a superior healing power, and we should have had here two miracles instead of one.

The meaning which this crude fable embodies, and which is the soul that has kept its body with all its grotesqueness and deformity alive, is the precious symbolization of the truth that with God we are strong, and without or against him we are impotent. Iniquity saps strength, weakens will, while righteousness breaks the bands of sin, reinforces volition, and gives a strength not our own. With the divine powers we can become energumens so potent that by comparison our former strength, though normal, would seem weakness. Free will is hobbled by inhibitions and repressions like an athlete threatened with abulia. Here Jesus is made the emancipator of the shackled will, and puts "I can" in place of "I cannot," closes the chasm between desiring and accomplishing wherein so many lives are wrecked, restores lost control over the voluntary muscles and body movements; for, as Pindar says, only strong muscles can make men and nations great and free. Strong himself from his vocation, Jesus wanted his followers to be so, but they must be athletes of the new and higher life, capable of forming, holding, and executing the great purposes of the Kingdom. Strength always had and always will have its votaries, its heroes, its thrilling incidents, and its religion, and cannot be fitly served by weaklings, for only the power of the normal will makes us complete men. These cures thus are only ancient fossils of what we now call the gospel of efficiency, and therefore they will long remain precious things in the reliquary of orthodoxy because there will always be those who have suffered arrest on the lowest rungs of the ladder that leads from sense up to spiritual comprehension. Thus men may be endowed with power from on high that makes the weak mighty, the feeble strong. Every lesson emanating from Jesus teaches man's higher power, now of insight, as in the blindness cures; now of vitality, as in the Resurrection narratives; here of ability to do. We are all asthenic, or living far below our maximum output of energy. The moral here is of works, not of knowledge. Ethically we are all lame, crippled, paralytic, bound by Satan. We would be more chaste in thought and life, more temperate, enterprising, industrious and less idle or lazy, more altruistic and less selfish, more mindful of the supreme ends of life unless distracted by irrelevancies and details. Such are the sermons in these fossil stones.

Possession.—Possession was to a great extent a new idea among the Jews in Jesus' day, and there are relatively few traces of it in the Old

Testament. It had, however, developed rapidly under the influence of Babylon and the Parsee dualism, as Azel, Ahriman, Asmodeus, and demons that bring disease, pain, terrify, and enter living men and animals. Exorcism, however, though a recent importation into Judea from the East, was preformed and rooted in the old pre-Semitic Akkadian consciousness. Beelzebub's minions especially seize, tear, strangle men, make them cry out, roll, foam; and seven, or even a legion, may take up their abode in the same person, although, Hausrath thinks, only successively. If expelled they must wander to and fro, enter into unclean beasts, haunt tombs or deserts, or else return to their gloomy abode in the nether world. Although they cling with great tenacity to their human abode, they do not spare, but strain and wrench, and may destroy it. It is they who make men blind, deaf, dumb, deformed, or may indwell with no external manifestations save bad conduct. Jesus doubtless held this view, and did not merely accommodate to it, as Schenkel said.[1] Jesus undoubtedly believed himself in such cases to be face to face with Satan's house, and that the spoliation of it meant so much more ground won for the Kingdom of God, and held that every such cure advanced the day when Satan would himself be bound. Yahveh and Satan were fighting face to face with the human soul as their battle-ground. Jesus' cures in general differed from those of his disciples and of the Church later in that he discarded washing, fasting, fumigation, ceremonial methods of dispossession. He needed no consecrated oil nor water, no incantation, music, magic stones, formulae, binding, nor any other of the methods of the Jewish exorcists which Josephus enumerates. Some of the healing miracles of this class we can now accept, while others once thought marvellous can hardly seem so to us. The evil spirits regarded Jesus' very proximity as the harbinger of their expulsion. They often knew him from afar

[1]Even in our own day exorcism seems to be sometimes effective as a psychotherapeutic method. See, e. g., "The Treatment of Insanity by Exorcism," by Dr. G. Williams, London, 1908; also "Body and Soul," by P. Dearmer, New York, 1909, 426 p. Here also one might consult the records of Emmanuelism in this country, as briefly stated in Weaver's book, "Mind and Health," New York, 1913, 500 p. For the much further developed scientific applications of psychotherapy there is not only the literature of the Freud school, but see more specifically J. J. Dejerine and E. Gauckler's "Les manifestations fonctionnelles des psychonévroses; leur traitement par la psychothérapie," Paris, Masson, 1911, 561 p.; Paul Dubois, "The Psychic Treatment of Nervous Disorders," Trans. and ed. by S. E. Jelliffe and W. A. White, New York, Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1905, 466 p.; and J. Marcinowski, "Der Mut zu sich Selbst: das Seelenleben des Nervösen und seine Heilung," Berlin, Salle, 1912, 400 p. See also Rosenbach's Works. These methods are now multiform, and besides the records of them in the memorabilia of the synoptists there are twenty more records of marvellous healings in Acts, and a long list of them in the early Church from Justin the Martyr (d. 163 A. D.) to Sozomonus (d. 450 A. D.). Dearmer traces the record from St. John of Beverley, 781, to Father John of Kronstadt, 1908, and has much to tell us of places like Lourdes, Holywell, etc., urging that stigmatism is natural, etc. The method has fallen into disuse because it was thought to be miraculous, although in fact it is in no sense so, but many of the cures are genuine, natural, permanent. A number of regular physicians who do not themselves believe in prayer advise it to their religious patients, e. g., as a soothing and sleep-bringing agency, and a building has even been recommended where methods of exorcism could be made impressive, to which certain patients would be likely to respond. Should some such scheme prove even more effective than its advocates hope, it would hardly surprise the psychogeneticist who realizes how strongly man's past still grips his unconscious life. If a patient thinks he has a devil, perhaps the physician might with profit humour his illusion and call to the devil as if he were real, to come out of him.

and entreated him not to molest them. He suffered them not to speak, and his procedure was probably more effective because it was simple. The fame he early acquired, his magnetism, poise, confidence, authority, manner, broke mental fetters, stimulated dormant selfhood, aroused healthful reaction, gave new and supplanting thoughts, freed the enslaved imagination, broke the power of fixed ideas, changed the current of diseased wills, and made him a master in this field of moral psychotherapy from whom, with our conceptions of the fatalistic dominance of somatic and also hereditary influences, we have still much to learn. Despite all the diversities and credulity of the recorders, Jesus' achievements in this domain are one of his chief trophies and most potent suggestions to the world, and there is something here which the most inexorable criticism must leave essentially intact. These mysterious cures in his day excited more wonder and awe than anything else he did or said, and were one of the chief causes of the envy of the Pharisees. It was this class of which the early Church boasted, which had much to do with its spread, and which involved a kind of intensity of soul emitted by the energumens of the Church. They would also give him immense repute and authority over the world of souls in general, and would inconceivably reinforce all his interpretations of all things of the soul. They documented him, too, as one to whom the devils did homage, so that thus he has a message perhaps not yet entirely appropriated by the Church or by modern medicine. He stands for the salvation of the body as for that of the soul, and would doubtless have understood something of our own theories of the undersoul and of the efficiency of relics, pilgrimages, and shrines.

First on this list comes the doubly recorded and very characteristic second miracle of healing, with a most dramatic setting. Jesus taught or preached with great power one Sabbath in the synagogue. The congregation marvelled both at his doctrine and at his original autodidactic way of setting it forth. Although we have no intimation of the theme of his discourse, he evidently did not give a mere exegesis of even the greatest of the prophets but, though he may have cited them, spoke on his own authority as if independently commissioned by Yahveh, and even went distinctively beyond the greatest of his predecessors. Perhaps this was his very first setting forth of his new-found insights and attitude to the universe, and the first fresh, condensed, germinal expression of his new conviction which was set forth more

fully in his later words and deeds. Would that the world had some record of this utterance! The authoritativeness with which he seems to have spoken may have been a little intemperate or brash, like the extravagant zeal of a new convert. "It hath been said by this or that prophet, priest, or king of high degree of old, but I say unto you thus and so," as if very obviously he felt himself to be greatest of all; and yet the worshippers seem to have been spellbound, awed, and delighted. When he had finished, or perhaps in the very midst of his sermon, an excitable epileptic became unable longer to contain himself. Accepting the belief that his own attacks were the invasion of a Satanic personality, as all others, Jesus included, did, he cried out *in propria persona diaboli* and as representing all his fellow evil spirits from the pit, "Let us alone, do not destroy us, we know thou art the Christ, the holy one of God." This made a thrilling, significant, and utterly unexpected situation. The devil had erstwhile sought in vain to tempt Jesus. Now his minions openly recognized and acknowledged him, and still more significantly, they were the very first to do so. It was now open war between the Divine and the powers of darkness. The two supreme potencies that in the Persian-tinged dualism of that day and land were always arrayed in strife, one against the other, were now face to face, each knowing its adversary. In the cry of the demoniac there was also a note of fear and dismay, even more than of defiance, as if the demons were reminiscent of the long-ago expulsion from heaven of the cohorts of Satan, and as if now they feared eviction from the domain of earth, which had hitherto been freely allowed to them. Jesus and all his friends and acquaintances doubtless believed that at this crucial moment he stood face to face with a representative of the great enemy. Here and now the war between the two kingdoms was joined, a warfare still hotly waged and unconcluded. This type of insanity is very generally thought to be the devil's inspiration, the diametrical opposite and counterpart of that brought by the Holy Ghost. The theopneustic man stands over against the diabolopneustic *Convulsionnaire*, a little as if the contestants represented, one all the celestial and the other all the infernal agencies in the world. The type of the victim's attack seems to have been ideally fitted for the kind of clinical demonstration dramatically needed. There was first a coherent and purposive exclamation involving full recognition of the Divine Physician, as if the Christhood of Jesus had been convincingly

demonstrated to an insightful mind in which, at the onset of the aura, the attack took the form of extreme if not clairvoyant lucidity. Perhaps in his normal state the patient had been instructed and possibly expectant, and the sudden impulse to cry out even in such an environment, when it became overmastering, was recognized as a warning that the convulsion was coming. Jesus showed no trace of the profound inner satisfaction which later was so apparent when Peter recognized his Christhood, but commanded that the unclean spirit hold his peace, as if he shrank from being recognized publicly and proclaimed for what he was and for what he had come to know himself to be. Then he ordered the demon to come out of the man, which it did only after he had cried out and fallen in convulsions. The fit had spent its force, and the patient doubtless lay quiet, limp, and comatose in the characteristic post-epileptic state. The awe and fame of this power to command devils shows that those present thought this a miraculous cure. The record itself, however, as it stands, asserts no psychotherapy of any kind. While Jesus' preaching may have precipitated the attack by its incitement and tension, the latter would normally have ended as it did if Jesus had said nothing or even been absent. Jesus seems to have thought his intervention cured a veritable case, and thereby acquired faith and courage to try to heal other cases. But the only real cure would have been the prevention of other attacks of the same type, and whether this occurred we are not told. Hence it is all very unsatisfactory. When we remember that the insane were not sequestered in those days, the incident was natural, and the form as it is narrated is quite consonant with what we know both of the prevalent ideas of madness as possession and of the course of Jacksonian epilepsy, which begins in the higher and proceeds downward to lower level centres. It is evident that Mark and Luke thought this cure a miraculous one, but accepting all they say there is no indication that any cure occurred.

The Demoniac.—The healing of the demoniac in far-off heathen Gadara gives us a lurid glimpse of the demonology of that day, and is wild and weird to a degree that suggests Walpurgis-night or the Witches' Sabbath. It has been called the master- or show-piece of all mind-cure tales. Nevertheless it is recorded in all three of the synoptics and with fewer discrepancies than in some of the other thrice-told tales. On landing upon these unknown shores Jesus was met by a wild man (we will

assume one with Mark and Luke, and not two men as with Matthew) coming out of the tombs, naked and so untamable that he broke all fetters, and even chains, wandering day and night, crying out in the mountainous desert and caves, mutilating himself with stones. Seeing Jesus from afar he ran toward and fell down before him in adoration and shrieked, "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God, most high? I adjure thee by God not to torment me. Send me not away out of the country." When asked his name, he answered "Legion" (the name of a corps of the army of the hated Romans, numbering from four thousand five hundred to six thousand men besides cavalry), so many devils were in him. Thus Jesus alone now faced the cohorts of hell, which recognized him on the instant and from afar for all that he thought himself to be, and begged abjectly for mercy at his hands. Strong as the demons in him had made this man, he grovelled at Jesus' feet and implored him not to inflict torture or to banish him; and Jesus granted the patient's prayer. On the desolate highlands skirting the lake was a herd of swine which some estimate at not less than two thousand in number, animals abhorred by the Jews and suggestive of all gentile abominations; and so, instead of sending the demons directly to the abyss, Jesus transferred them into the swine, whereupon the latter, as if seized by a sudden and uncontrollable panic, such as more gregarious animals are more prone to, stampeded and tore wildly down the precipitate bank and perished in the sea, beneath which the Hebrew traditions thought lay the way to Sheol or the inferno. By this therapeutic prodigy the possessed man was cured, clothed himself, and desired to follow Jesus, but was told instead to proclaim his cure to the people of his own race who had known him. The swine-herds had spread the news of what was done and how, and the people gathered among them, probably the owners of the swine, which Woolston estimates worth at least four thousand dollars. But so alarmed were all that, instead of demanding recompense they besought Jesus to depart, and he did so.

Mitigators of the miraculous have outdone themselves in suggesting modifications of the record as it stands. We have been told that the swine were semiferal and were probably frightened by the cries and gestures of the lunatic, and that the latter was shocked into sanity by realizing the calamity that he had caused. Others have puzzled to make the number of devils in the patient equal to the number of swine.

Others have thought the souls of Jesus' companions, tense in this new unknown country of ill repute, probably interpreted the incoherent and perhaps inarticulate cries of a madman as the acknowledgment of Jesus' divinity, or that the presence of these strangers brought on an epileptic fit which caused the man to fall with a cry and to recover normally. Some said that had it ever entered into the heart of Jesus while living to suspect such an interpretation as the synoptists here made of some natural event, he would have protested and despaired of them. Our narrative as it stands is perhaps an interesting illustration of the way in which excited minds saturated with the folklore of that day might react to a series of perfectly natural, if to them unusual, events. Pierquin in "Traité de folie des animaux," and many others since have shown how liable half-wild flocks of various animals are to sudden alarms. Others, accepting this weird welter of wonders, so strangely felted together, at its face value, praise Jesus' *noblesse oblige* by which he seemed in a truly gentlemanly way to grant the wish of the troop of demons, and then after strategically impounding them in these porcine bodies, stampeding them back to the Hades whence they came. It was thus in miracle plays that God, Christ, angels, and even saints always outwitted the devil and all his imps. Lange and Krabbe think that in this *coup* Jesus did have the aid of angels who influence certain animals, and add that here Jesus penetrated farthest into heathendom and overcame a whole pantheon of demons preparatory to assailing Satan in his own stronghold later. Neander thinks that if Jesus ventured among the rude Gadarenes this narrative was coloured to cover a report from it after some unknown bucolic or pastoral incident, or else that he unwittingly destroyed property and was forced to retire, or that the story as we have it may be a satire made by the owners of the swine to retaliate by sarcasm for their loss. Keim says it should teach moderation to those who are shocked at any scruple about any miracle, and that it should be a kind of *memento mori* against extreme credulity, for it cannot possibly be accepted by a sound mind, at least without involving a belief in demonology far cruder than any form of modern spiritism. The superstitious believer must hold that demons can indwell in animals as well as in man, and that these fool demons destroyed the very bodies that they had just prayed to enter, and went straight to the place from which they had wished to be saved. It seems to involve a belief in malign disembodied spirits

that may wander in waste places, and in psychic personalities that can be transferred, as ancient savage diseases could be conjured, from human to animal or even inanimate bodies. Souls must be interchangeable, therefore, to a high degree. These old soul extractors and exchangers were wont to convince their patients and bystanders that the principle extracted had really left them and gone into something else by making it seem to spill water, upset furniture, shake a tree or flower, make an animal cry out, as a sign that the evicted soul had entered it and left its former host. Thus it is said that we have only to invert the order of events to see that the panic of the swine gave Jesus an opportunity which he used by a flash of inspiration to convince his patient that the devils had really left him, and that the epileptic accepted the suggestion. It was a clever and impromptu therapeutic device which proved to have the pragmatic sanction of working well. To accept this view we need only to change the order of two events, and this we may do on the doctrine of the "timelessness of supernatural events" or by assuming that the inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the writers was so plenary and coercive that they lost all sense of time and sequence, being swallowed up in Bergson's *durée réelle*, the modern euphemism for the old theological eternity, and so became mere "human pens" writing automatically as autistic or planchette writers do now without knowing what they say.

Allegorization.—The allegorists have not been very successful with the Gadara incident. The theory that the demons are heathen gods, who are here expelled by being allowed to follow their own elective affinity and thus reveal their true character, by going to the most unclean of all beasts, is one favourite interpretation of this kind. The rejection of the cured patient who desired to enter the circle of Jesus, and the demand to state and proclaim his cure among his own people, prefigures the establishment of an apostolate among the heathen races. The chains he broke were those of Hebrew legation, custom, form. His pre-prompt recognition of Jesus as the Son of God foreshadows the fact that gentiles led in the acceptance and promulgation of Christianity. We have here, too, the most striking of all conversions from the complete dominion under Satan's kingdom to the Kingdom of God, compared to which that of Paul himself was less sudden or transforming. Thus, too, all swine who cannot appreciate Gospel pearls, and would rend those who present them. are to be offered up as a hecatomb to Satan. Thus this first

promulgation of Jesus to the gentile world is marked by a terrific slaughter of the agents of uncleanness.

John says nothing of casting out devils, as if this odious superstition were already on the wane; and this is one argument to show that John wrote late. Such events, too, do not comport with the *logos* nature of Jesus as held by John. Still, exorcism had become so common in the second century that it was of no value as a proof of supernatural power in those who practised it. Paul does not enumerate this power among the gifts of the Spirit, and in the Johannin circle this practice had probably fallen into ill repute. Strauss even sees here the beginning of a healthful skepticism directed toward the grosser forms of miracle working, and infers that this kind of higher criticism had begun before the completion of our New Testament canon.

Leprosy.—This disease was so malignant and incurable, and also so dreadful from the seclusion that became necessary to prevent infection, that it was commonly thought to be a specific divine punishment. A leper colony even to-day is too horrible for uncensored description. The disease was perhaps more common than we know in ancient Israel. It appeared in Job, and Moses was taught both to cause and to cure it in his own land, to accredit himself with the people as if by a kind of trick in collusion with Yahveh. His sister Miriam was smitten with it as a punishment for her contumacy. Elisha cured the Syrian captain Naaman by prescribing seven immersions in the Jordan. It seems generally to have been placed under a hygienic ban as especially unclean.

One of the earliest miracles ascribed to Jesus and thrice told is the miracle of healing a leper who came, knelt, besought, and expressed faith. Jesus had compassion, touched him, and commanded him to be clean, and he was so. He was then charged to tell no one, but to go to the priests, as the hygienic laws required, and have his cure certified and promulgated so that the restrictions upon his life could be removed. Whether he did so and was duly inspected we are not told, but he violated the behest of silence, and blazoned his cure abroad to such an extent that Jesus had to withdraw to the desert to pray.

This cure staggers faith. Of course the correctness of the diagnosis has often been called in question. Some opined that a sudden upgush of faith in the patient made him feel cured, so that he fancied he detected in himself signs of sudden convalescence, although official

attestation that his condition was improved is lacking. Perhaps, although this is not mentioned, he bathed like Naaman, and was and appeared cleaner. Others think Jesus and his disciples were so sure he could heal that they assumed without scrutiny that the cure had actually occurred, when in fact it had taken place only in their imaginations. Others have suggested a case of what is now known as anaesthetic or nervous leprosy with its alternating train of symptoms.

Luke (only) tells the story of ten lepers just outside a village, who stood at the distance prescribed by law and cried out for mercy. Without touching, Jesus commanded them to go and show themselves to the priests, and on the way they were cleansed of this disease. A few critics have thought this a variation of the former case despite the fact that here ten instead of one are cured, but the sequel gives it an individual character, for nine who were cleansed proceeded on their way, while only one, a Samaritan, returned and effusively thanked his curer. Remarking unfavourably upon the nine who had not glorified God, Jesus dismissed the grateful one, declaring that faith had made him whole. Thus Naaman, also a stranger, had been cured. Jesus said that in Elisha's day there were many lepers in Israel, but only this one had been cured. This instance has to many suggested the parable of the good Samaritan stranger who was the only one of three to be a "neighbour" to the man who fell among thieves. To credit the complete, literal, instant, and wholesale cure of this dread disease is impossible save for those whose minds are leprous with ignorance and superstition. Perhaps one of its lessons is that if such are cleansed it is their duty without ostentatious proclamation to show themselves to their spiritual advisers, who should then publicly proclaim them clean.

Leprosy was thought to be a filth disease, and was common from the earliest times not only in Egypt but in India, China, and most parts of Asia. So it was the fittest of all symbols of the corruption of sin which could be washed away by the cleansing water of baptism. Some think it especially typifies secret personal vice. Its slow but sure progress, and its repulsiveness which makes it a body of living death, best showed what Yahveh thought of iniquity. John, instead of giving us the last and greatest wonder as he does in other series, says nothing of cures from this disease, some think because he was preoccupied in his Semitic way with what Plato called the beautiful and good, and

was averse to facing the harmatological aspects of life in their ugliness and deformity. The synoptic stories are the merest sketches, vulnerable on every side to criticism, so that there was abundant room for a characteristically Johannin culminating cure. But John seems to have felt the leprous nature of sin far less than Paul; for the former seems to have been born good and to have had less knowledge of sin in his own experience, approaching, as is often remarked, the impeccability of Jesus himself. He had rare power of intuition, while Paul became good by a great conversion and laboriously reasoned out his insights. Modern medicine would probably select another disease as best illustrating the effects of individual and hereditary sin, and several such have been suggested, but even yet leprosy has more currency and popular efficacy. The idea of those exegetes was that Jesus was himself an antitoxin or specific against, or panacea to cure, all illnesses, inaugurating a new psychic life so intense that it sloughed off all infirmities, even the most deep-seated and offensive. Had man been sinless he would never have been ill, we are told, and we never hear of sickness among his followers, as if they were immunized by his faith. The cases of leprosy originated in sin and have established the usage of the most expressive of all the metaphors of sin, under the curse of which the unregenerate world is a leper colony to which Christianity comes with a miraculous sudden and complete specific which not merely checks the progress of the disease but restores the degeneration of tissue that it has caused. Thus we are here in the field of rhetoric or heuristics in the large Aristotelian sense, rather than in the domain of historical fact.

Malchus's Ear.—Luke only tells of the *healing of Malchus*, the servant of the high priest whose right ear was "cut off" when Jesus was arrested. He tells us that he "touched his ear and healed him." We are not told whether the entire external ear or a portion of it was smitten off, nor do we know whether we are to infer that Jesus merely staunched the blood or replaced a severed member which grew back by intussusception, or caused a new ear to grow. The incident is not mentioned elsewhere. It shows how ready Luke was to draw on the faith and credulity of his readers without detail or circumstance, and also has a certain significance as an index of his own state of mind. That Jesus paused to remedy this injury at a critical moment in his career seems at the same time a rebuke to Peter, who, we are elsewhere told,

inflicted the blow and whom he also verbally reprimanded. It may have been an act of sympathy evoked by the mutilation, or done by way of placation to avoid precipitating a more serious conflict between his followers and those who came to take him into custody. But the casual way in which the incident is tossed off suggests a power of faith on Luke's part that was capable of believing that on some more serious occasion Jesus would not have been unable to restore Malchus's head had it been severed and had restoration been necessary for his purposes. It was a wild, somewhat comical, and half cowardly act on Peter's part, and a really and wisely valorous man would have attacked not a servant but the leader of the troop, or especially Iscariot himself, against whom vindictive retaliation might have been more fitly directed. It is a strange anticlimax, too, that this should have been represented as the last of all Jesus' miracles. This is the only cure of trauma, and while it might conceivably be invested with symbolic significance, there is no indication that it ever had the slightest.

(B) *Resurrections.*—(a) The raising of the twelve-year-old daughter of the archon Jairus is attested by the three synoptists. As she lay at the point of death the father came and requested healing, but on returning to the house they were told she was dead. Jesus insisted that she was not dead but sleeping, and with three disciples and perhaps the parents went in where she lay, took her by the hand, and called upon her to arise. This she straightway did and walked, when Jesus commanded that food be given her, and charged secrecy which was, of course, impossible. The funeral piping suggests that the friends believed her dead. Only children such as she are often feeble, and her age, to say nothing of the woman healed on the way of the twelve years' issue of blood, suggests first menstruation. Modern literature abounds with death-like trances and swoons at this epoch. One need not be credulous toward modern mind-cures in order to see that this narrative might be a veracious account of a rare but by no means supernatural event. It seems, however, to be attracted into a striking parallelism with the story of Elijah raising the son of the widow of Sarepta. In the one case it is a son, in the other a daughter; here the father, there the mother intercedes; in the one case a staff is laid upon the body, and in the other, hands. In both cases the saver came from a journey and strangers are excluded. The prophet laboured longer, and the resuscitation he effected was more gradual, for we are told that the lad first

sneezed and then opened his eyes. Both are only children, and the parents of both come with faith.[1] By these parallelisms Jesus is made to legitimate himself as a prophet and challenge comparison with the greatest one of old.

Luke alone reports the *resurrection of the youth of Nain.* Here the body was met on the way to burial, which among the Jews was very soon after life went out. This account is but little amplified. Jesus touched the bier, called the young man to arise, which he did and began to speak. As the narrative stands, death in this case is more probable although revival from a swoon is not entirely excluded. The stages of restoration were passed immediately. But why was such an event unknown or unmentioned by the other Evangelists? Here, too, is an Old Testament parallel. The widow's son dies in the presence of Elijah, who carries him to an upper room, stretches himself upon the body, and prays that the youth's soul may return. This famous ancient miracle was performed only half a league from Nain, and the geographical and circumstantial nearness is at least suggestive. The Jewish belief that the soul hovered about the body for some time, and the absence of tests of the complete extinction of life, should also be given due weight. The balance of probabilities in every mind that is at once candid and intelligent cannot long remain in doubt, without invoking the cheap assumption of Paulus, that in this case and that of Jairus's daughter Jesus by his medical experience was able to perceive signs of life unnoticed by others. The candid psychologist cannot fail to admit that we do not yet know very definitely how far the gradual processes of natural death may go and yet be reversed by the intense faith and love of a circle of friends using extreme methods of recall. Very many well-attested cases might be cited of suspended animation and of those who have lived after being snatched from the jaws of death. Allowing only human fallibility of judgment on the part of both bystanders and writers, the still-unexplored limits of nature may not have been transcended in either of the above cases. Jesus may have acquired exceptional insight into the stages by which life passes over into death, and in certain cases he may have achieved resuscitation at a degree of ex-animation still unreached by our methods. At any rate, the tendencies of modern psychological progress suggest some impending advance in both knowledge and practice in this

[1] Keim, "History of Jesus of Nazara." Vol 4, p. 173.

direction, and medical science may by natural means ere long accomplish somewhat more than is even yet generally thought possible.

In these two cases of resuscitation of adolescents it may seem at first sight symbolism run wild to suggest an allusion to the well-understood fact that this age is itself one of regeneration, the salient traits of which are the outburst of physical growth, the beginning of love, by which life normally passes over from egoism to altruism, the awakening of the intellect, the new orientation to adulthood, and the fact that this everywhere is the age of conversion, confirmation, or initiation into the tribe, and also the period of new liabilities to arrest or retardation of the subsequent stages of development, which are so precious yet so precarious.[1] The *tout ensemble* of these changes, the new temptations and the new dangers, and the successful overcoming of them all might well be typified here; but this would be too cryptic and recondite. The discrepancies in the first narrative are so great that some think there were two girls healed at different times. Again, all three accovnts strangely insert very near the middle of the narrative, as Jesus was on the way to heal the twelve-year-old girl, the case of the woman with the twelve-year issue of blood. The placing of this latter event on the way to the bedside of the dead or dying girl is hardly sufficient excuse for injecting it into the narrative in the way in which all the synoptists do it. Indeed, the question is inevitable whether the association of death or the death-like swoon at the age of first menstruation showing phenomena that suggest aborted molimena, with a case of menorrhagia or excess, does not imply a more inner relation between the two. It at least suggests the question whether the first cure may have consisted in the inauguration of the first monthly period. If so, we have a veiled intimation that here Jesus is made to control the lunar phenomena of womankind and thus to appear in a new way as Lord of the very gates of life. As Yahveh of old made wombs barren or fertile, so here Jesus stands forth as the normalizer of the function by which was fulfilled the old covenant with Abraham, whereby if he kept the Lord's law and word his seed should be multiplied like the uncounted stars. On this eugenic view Jesus is made Lord of the unborn as well as of children and youth. He controls the entrance to as well as the exit from life. In this so evidently belaboured and disparately told story, and the baffling and unparalleled incorporation of a

[1] See my "Adolescence." New York, 1904, 2 vols.

healing into the midst of a resurrection story, we may thus have before us an attempt to establish Jesus as the controller of excessive or defective functioning of sex in women. The feeling that virtue had gone out of him in staunching the bloody flux has often been called suggestive, but no commentator that I can find has ever attempted to tell of what. It probably refers to the mysterious healing power that emanated from Jesus' body working independently of his will, and perhaps coming directly from the Father. Few, if any, miracles make so strong an impression that there is behind something untold and utterly inaccessible, however much it may challenge conjecture. The writers seem desirous of expressing something which they could not express, either from lack of insight into a tradition which had already taken a certain form and to which they felt loyal and could not omit, or else because they saw in it some meaning that needed to be veiled for a larger and less esoteric public, on a tabooed topic on which they were liable to speak too plainly. So they adopted this method of inserting one account into another, hoping that to the wise, at least, the hidden meanings would seep through while they imposed upon themselves a strict censorship. A large body of new knowledge to-day shows the reciprocal control each by the other of all psychoneural phenomena and the *vita sexualis*. The son of the widow of Nain was also an only child, like the daughter of Jairus. Thus Luke's mother-son narrative exactly complements that of the father-daughter pair in the synoptists. The latter, too, is dead by added tokens; which suggests either subsequent accommodation or else that there was a number of such cases from the abundance of which the writer could select one that was extraordinarily fitted for this purpose.

(b) *The raising of Lazarus* (John only) is as it stands the most stupendous and confounding of all miracles, more so in some respects than even the Resurrection of Jesus himself; for in the latter case there was no putrefaction, and there were also no witnesses and no details of just how it occurred. Sincerely as Jesus loved Lazarus and his sisters, when the latter sent him word of their brother's illness, he quietly remained where he was two days, with no intimation of any special duties, but remarked to those about him that the sickness was not unto death, although the sequel shows that it was, and although he later told his disciples that Lazarus was not asleep but really dead. Only when Thomas, overwhelmed with pathos, exhorted the disciples

to go to Bethany and die with the friend they all seemed to love so ardently, did Jesus consent to start for the afflicted home. Why did the Johannin or Logos-Christ delay? He explained this later by saying that he was glad he was not present at the death, in order that they might have occasion to believe that it had all occurred for the glory of God and his Son. The object of the delay thus seems to have been to give an object-lesson of God's power to raise the dead. The soul was supposed in that day to leave a corpse on the end of the third day, and then the body was given over to corruption. So Jesus waited four days, until as Martha said the body stank, a delay that from the human standpoint seemed inhuman, all the more so if Jesus had the slightest doubt of his success in raising him from the dead, although the implication is obvious that his confidence in his power to do this was absolute. The mourning friends were thus compelled to endure their grief for the sake of the great demonstration that was to follow. On the other hand, Jesus did not at first expect a fatal issue of the illness, although he knew later, apparently telepathically, that Lazarus was dead, and then was intent upon showing that what seemed so conclusively to mortals to be death was really only sleep, from which he knew how to awaken those he loved. Thus, while he lingered in Perea his higher nature knew all the while what was to occur, and he stayed just long enough to make the miracle most impressive and dramatically effective. The sisters upbraided Jesus for his delay, saying that had he been there their brother would not have died. They seem to have had no intimation that his assertion that their brother would be awakened could mean anything but at the resurrection of the last day. When Jesus told Martha that he was the resurrection and the life, and whoever believed in him, though he were dead, would live, and added that whosoever believed on him would never die, she does not seem to have drawn the inference that because truly dead her brother had not believed. When asked if she accepted all this, her hope seems to have been revived but to be yet held in abeyance, so that she only answered that she believed he was Christ, the Son of God, and then hastened off to call her sister Mary to be present, as if to witness some great impending event which at least might be possible. When Mary came with a large group of sympathizing Jews, like a Greek chorus or like the mourners and musicians when Jairus's daughter was raised, unlike the synoptic Jesus, who is sympathetic with grief, the Logos-Christ seems vexed that

any one should weep while he, the very principle of life, is present, and also because he had been reproached for not being present and thus permitting the death. But if he felt anger it turned at once to grief, and we are told that he wept as he is never said elsewhere to have done, save in view of Jerusalem when bemoaning the troubles that awaited her.

The sepulchre before which all now stood was very like that of Jesus later, hewn out of a rock and closed with a stone, while the grave-clothes also were similar, prefiguring thus Jesus' own Resurrection. At his command the stone was removed despite Martha's protest that after four days the corpse would be offensive. Then Jesus prayed, thanking God that he was heard as always, not asking power to do this miracle, but as if feeling that he already had virtually done it, and apologizing to Yahveh for praying at all, on the ground that he did so that bystanders might know that he was the Son of God, and perhaps to lift their thoughts to him. Critics have impugned the motivation of this prayer as mockery, as acting, or at least as accommodation. The synoptic Christ might pray for power as Elijah had done before restoring the dead, but the Johannin Christ is above the need of asking or thanking, because his whole life is an effusion of God. The prayer is thus pedagogical, to show his oneness with the Father. As Hilgenfeld well said, we have in this record traces of the dualization or incomplete fusion of the divine and human nature. After this Jesus "cried with a loud voice, 'Lazarus, come forth.' And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes; and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, 'Loose him and let him go.' " With this dumbfounding *dénouement* the narrative stops short.

The natural curiosity to know Lazarus' state of mind and his subsequent experiences after his reanimation, whether all traces of the disease that caused his death had been eliminated, whether he was restored at once to his maximum of health and strength, and how much truth there is in the persistent tradition that the family suffered at the hands of the Pharisees—all this is not gratified, although literature has repeatedly sought to fill the void in our knowledge by fantasy. It used to be said that Lazarus had not confessed Christ, and so his soul had to be called back not from paradise but from Hades, and that thus he had the only opportunity vouchsafed to any mortal to accept Christ after some experience with post-mortem existence. If this is

so, it is regrettable that we are not told explicitly whether he really was saved at last.

This is, of course, the miracle of miracles and the most staggering of all to faith, even to that of orthodoxy. The first question which naturally arises is why the other three Evangelists say and apparently know nothing of it. They wrote earlier, and there was every reason why they should have chronicled it and none why they should not; and those reasons that have been brought forward why they should not are of little or no weight. It has been conjectured, e. g., that owing to this incident persecution had caused Lazarus' family and friends to move to parts unknown, and that this miracle had dropped out of the memory of the circle in which the synoptists moved till John unearthed it. But surely it was unique and too famous not to have been heard of by all Jesus' followers. Others have said that the synoptists were not apostles, and that this was reserved to John who was. But there were no other reservations; on the contrary, what was known of Jesus seems to have been used by each writer with no restrictions save those he imposed upon himself. Some agreement has been fancied among the apostles by which this fell to John, but the other dozen miracles which two or more of the Gospels have in common make this improbable. Some have had recourse to the view that it was not really Lazarus' body but his ghost in ghostly grave-clothes that appeared. But this would severely tax the credulity of all who doubt the existence of ghosts, and it distinctly contravenes the spirit of the narrative. The much-overworked hypothesis of suspended animation has been adduced despite its exclusion by the statement that putrefaction had begun. Some have conjectured that the first Gospels did not mention this incident because it might injure the feelings, or imperil even the safety, of Mary and Martha, and interfere with their effort to escape the notoriety it had brought to the family while they were at Bethany; or again it has been urged that the first synoptists desired to magnify the Galilean career of Jesus, and were jealous of deeds done, as this was, in Judea. In the more liberal camp, too, we find a great variety of theories. Renan, e. g., conjectures that Lazarus had been ill, but was better. His sisters, who were intensely sympathetic with Jesus, knew that the latter was near the most depressing period of his career, since his rôle of Messiah was making increasing claims upon him which he was more and more unable to meet, until the distress

from this cause finally drove him to accept death as a welcome relief, because the part of Messiah had become intolerable. Fearing some tragic result from this extreme depression in which Jesus now was, these well-meaning sisters hit upon a ruse in fulfilment of which Lazarus, now recovered but still pale and weak from his illness, allowed himself just before Jesus' arrival to be wrapped in a winding sheet and shut up in the family tomb, to which Martha conducted Jesus immediately upon his arrival because he desired to see him. She, who represents the Petrine executive as her sister Mary does the Johannin contemplative type, had gathered a crowd, and Jesus then called upon Lazarus, upon which he came forth. Thus not only the people, but very probably Jesus, thought this was a miracle, and Jesus, if he suspected any deception about it, did not betray his friends, either because he was so sad and weary that he had grown a little indifferent for the moment, or because he may have sought to console himself with the forlorn hope that possibly he had raised the dead without intending to do so. Others, also, such as Saints Bernard and Francis d'Assisi, were unable to check the passion for miracles among their friends, and so they were almost coerced into the rôle of miracle-workers, perhaps despite ineffective protests. This view of course compels us to sacrifice either the truth of John's account or else the sagacity and common sense, if not the honour, of Jesus.

Many exegetes think to mitigate some one or other single feature of the record, making concessions of detail to save the rest; and others, assuming some unknown incident as a nucleus, admit some degree of distortion or exaggeration. Protestants have from Luther down found this the most troublesome of all things in the story of Jesus' life, unconsciously assuming, perhaps, that, as Spinoza said in substance of himself, if they once accepted this marvel literally they would be compelled to accept Jesus as superman, even if they knew nothing else about him. Every other claim of Christianity would be easy if this were once accepted. Some have advised that here reason be held in abeyance to a *credo quia absurdum* or abandonment to faith, and would make this the cardinal shibboleth or orthodoxy. In this they are right, for a credulity that can accept this will stick at nothing.

The rationalistic school reminds us that the only evidence that decomposition had set in was Martha's opinion, and that she was probably mistaken. Paulus thought that Lazarus was in a comatose state,

or lethargy, from which he was awakened by the opening of the tomb, which let in light and warm air, and calls attention to the fact that Jesus merely commanded him to come forth and not to awake from the dead. It has also been suggested that Jesus' keen sight perceived slight movements in the corpse that others did not notice. Gabler, assuming Lazarus had really died, says Jesus had very good reason for saying he was glad he was not present, because if he allowed any one, especially a friend of his, to die in his presence, he would lose Messianic prestige. If we were to grant either of the above suppositions, Jesus is made an actor, and his moral character is sacrificed. The excision of difficult passages as interpolations has also been attempted by various critics, notably Deffenbach. Luke conjectures that Jesus' delays were excused by the fact that he was having a great revivalistic success in his ministry in Perea and therefore, especially as he was instinctively averse to miracle-working, felt himself bound to remain where he was. Jesus was also predominantly a teacher in that he deliberately proposed to let Lazarus die and then resuscitate him rather than to heal him before his death, because this would have a better pedagogic object-lesson effect on Lazarus' friends and others, although in no other case does he try to increase his miracles.

But surely the time has long since come when it can and must be said that belief in this miracle taken literally is a psychological impossibility for any intelligent modern soul. This is a case where the will to believe cannot compel belief itself. The Kalif Omar, the dearest friend of the great prophet of Mohammedanism, after he had just seen his master die, stepped to the door of the tent with drawn sword, affirming that the prophet still lived and threatening death to any one who dared to deny it, because he felt the pragmatic sanction that it was expedient for the people to think him yet alive. Thus Jove was said to have recourse to his thunderbolts when he knew he was in the wrong. Thus too, psychoanalysis explains how men can vociferate most those things they wish to make themselves believe but cannot, and may even persecute those who confess the doubts which they themselves more or less unconsciously feel. Thus one active and vital Church to-day sends out as missionaries those young men who have just begun to doubt its creed, and finds that by a few years of trying to convince others they have stifled their own doubts. Thus, and in many other ways, reason may be silenced and depressed where it can-

not be immolated. To avow faith in such a miracle as this is a confession of ignorance of what true sincerity and conviction are.

Not only has this narrative become an offense to the modern Christian consciousness which causes rejection of the whole Christian scheme by ingenuous youth who have been taught that it is integral and that all the rest falls if this does, but returns which we have collected from many orthodox Christians show that this miracle has either quietly lapsed into insignificance and has come to be ignored as if it were encapsulated like a foreign body in the soul, or else it lies heavily on the conscience as a positive handicap to both faith and works. Assemblages of Protestant clergymen confess that they rarely preach about it, save incidentally as a symbol, and Schleiermacher said it was really of little significance, even for spiritual edification. Those who think they believe it, or try to, do so with reservations of which they may not be aware. The very soreness and touchiness of orthodoxy concerning it, and its readiness to turn loose the awful *odium theologicum* upon those who openly question it, is of itself a conclusive proof of the official and precarious tenure with which it is still clung to in the ultra-conservative camp. This state of mind is not unlike that of neurotics. A young woman, e. g., worn out by the petulance of an incurably morbid mother, half realized one day that she perhaps really wished her parent were dead. She was so horrified by the recognition of this motive submerged in herself that it led her to redouble all her careful assiduities and protestations of love for her mother, while she became morbidly timid lest others should suspect her awful death-thought, which she was trying to strangle down by over-compensation. An upright man was surprised by a temptation which in an unguarded and relaxed moment suddenly sprang upon and nearly overcame him, and thereafter he made himself a paragon of the countervailing virtues. Kant's theory that belief in God, soul, and immortality work well, and although unprovable to the pure theoretical are true to the practical reason, led to modern pragmatism that makes the effects on conduct the criterion of truth, as James, Schiller, and better yet, Vaihinger (in his "Philosophie des Als Ob") have explained in great detail. But even granting that faith in Lazarus' miracle worked pedagogically well in the early stages of Christianity, by this very test to-day this miracle must be utterly discredited. It has become a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense and should be sloughed off as a *caput mortuum*

or death's head at every symposium of Christian experience. Nor is it enough to allow it to lapse into innocuous desuetude. As every enlightened man has seen who has had any experience in meeting the doubts of earnest, honest, truth-seeking young men over this, once this handicap is dispelled there is a regeneration of loyalty to Jesus' person and a reinforced zest to penetrate to the inner meaning of his positive teaching to our age; but mere negations like the above will not suffice to accomplish this emancipation. We must understand the motivation of the fabrication, and at least indicate, though we cannot here do so in great detail, why it has come to occupy its present though false position in the conservative Christian consciousness. This may be roughly stated as follows, premising only that in doing so we enter a field of both individual and folk-psychology that is still more or less strange, if not yet finally explored by expert students.

The first and strongest impression which Jesus left on his followers after his departure from the world consisted in their conviction that he had arisen from the dead and thereby conquered the king of terrors. For the early Christians, fear of death was changed into exaltation, if not often into longing. His Resurrection was Paul's cardinal theme, without which he said all faith was vain. Inebriation with this conviction and all it implied was the chief cause of the ecstatic phenomena of Pentecost when the Holy Spirit was given, the chief mission of which was to give faith in the Resurrection. The great death-killer had brought life and immortality to light, and it was because he had arisen that all the lingering doubts of the disciples as to his nature and mission were finally dispelled. Belief in the Resurrection was the chief test in the acceptance of new converts. Jesus' teachings as well as all the incidents of his life paled relatively to this submission to and subsequent conquest of death. This tremendous transforming conviction in both its form and degree was a new thing in the world, and for decades and even generations, it brought into and kept the early promulgators and their converts in a state somewhat predisposed to ecstasy. This was augmented by the tribulations and persecutions to which the early Church was subjected. What was more natural, therefore, than that the immediate successors of Jesus should develop apperception centres keenly attuned to everything in Jesus' life and work that pertained to his death-quelling function and power? This, too, was the chief focus of doubt, and by far the most vulnerable point

of attack by those who rejected or questioned the message of the Gospel. There was in believers a strong determining tendency to lay stress on all that made for and to ignore all that made against this prime article of faith, and to require a *Stellungsnahme* to it from all proselytes. Even the synoptic Gospels did not escape this tendency to stress and exaggerate the details of the two resurrections which they ascribe to Jesus; but in the considerable interval between their composition and that of the Fourth Gospel the need of and the wish for stronger attestation grew apace. John and his circle would inevitably have felt this most, and that for two reasons: first, John was the only apostle to whom a Gospel is ascribed; and second, he was the beloved disciple who stood closest to Jesus and from whom most would be expected, while he and his disciples would also most desire to help out the nascent Church at this its weakest point.

(c) *Jesus' Own Resurrection.*—The accepted miracles of Jesus readily fall into two classes, the least, like those of healing slight ailments, on to the cures of chronic and constitutional disorders, and thus up the ladder to the two earlier resurrections, which the synoptists report that Jesus effected, viz., that of Jairus's daughter and the young man. Neither of these two cases of resurrection was unimpeachable by carpers. From them to Jesus' own Resurrection was a very long step, not only in time (for the above two resurrection miracles came relatively early in Jesus' ministry), but in convincing power and in fulness of attestation. Here, then, was a chasm, a veritable missing link which, if it could be supplied, would make the series complete and rather uniformly graded, so as to show a progressive succession of tolerably equal steps in the development of Jesus' power and also in the development of the power of faith in his followers. Then Jesus would stand forth in a new light as being able and willing to vitalize with new life all who needed it, all the way from those transiently indisposed, in whom the energy of the great biologos was temporarily abated, on to those in whom it was entirely extinct. Here, then, was a void that could only be filled by a miracle of recuperation more marked and more circumstantially attested than anything in the three then-existing Gospels or in the Old Testament. There must be no room for any doubt that the death was itself real. It must be of some definite and more or less known person (although he must not be too well known; John the Baptist, e. g., much as the disciples might have wished Jesus to raise him, would not do, because

all persons raised from the dead have to vanish so that we have no subsequent knowledge of their lives), and there must also be witnesses, both friendly and hostile. The tomb must have been closed securely, just as that of Jesus had been, but the stone must be removed and the corpse go forth in broad daylight, in sight of all, and with the winding-sheet still about him. These were items the lack of which in the already more or less fixed traditions of Jesus' own Resurrection had been found painfully lacking in effectiveness, and the new miracle must supply these defects. Moreover, the needed miracle must be placed at what has often been called the dark hour of Jesus' ministry, when he was most depressed and felt most keenly the meshes of destiny closing about him. This period of his ministry, too, was relatively miracleless and somewhat uneventful, Jesus' great deeds and great doctrines having been already promulgated, while the closing scenes of his life were not yet begun. There was a rather waste place that needed a great event to give better proportion and more orderly progression to the processional of his story on earth. Here, too, the fame of such an event was necessary to explain the otherwise not fully motivated acclaim that the synoptics had said Jesus was met with on entering Jersusalem. Finally, it would help also to explain and intensify the rancour and jealousy of the envious scribes and Pharisees in Jerusalem. Therefore the miracle should be placed near and not long before Jesus' entry into this city. Thus the psychological hour, place, and act were predetermined. Something adapted to meet all these specifications ought by every token to occur; and, therefore, if it was believed, it would be truer than historic fact because it would have the supreme pragmatic sanction of faith that is above sight.

This miracle, as we read it, was therefore no individual fabrication, like Plato's myths, but something that inevitably would gradually develop in the fructifying psychic soil of the Johannin group. The soul-stuff of which it was wholly made was not fantasy alone, but had a very large ingredient of practical will as well. It was long especially dear to faith because made warp and woof of faith. To us to-day it is only a rare and fascinating fossil from a past age of an extinct species, which tells us only what religious culture history used to be. Its rejection to-day is not because our faith is less, but because faith now needs new and higher forms, and, like the chambered nautilus, the Christian soul must build for itself ever larger mansions.

In the early Christian centuries it became very much the fashion to develop miracles for edification purposes, as is copiously illustrated all the way from the apocryphal Gospels to the "Acta Sanctorum." Pious wishes were given a license in construing nature because the power of the transcendent was prepotent over the material world as never before. The *Jenseits* controlled the *Diesseits* to an unparalleled degree; for this world was nothing, while the new supernal Kingdom of the future was all. Earth was translucent and was thus also transcended. It was very soon to pass away, while the other world was eternal. Hence the cosmos as we know it was only a symbol of the other world, and faith was the new-born organ and sanctioned belief in what man fondly longed to believe, uncensored by criticism. Science was unknown, and its earliest votaries when they arose were thought in league with the devil. The miracle of Lazarus was the most conspicuous and perhaps the first fruit of this type of fabrication. It was the masterpiece of all its kind, and both set the pattern and opened the door of license for hosts of inferior creations evolved for the same purpose, the pious end of which was felt abundantly to justify their construction. This justification was something as follows:

Something like this could happen, or else God's omnipotence was limited. Moreover, Jesus had arisen, and as he raised himself he must be able to raise others; and he had promised to raise all the dead ere long. A paradigm of his power to do this was greatly needed as an ante-past and guarantee of the final resurrection, to demonstrate that he could reverse the normal processes of decay. An ocular demonstration of the possibility of the future resurrection of all men was necessary, or else it might be and was said that "he raised himself, others he could not raise." A great companion-piece to his own self-resuscitation was needed wherein he revived a common, average man. It was meet to show that the Father could raise others just as truly as he had raised his only begotten Son. Hence, both the similarities and the contrast between these two events were especially wrought out. Like Lazarus, all men would soon be raised, and the good would follow Christ to heaven.

It was also so certain that Jesus could have done it, and it was so urgent that he should have done it, that what ought to be must be more truly than what really is. He could not possibly have left his earthly work with so obvious a lacuna, and therefore he must have

given a type instance of his power to raise the dead that would be no less convincing in its way than was his own Resurrection. It was a case that the patristic writers described as *fides quaerens objectum*, for faith is the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen. The will to believe must have an object on which to wreak itself, and if it did not find it, had to make one. This would not be so difficult because the three then-existing Gospels were very scrappy and imperfect jottings, and left so much of his life unwritten that all the books in the world, we are told, could not contain it. Hence there was a free field for this non-Bergsonian kind of creative evolution, for the imagination, as Fröscheimer has shown us, is in its inmost essence a totalizing faculty, complementing the imperfections of the individual with the perfections of the whole. This, we are told, is its chief function. Thus we can see that this miracle was no extemporized production, but the unique and classic structure of its type, most of all independent of Old Testament analogies and allusions.

Still, as others have pointed out, its poets or artificers took suggestions from diverse sources. Many have shown, from Strauss to Jülicher, who has devoted his life to the study of the parables, how they sometimes shade over into, overlap, and interpenetrate miracles in a few cases. Thus it has been urged that the Lazarus here was borrowed from the blind beggar of the parable whom Luke represents as sitting covered with sores at Dives's gate, and after death as transferred to Abraham's bosom. Both are sick, both die and are buried. The one did return from the grave, and the other desired to do so, but was not allowed because the brethren he wished to warn would not believe, just as the Jews did not believe the Johannin Lazarus really did return. Thus the thought of reveniance, the name of the hero of it, and that of his sisters, given by Luke, serve perhaps as *points de repère* for the Fourth Evangelist, so that Lazarus was resurrected, in another sense, by being transferred from an allegorical existence in a parable to a flesh-and-blood personality. The rest of the narrative was framed to fit the various exigencies of the situation as we have seen them. Very probably this entire narrative of forty-five verses grew gradually into its final form from many repetitions, interpolations, and excisions, till a slowly evolving consensus made it fit the psychological exigencies to a degree that merely historical happenings rarely, if ever, do.

It should be distinctly understood that the word "fabrication" is taken here in its literal sense of making, as a poet is a maker, and not at all in its derived sense, which implies some degree of falsification. So anchored were these "makers" in truth that they could freely with poetic license "play with gracious lies." Like their master, yet more often, the Johannin group of followers was prone to exaltation, not only owing to their theme and also the tensity of the times, but because in them these tendencies were reinforced by a mildly erethic diathesis of soul which predisposed them to visions and revelations. They were poets under the inspiration of a new muse which they revered under the name of the Holy Ghost. So multifarious were these impulsions that they were exhorted to test all spirits to see if they were good, and to discard others. Thus such a formation as this truly *nascitur non fit*, and it was accepted with an enthusiasm that was psychologically identical, being less only in degree, with that which evolved it. For it must not be forgotten that we are always here in the realm of James's "higher powers of man," where the phenomena are all normal but of unusual altitude, like the exhilaration that both myth and experience ascribe to mountain-tops.

Now precisely this strong fecund tendency to make edification-value the supreme test of truth, a tendency so vital that it persisted long after it had degenerated to fatuousness, was very largely the natural result of Jesus' own chronically transcendent state of mind, and also of his notable pedagogic invention of the parable, which consisted of incidents only spiritually true. Not only to art but to Christian experience the prodigal son is as real as, if not more so than, the Lazarus of the resurrection. The disciples must often have wondered whether Jesus was telling an apt anecdote of some one who really lived and whom he knew, recounting things that actually happened, or hypothecating both persons and events to meet a practical exigency or a didactic end for which only verisimilitude was needed. With Jesus there was no confusing of the parables he told and the miracles he did. The substance of the former is always a natural, if not common, event from daily life, and so the very opposite of a marvel. But if common occurrences could be fabricated for heuristic ends, sooner or later it would inevitably be asked why uncommon events could not be thus used, especially since the latter had now become an integral part of the new order of things and in excited minds prone to supersti-

tion were common enough. Again, Jesus regarded his healings as mainly symbols of healing the soul from the ravages of sin. Thus it was not strange if the real truth of all things came to consist in their higher meanings, and the value of historicity as such inevitably suffered relative decline. The parabling of Jesus thus proved to be the innocent and unsuspected beginning of a new test of objective truth and reality. Hence, in another sense, the story of Lazarus is a precious missing link, for it lies half way between the parabling propensity of the Great Teacher and the miracle-mongering of, e. g., the Bolandist fathers in whom credulity stopped at nothing, however preposterous, if they thought it contained spiritual edification. Absurd to reason and abominable to science as the tale of a reanimated corpse is, it nevertheless glows deep down in the soul below consciousness in all, however rational or scientific, when the lust for personal survival beyond this life is strong. Unconjugated as it is by any mood or tense of the grammar of assent as Newman construed it, under the severest ban of logic, *bewusstseinsunfähig* to the cultured modern mind, outlawed by the higher and often even the lower criticism, surd and anachronism as it now is, nevertheless, when in revery childish wish-dreams recur in those souls in whom the supreme question they put to life is to know whether when a man die he shall live again, this preposterous tale grows warm and phosphoresces deep down in the heart, the oldest part of our psychic organism. Thus, as at last spring reanimates nature; thus, too, as the immortal germ plasm is resurrected out of the moribund soma in each generation by love; so the often idiotic prose of superstition may be rescued to the highest uses by poetic genius. It was reserved to geneticism to teach us that things utterly false on the lowest may be Bible truths in the highest psychic levels.

(C) *Cures at a Distance.*—Of cures at a distance there are several narratives. The centurion was of gentile birth, but a lover of the Jews, and had built them a synagogue. His son was paralyzed, tormented, and, Luke says, about to die. Matthew's less artificial account says the centurion came himself; Luke, that he sent messengers twice. He would invite Jesus, but was unworthy to receive him. He had faith in his power to command spirits, which he thought analogous to his own to command his soldiers. He believed Jesus could heal with a word at a distance. Remarking (in a phrase sometimes challenged

as rupturing the spirit both of the narrative and the general purpose of the Evangelist who records it) that this faith was greater than he had found in Israel, Jesus said that it would be to him according to his belief. John's edition of this miracle is so different that some have thought it another event. It is now the son of a nobleman, perhaps a Jew, at the point of death with a fever. Jesus said, "thy son liveth," and it was later found that he began to mend the same hour. Then the father and his house believed.

With this double narrative we can hardly identify, as some do, the other case of healing at a distance, the daughter of the Greek woman vexed with a devil. She is far more gentile than the centurion, and Jesus was reluctant because he declared that he was sent to save only in Israel, and that the children's bread should not be cast to dogs. But she importuned that dogs might eat the crumbs that fell from the table. Commending her faith, he granted her wish, and her daughter was made whole, for the devil left her. Mark omits the account of the centurion, although its attendant lessons would harmonize with his spirit, but records that of the Greek girl. This is said to indicate identity and to support the hypothesis of the greatest freedom of treatment of the same material. But, on the other hand, Matthew contains both, which shows that he regarded them as two, as, indeed, most have held. Each raises the question of Jesus' service to those who are not Jews, although the centurion may have been a proselyte as well as a benefactor, and this may account for Jesus' friendly spirit toward the one appeal and his reluctance toward the other. The difficulty with John's nobleman is that he travels so slowly a distance of only five leagues homeward to reach his dying son, although this loitering has on the other hand been regarded as an indication of his certainty that the cure had been effected and that his presence at home was not needed. These cures at a distance exclude not only contact but probably faith on the patient's part. Strauss regards the first incident as a fictitious imitation of Elisha's cure of the leper Naaman at a distance, and thinks each may typify and foreshow the penetration of Jesus' influence into far-off gentile lands. Paulus assumes a messenger sent to communicate the cure. If the son and daughter knew their parents' mission, faith and expectation may not have been absent; and some have challenged only the coincidence of the telepathic word and the curing, assuming that the joyful confidence of the parent or messenger

upon his return gave the curative stimulus. Magnetism and a "direct mental path" have also been assumed.

The healing miracles are often graded as, first, those with material means, saliva, clay, washing; second, touching; third, by words alone, when the patient was present; fourth, by a word efficacious at a distance, and, lastly, with no will, intent, or even knowledge on Jesus' part, curative power being, as it were, surreptitiously drawn from him when he had no purpose to heal. It is a moot point whether a cure thus stolen by touching his garment ever became efficacious if he did not know it at once afterward, while some imply that even an accidental contact with his garments unbeknown to him, and also with no intent or knowledge on the patient's part, was really curative.

In these cases, as elsewhere, the discrepancies in the various accounts can best be explained as showing "an increasing materialization of the idea of a miracle," while the above series from the application of remedies to accidental contact and action at a distance show a growing abandon to belief in some magical agency with which Jesus' body was charged, but the loss of which left him depleted for a time of healing virtue, even without knowing whose touch drew upon it. A further growth of the same tendency later made handkerchiefs, aprons, and even the shadow of Peter efficacious, as we find in the Acts, and thence led to the belief in the therapeutic power of tombs like that of the Abbé of Paris, and in relics, and bones provided they were believed to be those of saints; for here faith is essential. To explain Jesus' power to project his will at a distance apologists often remind us of the phenomenal nature of space, which is only for corporeal nature and not for spiritual things. Spiritual powers are not bound down to our common space of three dimensions.

These tendencies show to psychoanalysis a strong but blind impulse in the early Christian consciousness toward sublimation, a tendency, however, mistaken in kind and direction. When the Gospels were composed Jesus had long since ascended and the salvatory power of his personality had to act at a distance or not at all, and so an instance of his telepathy while on earth was sorely needed. If he could heal a few leagues away, he might still exert his healing power from his heavenly home. His person here had been uniquely magnetic, his spirit contagious, his will compelling; and his Resurrection body might be conceived as vastly more so to faith. Every vestige and relic

of him thus become an Archimedean fulcrum of leverage for the faith that could remove mountains of guilt from man's sin-sick soul. Jesus was an embodied panacea for all human ills, sarcous and psychic. He was life and health, which latter word means wholeness or holiness. The Great Physician had been supercharged with therapeutic, orthopaedic, euthenic power, and where he had gone there could be no sickness or sorrow. How could this great inspiring conviction be imparted with the culture resources then at his disciples' disposal? It was too great for any of the devices of rhetoric. No figurative language could compass it. History afforded no adequate precedents, examples, or illustrations of it, and so there was no possible recourse save to couch the message of this new muse in a new language, and thus and for this purpose the healing miracle was created.

In referring to the vindictive miracle of cursing the fig-tree at a distance, Mark makes it cursed one day and withered the next, as one blind man was cured in stages. It is added that the time of fruit was not yet, which was true in Judea the week before Easter. Why, therefore, was it cursed for not bearing fruit out of its season? The only answer is that this tree was a symbol of unfruitful Israel, at the root of which the axe was laid. In the parable of the fig-tree, barren for two years and condemned to be cut down, the gardener pleaded that he be allowed to give it special attention for another season, and if it then remained barren it might be felled without further grace. But there is no respite or parley, but a curse that blights at once. Thus the divine wrath, like love, is telepathic, and thus even from high heaven the wicked may be smitten. Thus Jesus is invested with the power of black, as of white, magic.

(D) *Nature Miracles:* (a) *The Water Made Wine.*—Perhaps the first of all Jesus' miracles, marking his début as a wonder-worker, and certainly the first nature miracle (recorded only by John), was at Cana. Here and at this time in Galilee experts tell us wedding festivities lasted a week. All the guests were exalted, and the wine was exhausted. Jesus' mother called his attention to the fact, as if she expected he could and would relieve the situation. He protested with some apparent resentment, because his hour was not yet come; but acquiesced, though under protest, either as if to humour her, or in response to so open a challenge to help on the revels, and with no modern temperance scruples. By his order six stone jars, holding, according to

research into the antiquities of that age, from one hundred and eight to one hundred and sixty-two gallons, were filled to the brim with water, and it was found, apparently almost on the instant and without word, prayer, sign, or effort on his part, that all this water was transpeciated into wine, and that of the very best quality, suggesting further jollity and inebriation.

It is both pathetic and ludicrous to see how the Christian consciousness has so crassly and persistently attempted to make bread out of this stone of stumbling and offence. If it were a miracle of transpeciation, Jesus was here doing something very akin to what he had a few days before refused to do at Satan's behest. Now he would be doing it only to further luxury and the delectation of a merry marriage party, when he would not do it to save himself from death by thirst and starvation. Regarded as a factual miracle, it is both clumsy and unmotivated, the product of an idle whim or caprice, and as senseless as animating mud birds and making them fly away, as an apocryphal Gospel said Jesus did as a lad.

It would be hard to say whether the orthodox literalists or the early rationalists have been most absurd. Paulus thought it all a sportive wedding jest in which wine was secretly smuggled in by some collusive trick or conjuring. Ammon suggested some unrecorded use of "spirits of wine," and Langerdorf says it was done by some unknown use of "extracts of herbs." Others have thought it might be a case of making bitter water sweet, hard water soft, or impure water pure. A long list of mystic intermediate substances has been proposed, while some have suggested that the miracle consisted in tinging the water with blood, perhaps that of Jesus, as a symbol of his coming death and of its atoning power. The learned, pious, and voluminous expositor and commentator Lange, naïvely intimated that it might have been Seltzer water or a magnetized water, while others have suggested that it was perhaps from an effervescing or mineral spring near by which only Jesus knew, by revelation, or perhaps naturally. Many have had recourse to the very hard-worked hypothesis of accelerated natural processes by which water poured on the roots of vines in the spring would become wine after the grapes were trodden and fermented in vats in the fall; while here the same process in all its stages was rushed through as if time had been dissolved into a Bergsonian eternal duration. Unlike most miracles, this has no analogue in the Old Testament,

and just what event, if any, underlies the narrative we can probably never know.

Somewhat more insightful apologists have taken refuge in the hypothesis of mental exaltation, a state to which the guests toward the end of a hilarious week, where they had exceeded the expectations of entertainers in consuming wine, might be predisposed. Their condition would make water taste like wine, and so their imaginations would give the effects of its imbibition increased potency. For Beyschlag the incident showed Jesus' power over minds. The fluid was itself unchanged, but those who drank it were entranced and perhaps half hypnotized, and so were made to think it wine and excellent. Thus Jesus was really bringing the guests out of their state of semi-inebriation by working a most commendable illusion. The more conservative Weiss says in substance that Jesus only ordered the jars filled, and then stood aside while God the omnipotent did the great work of transformation.

Besides its inherent and utter incredibility as a fact, the richness and appositeness of it as a symbol of many things must convince every candid and insightful mind that we have here a group of ideas and feelings clothing themselves in the form of a physical process. As an allegory rather than as a fact it is all most pregnant and pertinent. Keim suggests that it means that Judaism had no more wine, but must be supplemented by the Christian water of purification and baptism, made here still more effective as a type of spiritual wine. Again Jesus was no fasting ascetic, but a bringer of joy ineffable, such as the marriage of the faithful to the heavenly Bridegroom brings. Thus we have here the keynote to his ministry as he steps into publicity out from the shadow of the Baptist. Again, it has been conceived as an intermediate step between ceremonial washing and the complete cleansing with Jesus' blood, while the festive wine is prelusive of the joy of the Holy Ghost. Jesus' nature had just undergone a transformation from humanity to conscious divinity, well typified by changing water to wine. To his new theanthropic consciousness all nature and life were also thus and thereby sublimated, as if from aqueous to vinous. Wine exalts, and his own experience had brought his soul into a more or less ecstatic state illustrative of the higher powers of man or a kind of second breath reinforcement. It was prelusive of the sacrament of communion to be later established. The magic metamor-

phosis has a wedding as its background, because the miracle of love typified how Jesus' soul had just been wedded to God, and so it is a symbol of the soul's union with the All-Father. This wine was the culminating and the best, and especially satisfying after other poorer wines, just as the thirst of Jesus' soul had been completely slaked by the water of eternal life after partaking of which no one ever thirsts again. If we thus conceive the material as swallowed up in a new dispensation of higher spiritual truths the incident is not only saved from scoffers but may be used for those whose souls suffer from Silberer's[1] apperceptive insufficiency and who must take hold of great and high truths by some symbolic handle. Every item fits this kind of interpretation, and people are more prone to cling to factual events just so far as they fail to see and feel the power of their higher and transcendent significance, so that literal belief often involves loss of the power of higher spiritual insight. Whether the Cana incident was a moving pictograph, dream, or revery in Jesus' soul, or evolved collectively in the Johannin group of his followers after his death, it certainly has very many determinants, so that its interpretation is obvious and its form easily explicable. Because it was so surcharged with meaning, its crassification into a banal fact was to have been expected by those who realize how tropes thus charged with multifarious significance are inevitably literalized, because the mind vaguely feels vastly more than it can understand. This we now can see pretty well by the suggestions that have come to myth-study from a psychoanalysis of the psychological laws that govern such formations. The precise point at which this is placed, viz., just after Jesus' call to Divine Sonship and his acceptance of it, was admirably chosen. At the same time, this makes it suspicious as a narrative of an objective happening, but luminous and *bientrouvé* as an effective, dramatic, rhetorical, pedagogic device.

It is not entirely satisfactory to regard this record as the manifest content of a collective dream of the inner Johannin circle of Jesus' followers, possibly based on some trivial incident, or perhaps a *de novo* creation of the seer of that circle which came to be adopted by it. As alchemy sought to change baser metal into gold, and was itself motivated by every deep aspiration of all its devotees and enmeshed in countless allegorical meanings, so this fluid alchemy of water into wine

[1] "Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik." Wien, 1914, 283 p.

was not a parable or vision, but an apologue of spiritual transformation converted downward until it seemed anchored to fact. It was set forth with due *Rücksicht auf Darstellbarkeit* so that it might conceivably be made into a miracle play showing Jesus as the most conspicuous exemplifier of the higher powers of man and of the now ecstatic state on which he had entered after the baptism, and to which his former life was as moonlight to sunlight, or as water to wine. For such a miracle we have no name. Neither ideo-, mytho-, or thumo-gram is quite fit. It is in fact a parable fossilized, a purely psychic structure with not the slightest element of objective or historic truthfulness in the world of fact. It is thus twice a miracle, first in that it was a new and original pedagogic masterpiece in embodying a momentous new, meaningful insight, viz., that of the new and higher life about to be revealed by Jesus' words and deeds. The necessity of expressing a new psychic content is sometimes so great that the crassest terms of its utterances give relief and come to be believed because they are absurd, for only absurdity can adequately utter novelty. Secondly, such a structure as this is an almost ideal test and measure of psychic and religious insight. The moron type of comprehension regards it as a kind of fact fetish, while to the higher type of comprehension it reveals itself as what it really is—a splendid trope of a profoundly characteristic religious experience. The religious fetishist, however, we must not forget, has an important function, viz., that of conserving the form in which many precious meanings are wrapped up unchanged from age to age; while, on the other hand, if all saw only the content the form would be slowly dissipated and thus that precious content lost. Thus we have here a congeries of normal complexes standardized and conserved by what we call orthodoxy, embodying a new and transforming point of view, desiccated and mummified but resurrectable in any soul vital enough to transmute baser, sarcous into higher, pneumatic elements.

The early Church must have felt this impulse to enshrine spiritual meanings in marvellous tales, because the lives of the saints, thousands of whom the Bolandists have recorded during the last four centuries, are a welter of so-called miracles of edification which are psychic constructions once of great heuristic value but now rendered ineffective by science. Such writers took liberties with nature's uniformity, as poetic license does with syntax and grammar, and felt justified in so doing in order to convey higher meanings; for new wine must be put

into new bottles. The Cana marvel, however, was no product of caprice or wanton individual fancy, but an almost inevitable construction of zeal in its first intention for propagating Gospel truth. As great situations bring forth great men, so these products of expositorial energumens struck out as by a spark of genius an incident that precisely filled and fitted all things, because, while couched in terms of sense, they really say things only to the subconscious intuition. Such a happening becomes in a sense a new technical term well adapted for general currency. While, if considered as a mere factual event, it serves admirably as a religious fool-finder, it makes its own deeper appeal to the affectivity and autistic nature of all in whom this deeper stratum of psychic life exists.

(b) *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes.*—According to Matthew and Mark, Jesus saw Simon Peter and Andrew fishing and said, Follow me and I will make you fishers of men. Farther on he saw James and John mending nets, called them, and they left their father and followed him. Luke, however, has a fuller and very different account. Pressed by the crowd, Jesus came upon two empty fishing boats and had the owner of one take him aboard and push out a little from the shore because of the crowd, and taught, sitting in it. When he had finished he told the obliging owner of the boat to put out and cast his net, indicating the place. Doubtless because he had caught nothing all night, Peter remonstrated, and then yielded, catching so many fish that the nets broke and they called the second pair of fishermen brothers to their aid. Both boats were filled with fish to the sinking point. All were astonished, and Simon with characteristic impulsiveness fell at Jesus' feet, saying, Depart from me, Master, for I am a sinner. Jesus replied, Fear not but have faith; thou shalt catch men. Having landed, they forsook all and followed him.

Thus the miraculous draft of fishes is in Luke only and he tells it apparently to explain what seemed to him a greater marvel, viz., why according to the earlier reports, four hard-working fishermen should on the instant leave all to follow a stranger. According to Luke, they had felt the spell of Jesus' discourse, which might well have been on the symbolism or higher parable-like meaning of the vocation his lakeside audience knew best. They had also had a demonstration of his strange and uncanny power to locate fish, and by the use of it had certainly acquired a tiny fortune. In Matthew and Mark the call and the obe-

dience to it by this quaternion of fishermen seems a psychological miracle of almost hypnotic will-compelling power, while Luke finds a natural motivation in a physical miracle, a distinct step downward showing both Jesus and these disciples in a weird light. Jesus' personal power over the will of others is lessened, while the alacrity of obedience with which the call is obeyed suggests an element of sordidness.

It has been asked why, when convinced of Jesus' power to locate fish as they could not, they did not urge him to enter their calling instead of leaving it themselves on the moment of their greatest success. Some have assumed a bargain by which Jesus promised to return and repeat the miracle from time to time, so that they would really catch more fish if they spent the interim with him, on which view of course their allegiance was bought, or they were freed for a time by the great haul to follow their inclinations. Carpers have objected that whatever may be true of shad, herring, and mackerel in the sea, fish never assemble so densely in a lake of this size as to make such catches as are here described possible, and also that the fish now in this lake do not do so. It has even been argued that all of the species of fish which had this peculiar instinct of flocking together were here caught and their race made extinct. At any rate, we are told that fish in this lake now show no such habits. Another view is that Jesus noticed the shoal of fish when he was speaking, and when he was through naturally called Simon's attention to it; while still another commentator urges that the multitude had drawn the fish together in great numbers by throwing crumbs from their lunch into the water. Still another says that if it was a true miracle Jesus must have had not merely the power to perceive but to gather fish as Orpheus did beasts; that such was Jesus' magnetic charm that even aquatic forms of life were attracted, indicating a sympathy of nature with supreme virtue, although it has been objected that this was inconsistent with other intimations that Jesus felt kindly toward birds and flowers while he lured the poor fish to their destruction.

All this materialization of metaphors and allegories, so characteristic of infantilism, is at the same time pathetic and full of the charm of naïveté, and so at the other extreme is the pedantic skepticism as to whether the first disciples were really ever fishermen at all, but that the typological force of the analogy between fish and making

converts transformed their vocation as well as invented the miracle. The Kingdom is a net, gathering good and bad, to be sorted later. Max Müller, Coxe, Kühn, and many others have abundantly shown how metaphors do often tend to be taken literally and so become the germ of mythology, and how spiritual meanings tend, as by a law of psychic gravity, to lower literal and material levels. Of this law we must conclude that we have here another illustration, and that the power of Jesus' discourse in the boat and the enthusiasm of a newly awakened consciousness of a great redemptive work in these four men who now perhaps come over from John's mission, now put vividly into terms of their own calling, rather than a command to follow reinforced by a miracle, made them devote themselves to Jesus' Messianism. In this view all becomes natural and in full accordance with the higher laws of psychodynamics.

What a better rhetorician or even historian than the Evangelists would have said is that Jesus in calling the first four disciples managed to impress them with the idea that he could teach them object-lesson-wise to draw crowds as he had done, as if (in the sense of Vaihinger's philosophy *des als ob*) he were to teach them where always to find shoals of fish awaiting them. That they had caught nothing all the night before was a doubly determined symbol, first of the night preceding contrasted with the day in which they now were, symbolized by Jesus' new life and his presence; secondly, their utter failure to catch anything typified their previous inability to impress themselves upon men. But this was offset, thirdly, by the implication that under his guidance they should draw crowds as they had filled their boats with fish. Thus we have some insight as to the inner motivation that impelled them on the instant at his behest to follow Jesus, which the more laconic First and Second Gospels do not give, and we are able to obviate the vulgarity and increase the power for edification of the incident if taken literally and crassly. In this Jesus was more than a clairvoyant fish-finder. If this had been all, he might have been a god of fishermen, or thought to be a god of fishes themselves. We can perhaps better understand, if not entirely sympathize with, the marvellous power which the fish symbol ἰχθύς, as an anagram for *Jesous Christos Theou Uios Soter* has. The symbol has been overloaded with meanings hitherto not understood or explained. Here again it needed but a slight insight into the psychological laws that govern the workings of

the soul to save the Church from ages of gross materialism of faith and of taking purely natural psychic process for a physical and sensuous prodigy. If Jesus' phrase, fishers of men, was aptly pedagogic and effective with these followers, it is easily carried too far as the Church has often done. To fish for converts is in no sense the best trope for bringing men to Christianity. It not only suggests Jesuitism and artifice where utter sincerity and candour should be, but, pushed a step too far, breaks down as a simile, for fish are not benefited but destroyed by being caught, while men are caught for their everlasting betterment.

(c) *The Feeding.*—Famine during the Exodus had been relieved miraculously by manna and quails. In the great drouth under Ahab, Elijah prevented the meal of his widowed hostess from wasting or her oil from failing. So when Elisha's hundred disciples suffered famine, twenty barley loaves and a little crude corn were made sufficient by a miracle. The supper, too, that Jesus instituted the last evening of his life, consisted in the breaking and distribution of bread, and the arisen Jesus was first recognized as he broke bread with his disciples in the same characteristic way as he had done at the sacrament when instituting the supper, which was itself a counterpart of the feeding with manna and quails. The latter is told twice, too, in the Old Testament and so there is a second somewhat diverse miracle of marvellous feeding reported by Matthew and by Mark. In the first the Twelve had just returned from their first mission, and Jesus wished to retire with them; but crowds followed, and Jesus taught and healed. But toward the evening the disciples suggested that the multitude be sent away out of the wilderness to buy food in the villages. Jesus commanded to feed them, and was asked if the disciples should buy two hundred pence worth of bread. Asking what provisions they had, he was told five barley loaves and two small fishes. He then commanded that the people be made to sit on the grass in an orderly way, took the bread, blessed it, looked up to heaven and passed it to the disciples to give to the multitude. All ate and were filled, and they gathered twelve baskets full of fragments. This marvel is told by all four of the Evangelists, all of whom agree on the above figures and also in the estimate that there were some five thousand people present.

In the second miraculous feeding (Matthew and Mark only) the multitude numbered four thousand, and had been with Jesus for three days. He had compassion upon them because in the wilderness they

had nothing to eat. Seven loaves and a few small fishes were all that could be found in the larder of the disciples. Taking these viands and giving thanks, Jesus handed them to the disciples to be distributed. All were filled, and seven baskets full were gathered up. Luke omits this second miracle, and John seems to compound the two. In the wilderness Jesus had been tempted by hunger, and John makes Jesus ask Philip, "Whence shall we buy bread that these can eat?" to test him. The people after eating said, This is of truth that prophet that should come into the world. In the second miracle, too, Jesus had just preached and healed. John is always ready to modulate from the literal to the spiritual aspect and *vice versa*. As for Hegel the real is the rational and the rational is the real, so to John all things symbolic of higher meanings are real and *vice versa*. Barley, too, was the cheapest bread, and fish the commonest food in that region.

Many have asked when the actual miracle of increase took place—in the hands of Jesus during his prayer or in the hands of the disciples as they distributed the food, or in the hands or mouths of the multitude. Assuming the first as most in the spirit of the narrative, Strauss asks whether the loaves and fishes were multiplied in number as they came one after another from Jesus' hand, or whether each loaf grew to satisfy one fifth of the multitude and to supply two and four tenths of the twelve baskets of fragments. Here expositors vie with one another in shifts and evasions to rid themselves of so embarrassing a miracle or to make it more palatable to faith. Did the people follow Jesus, not to hear him or even to be healed, but rather to be fed in a bread-line? Did they know of the miracle, or think Jesus a generous almoner of food that he had provided himself? Only John suggests that they knew; and would it not have been wiser on Jesus' part to let them know? Perhaps he gave a hospitable lunch which was afterward conceived as supernatural.

Finally, the fact that the fragments are gathered with care that nothing be left suggests more than economy, for the early Church held that the loss of the smallest fragment of the eucharistic body of Our Lord was almost sacrilege. Twelve baskets would be one for each disciple, and the seven baskets in the second feeding may have been suggested by the number of loaves which were on hand, or of the seven deacons that served the sacred elements in the early *agapæ*.

This miracle involves nothing less than the creation of food. The

supply is increased about a thousandfold. The grain, and perhaps fish, came into existence on the spot and at a moment, ready cooked. The conventional exegetes have long had recourse to their favourite phrase of accelerated processes by the Lord, to whom a thousand years are as one day. But he also established seed-time and harvest. He might create a new world, but to abrogate his own laws implies that they were inadequate to support the higher spiritual development in the new order of things. Moreover, Jesus had refused to make stone into bread for himself, and why should he do it for others? This miracle is plainly a rough-hewn allegory of heavenly bread or treasure that grows by being spent, and we must not substitute the letter for the spirit. Jesus would lift men above the sense of hunger or appetite generally. Some have suggested that in the crowd were those who had a surplus of food, and that they were moved by hospitality or brotherly love to forget social barriers and share their store with others. Fellowship may not satisfy hunger, but it may make men forget it. Very common is the suggestion that Jesus fed the souls of his hearers so full of heavenly bread by his teaching that physical hunger was forgotten, and his slender stores of food were not eaten but merely broken. Keim figures that Jesus' achievement here was two hundred times greater than that of Elisha, who fed one hundred sons of the prophets on twenty barley loaves, for here five thousand were fed with five.

(d) *Tempest.*—In one thrice-told tale it was decided to cross the Lake of Galilee, and after they had put out there was a great storm that seemed about to swamp the ship, while Jesus lay in the stern asleep on a pillow. The disciples awoke him, asking him whether he cared not if they perished, and called upon him to save them. He ascribed their fear to lack of faith, and then rebuked the winds and raging waves saying, Peace, be still, and there was a great calm. The people feared and marvelled, asking one another what manner of man he was that winds and waves obeyed him.

In what is apparently another incident, told by all four of the Evangelists, Jesus sent the disciples across the same Lake of Galilee while he remained behind to send the multitude away, and then retired to pray, John says to escape being made a king by force. By evening the ship was in the midst of the lake and tossed by angry billows, and in the fourth watch of the night when, John says, they were

twenty-five or thirty leagues off shore, they saw Jesus walking toward them on the water, and Mark says they thought he was a ghost. To calm their new terror he called out, It is I, be not afraid; although one report says he made at first as though he would go by. Peter said, If it is thou, call me to come to thee, and he was called to come; but after starting he became afraid and began to sink, crying, Lord, save me. Then Jesus caught him by the hand, rebuked his doubt, and both entered the ship, and the wind ceased although John says, "Immediately the ship was at the land whither they went" as if it were miraculously transported over the twenty-five or thirty leagues, and that the people glorified him as the Son of God. Mark says: "They considered not the miracle of the loaves; for their hearts were hardened." When they had landed, all the sick in the villages and country and the cities round about were brought, and as many as touched even the hem of his garment were made whole.

In the first incident Jesus' sleep after a hard day's work brings into effective contrast divine repose and the distress of earth. When called in panic and extremity, both wind and wave sank to peace as if bowed by his presence and rebuke. He did not pray, but commanded as God did of old the waters of the Red Sea. He had a control no less than magical over both raging elements and perturbed souls. In the other lake tale Mark makes Jesus about to pass by as a stranger, as if he had not seen or thought of the ship; but he responded to a call to come aboard, whereupon the wind ceased of itself without command, as if in obedience to his unspoken wish, although he had apparently not smoothed his own path over the rough waves, upon which his footing must have been most precarious. Here Jesus is not asleep, but absent, and the implication is that had he been awake or present the elements would not have broken forth from their bounds. As to Peter's venture, some think it a later and spurious interpolation. Lange curiously accommodates by saying that Peter "was perhaps a high-water treader," but that the waves were so high they compelled him to swim and finally threatened to submerge him. Oelshausen thinks Jesus' water walking was a case of levitation or rarefaction of the body, and that the incident favours Docetism, or that his corporeal nature had already begun to undergo progressive etherization. Paulus says that probably the disciples falsely thought they saw him. Venturini suggests that Jesus was really on shore, and in the dawn or

mist and fog which enwrapped him he seemed to be out at sea. This is favoured by John's account of the speedy landing, and so we are told Jesus really drew Peter out of the shallow water in which he was floundering and wading very near the shore.

These scenic miracles have many parallels, ancient and modern, like the Philopedes who ran over the green Ægean Sea with cork-shod feet, escorting ships far out to sea. There are also many Old Testament parallels. In Psalm 107 the restoration from captivity is described as a sailor brought to land from a tempest. Yahveh raised a strong wind, and they cried to the Lord, and he saved them. So Jesus is made to factualize this symbolic imagery. Hengstenberg thinks that thus insights suggested by ancient writers were often realized, rather than that this realization was never effected at all by Jesus but fictitiously ascribed to him later. The figure of the tempest soon came to refer predominantly not to ancient days but to the tribulations of the early Church, and even if there were no nuclear incident, some such tale was likely to be told of Jesus because of its tropical value. "The Lord makes a way on the sea, a path in the mighty waters," and Job said, "he walks upon the sea as on a floor." He calms perturbed minds, comes to his friends in their hour of need. In a sharper and more acuminated way he helps on the instant the failing faith of one who with characteristic sudden impulsiveness essayed more than he could accomplish, and this is a sweet assurance that comes home to the heart. Socrates had taught that no real evil could befall the good man, living or dead; but Jesus here shows himself a very present personal help in time of trouble. If the embodiment of this fond hope and wish were couched in even more impossible terms it would have been too precious to be sloughed off or thrown into the rubbish heap of vulgar superstition.

The heuristic meat most often found here is in Peter's venture, his failure and rescue, which Goethe thought a beautiful illustration of the fact that man succeeds in desperate undertakings if only he has faith and courage, while if he lacks confidence he fails. Again, it teaches that man's extremity is God's opportunity. Something like this is the only moral *haec fabula docet.* We also see how inferior Jesus is to Yahveh in controlling nature, as he is superior to him in dealing with human affairs. Jesus does not bring storm and rain, stop the sun, control thunder, cleave the sea, shake the earth, bring floods, but his domain is the body and soul of man.

Davies[1] makes forty-six miracles, but fourteen of these are allusions found in one or more of the Gospels where various cures are asserted, but which he thinks refer to at least fourteen groups of more or less miscellaneous healing, and there are many phrases indicating that very large numbers had been cured. "He healed all that were sick." "He healed many that were sick of divers diseases." They brought the sick to him and "he laid his hands on every one of them and healed them." "Devils also came out of many, crying out." He went through all Galilee, preaching and casting out devils. "Healing all manner of disease." "The whole multitude sought to touch him: for there went virtue out of him and healed them all." "They brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatic and those that had the palsy; and he healed them." He cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits; and unto many that were blind he gave sight. "And Jesus went about all Galilee teaching in their synagogues and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease." "Healed them that had need of healing." "They brought unto him all that were diseased, and besought him that they might only touch the hem of his garment: and as many as touched were made perfectly whole." "And great multitudes came unto him having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus' feet; and he healed them."

These general statements concerning many miracles are all of healing and none of nature wonders, and the query arises why if Jesus cured so many on what principle it was that those above more circumstantially described were singled out from the others.

The impression made by Jesus' miracles on those who were eye-witnesses to them was very diverse. As to *the disciples*, at the draught of fishes Peter was profoundly awed, crying, "Depart from me for I am a sinful man," and to him and the other three disciples then chosen, who seemed to have accepted their call because of the impression this wonder made on them, Jesus said, "Fear not." John said that the disciples believed in him at and after the Cana miracle. They seem soon to expect healing miracles and to accept them almost as a matter of course, and were more inclined to bring Jesus and his patients

[1] "The Miracles of Jesus." London, 1913, 240 p.

together than to protect him from their importunity. In healing they seem to have regarded themselves as in a sense apprentices to the art, and Jesus as their master. In stilling the tempest they were rebuked for faithlessness, and when he came to them walking on the water they feared again, and, Matthew said, confessed him to be the Son of God; and Mark, that their hearts were hardened and that they had not considered the miracle of the loaves. This suggests that the disciples were not inclined to believe but rather to doubt the nature miracles, or at least that they were not wonted to them. They had no intimation beforehand that he could or would raise Lazarus, and when told of the reports of Jesus' own Resurrection thought them idle tales. On the whole, it appears that the disciples, while expecting him to perform certain cures, emulated his power to do so. By the nature and resuscitation miracles they were amazed, but far from being convinced that he was divine because of them. Nor did they ever attempt to emulate him in performing these except in the case of Peter's walking on the water. Thus the Evangelists have not made the disciples react to these greater marvels as normal human nature should and must, and this constitutes another source of doubt whether they ever occurred or were really seen by the disciples. They were later completely convinced, though gradually and in stages, that Jesus had arisen; but the raising of Lazarus and the nature wonders left no trace on their lives such as they must have done had they really occurred. They never expected them beforehand, and never believed in them later, because they never saw them.

As to the *patients*, those healed at a distance seem not to have known that Jesus had anything to do with their cure. Those resurrected seemed dazed, but we are told almost nothing of them after their resuscitation. Some of those healed went their way without even giving thanks, while others overwhelmed him with gratitude and some desired to become his followers. It was the demoniac who first of all and unreservedly confessed and proclaimed him divine. John's congenital blind man courageously protested Jesus' power, braving even the Pharisees to do so. Some of the sick had most earnestly entreated him to cure them, while the demoniacs most violently resisted cure. Some had indomitable faith, and some none. The friends and relatives of those cured were most uniformly true to human nature in their conduct.

It would seem that Jesus would have the warmest of all places in

the hearts of those he healed. To their cure his fame among the populace was chiefly due. But even the friends of those to whom he gratuitously dispensed physical salvation have left no very tangible token of gratitude, and seem to have made no offerings, although some seem to have spent their substance on other healers, and none of the latter appeared desirous of learning the potent secret of the Great Physician. These patients restored to health must, according to the Gospel implication, have been very many. They and their relatives were among the first and most ardent believers, but little influence seems ever to have emanated from them in Jesus' behalf even in his hours of trial. Had they numbered hundreds or thousands, it would seem that they and the multitude of those who had seen and known of the cures must have constituted an element of more influence upon Jesus' life than we are told they had. Mary Magdalene, out of whom seven devils were cast, seems to have yielded with abandon to the sentiment of gratitude and love to a degree that illustrates the Freudian "transfer." But many of those, like, e. g., the nine lepers, seem to have gone their way as if desiring to have their disease and its cure forgotten. No others who had convalesced under his influence were in his train of followers. Nor did he choose those who had been rescued from a sinful life by a great salvation. In Paul's life and teaching healing played little more than a metaphorical rôle, nor in the patristic writers does it loom up as in the Evangelists. All these considerations indicate again that it was exaggerated.

As for the *scribes and Pharisees*, who were often present or told afterward (as in the case of Lazarus and elsewhere), they were never convinced but jealous and enraged, and the more manifest the miraculous power the more they sought to destroy Jesus. From the accomplishment of this their chief end they were restrained by fear because the people favoured Jesus while they censured him, not because he had healed, but because he had healed on the Sabbath day, and again because he had arrogated to himself divine power by forgiving sins. The scribes, Pharisees, priests, and elders, these were his implacable enemies seeking to entangle him in his words, to incite the people against him, and to take him by craft. Their attitude was that he was an impostor and pretender. Renan thinks it was their machinations that really checked Jesus' career prematurely. They bargained with Iscariot, accused him, sent officers to arrest him, suborned false witnesses,

testified him to Pilate, taunted him on the cross, bribed the soldiers to say that his body had been stolen. He was followed by their implacable hate from first to last, and while accepting some of his cures they explained them by assuming him to be in league with the devil. Thus they, at least, were convinced of no other miracles than these which by implication they did admit in certain cases, and which they, too, had some power to do.

Apologists for the Jewish hierarchy urge that its rancour has been exaggerated, especially in the early part of Jesus' career, and that he was comparatively unknown at Jerusalem, entering that city only near the close of his ministry; that his fame was chiefly Galilean, and that it was the gentile propaganda of Paul that intensified opposition and made an atmosphere in which every divergence that arose later was put back into Jesus' lifetime and exaggerated. According to this view, the Gospels do injustice to the representatives of Jewish orthodoxy by seeking to magnify Jesus' influence and make it far more formidable than it became during his life. We are told that the acclaim of his entrance into Jerusalem and the attention he received there were exaggerated, and also that there were real grounds in his teaching and deeds for accusing him of sedition; while his caustic and unpolitic vituperations made him seem not only a heretic but a fanatic to impartial minds in the holy city, who knew him only from without, and saw chiefly his unique genius for making enemies, which Pilate quite failed to understand. Jesus' torrid outbursts of indignation, the imprecations expressed in the woes he launched, awful as the curse of Rome by Richelieu or the excommunication formula of the synagogue hurled later against Spinoza—these it was not in human nature to endure. Hence his death was even more inevitable than that of Socrates, and the misrepresentation of him by his enemies was more exaggerated than that of Socrates by the sophists, whom the later historians of Greek philosophy have done much to reinstate without thereby dimming the lustre of the great hebamic artist of ancient Athens. Jesus, although he made no such apology as Socrates did, claiming that instead of death he should be supported by a pension, nevertheless deemed himself as good a citizen as Socrates did. Surely, Jesus, black as he is made to have painted these villains in the drama of his life, would never have sanctioned the way or degree in which his persecutors and their descendants have become the persecuted during the Christian

centuries. How could a Jewish Messiah, the proclaimer of the gospel of love, have foreseen, much less have left behind him, this legacy of hate instead?

Finally, the *multitude* generally present, like the chorus of the old Greek tragedy, performed a not very dissimilar function. They were amazed, murmured, believed, praised God, acknowledged Jesus to be his Son, and were generally favourable and prone to believe, though sometimes divided in opinion and also eager to profit by being fed or having their friends cured.

They are not only less often present, but are less responsive, and their reactions were less natural perhaps, or merely conventional, even in the presence of the most stupendous wonders, to which the recorded responses are not unlike those evoked by marvels within the range of possible psychotherapy. In general, the more inexplicable the prodigy, the less the number of those who saw it or the less they said about it, suggesting that they were impressionable sensation seekers to whom the Great Healer was only a transient object of fickle curiosity, without dreaming of the higher spiritual meanings of which the miracles were symbols. Else why were these regions where Jesus did most of his mightiest works and where the new Gospel was preached, of which he was the centre, not those most favourable for his doctrine to take quickest and deepest root? Why was this not the ground chosen for the first and most effective preaching after Pentecost? Common sense would surely indicate that this would be the richest soil, for here personal reminiscences of Jesus and the best things he said and did were freshest. This would certainly seem to have constituted a unique field for a propaganda, but it seems to a great extent to have been unutilized and left to go to waste. The seed Jesus planted here was unharvested. This again suggests that there may have been an exaggeration of marvels.

In the cure of the blind man, the leper, the raising of Jairus's daughter, the Transfiguration, etc., secrecy is enjoined, but usually in vain, while some patients are taken apart as if to prevent publicity. But the injunction to secrecy is never said to have been observed, and in the case of some of the lesser, and even the greater, miracles like walking on the water and raising Lazarus, no such injunction is recorded. Many miracles are done before the multitude, as all should have been if they were chiefly credentials of Messianity; and there is no

more reason or consistency among the different wonders in Jesus' seeking or avoiding publicity than in his now wishing and now being reluctant to do miracles. Many motives for enjoining silence have been conjectured, viz., Jesus' mortification at having to validate himself, his word, and his work in this way when he desired to do so by his doctrine chiefly or alone. Again, he may have objected because he saw that his wonders were being used as advertisements and drew crowds excessively large which made too great drafts upon his time and energy. Again, it may have been due to a wish on his part to reserve some miracles to the narrower and more esoteric circle of his disciples and friends, and that he thus made a distinction between the mass of spectators and the acolytes closest to him. Again, it has been ascribed to a desire not to offend the Pharisees too greatly or prematurely, since these seemed especially to exasperate them. Again, we might assume that they were really natural though striking deeds of a kind which, he feared, if told and retold generally, would grow into supernatural events, and that he had a penetrating intuition that in his social environment he was in grave danger of what he abhorred, viz., being regarded as a breaker or suspender of natural laws, thus anticipating and seeking to prevent just the fate that he suffered. On this latter view, Jesus forbade gossip when he thought it would lead to an exaggeration which would become eventually untruth. Again, to-day it is often the patient who wishes the doctor to be silent about his trouble and its cure, but there is no intimation that Jesus desired his cures concealed in the interests of the patient. Nor was it that he had private methods or remedies, as Paulus suggested, such as would to-day be patentable, and which he desired to keep to himself and to his disciples.

If the Evangelists had a subconscious sense that they were misrepresenting what their master really did, then their dim compunction might well express and also ease itself by representing Jesus as forbidding that it be told at all, knowing in their own hearts that he would not have sanctioned their mode of telling it. Thus they tended to atone for the injustice their inmost conscience felt they were doing him while telling what, to them, was an improvement on the exact historic truth. Moreover, by assigning this dread of publicity to Jesus more colour was given to their intimation that there were many other unreported miracles concerning which his injunction of silence had

been observed. If knowledge of some of these leaked out despite his wish, surely the latter would be effective in the case of other of his marvellous doings. In fact, though he did nothing to merit the fame of the thaumaturgist and was both unable and unwilling to do anything to bring this fame upon himself, he knew his *clientèle*, and that the proclivities of his age were in this direction. He had a haunting dread that he would be misconceived and misrepresented just here, and this feeling on his part is reflected to us in the Evangelists under the disguised form of representing him as trying to keep real miracles secret.

From this new angle of approach, therefore, indications seem to converge to the conclusion that Jesus did heal certain neuropaths and psychopaths who abounded about him, and also that his rarely impressive personality, backed by great local fame, caused at least temporary betterment in some cases of other kinds. We see modern confirmations of this in vulgar contemporary healers like Slater, Dowie, and even in the occasional successes of the most arrant and knavish medical quacks and charlatans, in which scientific psychology is finding rich new material, while the higher forms of faith- and mind-cure also tend to bring such cases within the range of natural law and to save them from wholesale rejection as superstitious. On the other hand, these selfsame modern instances teach us how very slight and transient betterments of this kind tend almost inevitably to grow in the mind of the patient, and also by being told and retold, to grow into marvels that are preposterous and absurd, and how readily a mole-hill may become a mountain and credulity make a grain of mustard seed into a great tree. Not only were there, in fact, no other mighty works save these healings done by Jesus, but, as we saw above, the surfaces of cleavage between them and all the other spurious wonder tales are still traceable. The disciples could heal in *modo magistri*, but were directed, were able, and wished, to do no other miracle. The physical marvels of the Old Testament order died out with Jesus. The fact that the disciples cured, marvellously invalidated these cures of Jesus as proofs of his Messianity, and therefore the Evangelists had to stress those of other kinds, or else Jesus could no longer be thought divine because of his supernatural power. Unless he outdid his disciples, they were as divine as he so far as the range of this kind of attestation went. Had the disciples not developed some of his power to heal, therefore, one motive of representing Jesus as outdoing them and pass-

ing beyond the realm of what is possible to man would have been absent. Again, as we saw above, the really supernatural doings of Jesus either left no traces on the minds and hearts of his disciples or else caused fear and aversion, the diametrical opposite of the effect the normal cures made upon them; and only in the age of the Evangelists, and by them, was the attitude of the disciples toward the superhuman achievements of Jesus reversed. The stone the disciples rejected became to the Evangelists the chief stone of the corner.[1]

Thus, to summarize, geneticism gives us a new interpretation of the miracles of Jesus which, while accepting all the negative results of antisupernatural criticism, at the same time gives them a novel and precious significance, and invests them with a value even greater than they held before. As objective facts capable of cinematographic reproduction they are one and all (save only certain cases of curing or bettering certain types of disease, to which we have modern parallels) as false to both nature and history as hippogriffs, centaurs, phoenixes, or the most fantastic exploits of the denizens of Olympus or Walhalla. In the literal sense in which the synoptists record and orthodoxy accepts them, they are as untrue as dreams or hallucinations, and would have been no less abhorrent to Jesus than was the formal sanctimoniousness or the hypocritical piety against which he launched his most impassioned invectives. How he shrank from the reputation of a thaumaturgist even the Gospel writers who invested him with it did not have the wit to disguise, but involuntarily betray it to us in their recitals, as we have seen.

Again, miracles have never been entirely assimilated by the Christian consciousness, but have remained as foreign bodies in it, perhaps more or less encysted in its system of doctrine. They have always necessitated a double housekeeping and more or less dualization of mind. Over against a world of reason and science based on the senses, they require as a postulate another order of things with its own organ, faith, which is created for their special conservation. Where natural and supernatural impinge or collide, the latter is supreme. We have to pass from the cosmos to an epicosmic world, and between the two we must evolve a watertight compartment, building a coffer-dam, as it were, about certain articles of faith which the

[1] See J. R. Illingworth: "The Gospel Miracles," 1915, 213 p.; H. Huelster: "Miracles in the Light of Science and History," 1915, 164 p.; D. M. Rade: "Das Religiöse Wunder." 1899, 87, p.; J. M.Thompson: "Miracles in the New Testament," 1911, 236 p. Also A. Harnack: "Die Apostelgeschichte," 1908, p. 298.

mediaeval Church explicitly, and we implicitly, reserve as taboo to reason. A large part of the entire history of Christian thought has consisted of reciprocal claims, concessions, accommodations, as between these two views of the world, and the rivalry, hate, persecution, and mutual outlawry of their partisans still subsist. Yet even more tragic, perhaps, is the schizophrenia caused by these two trends that exists in so many indiv dual souls. The very bitterness of the champions of ultra-conservatism in religion is due to the fact that they themselves feel heretical promptings in the depths of their souls. In letting loose the *odium theologicum* against skeptics they are really seeking to suppress by force nascent doubts in themselves. The apostles of science, on the other hand, in pouring out the vials of their scorn upon believers have also done violence to their own souls and have come to falsely think themselves irreligious when, in fact, an undevout scientist, who spends his life in thinking God's thoughts after him in the world of nature and mind, would be, as the proverb has it, mad if he were really undevout.

To this tragic schism or bifurcation of the soul geneticism comes as a mediator and unifier, accepting all real affirmations of both parties and ignoring only their negations. Both are right, and each is a conservator of the truth, but in different ways. The error of both is lack of insight into the nature of the human soul. Genetic analytic psychology comes forward as a reconciler, doing justice to both sides and violence to neither, and asserting even for miracles and before the tribunal of science, a new and higher value, while at the same time denying to them every vestige of objective reality. On what ground do we base this great and paradoxical claim?

The answer to this question is found in a transforming conception of the nature and functioning of the soul itself. As long as it was conceived as synonymous with consciousness no light could come from this source. On this view reason is built up on the basis of sense perception, and every mental construction is formed in the focus of apperception and takes the predominant form of objectivity. Psychology, to be sure, had a class of objects peculiar to itself; but its method was that of the physical sciences, and to these it looked for its logical norms. The reign of law was so universal that no testimony conceivable could ever prove a miracle. Seeing then would not be believing, but would be merely delusions or hallucinations.

According to the new view of the soul, however, consciousness is only one partial expression of psychic life. It is narrow and limited, if not at bottom corrective and remedial. It is intense only where adjustment is needed or something is liable to go wrong, while most of its activities go on beneath the threshold of consciousness. Much that strives to come into its focus fails to do so, and therefore can find expression, if at all, only in movements or tendencies to move or act, or else in the vast domain of feeling, sentiment, and emotion with their somatic reverberations. There are strivings, trends, wishes, anxieties galore that are perpetually repressed and submerged, and that often express themselves in abnormal ways as symptoms of the many grouped and tabulated kinds that pathology rubricizes. Sometimes these multifarious tendencies, incapable of taking conscious forms, evade the checks that hold them in leash, and appear, perhaps, as over-accentuations of insignificant experiences or objects. In the folk-soul, where the phenomena of individual experience are often rewritten, only in larger and more legible characters, we have a good illustration of this class of happenings in fetishism. Here some insignificant and often chance object is lifted out of its class, made sacred, supercharged with affectivity, and exalted to a significance for life and death itself because overdetermined by becoming a focus of multiform and often submerged associations. These processes and products often seem causeless and senseless, but if the data are accessible so that they can be analyzed, they can always be shown as subject to the severest laws of cause and effect. There is really no such thing as chance in the whole psychic world, sane or insane. The same is true of amatory fetishism. One person, usually in dawning pubesence, is drawn to another of the opposite sex by the deep laws of compensation—which we call love. The elements of the attraction are deep and many, and too intricately complicated for consciousness to grasp, so that before it is recognized as love it may already be far along in its development. To immature minds thus some one trait or feature, hair or ears, gait, voice, or even attire and gesture are focussed on to the exclusion of all the other factors, which remain unconscious while this one completely fills the little stage of apperception itself alone, yet excites every symptom, sensuous and psychic, of love. So, too, totemism illustrates a similar hypertrophy of some special plant, animal, or lifeless object about which it evolves a system of taboos. Again, certain attitudes

or acts are singled out and ritualized, spun about, almost impupated in a felted mesh of symbolic meanings, and made sacrosanct by emotivity, until they become representatives or surrogates of a psychic constituency that is often too multifarious to be individually counted. Stresses and trends of this order give miracles their unique importance. They are made and clung to by psychic processes of the same order as the above, so that the explanation of either throws light upon the others. Miracles are all these together, but more, so that the above only gives us a very general orientation for our quest.

Again, the soul is as laminated as the geological strata which now give us more or less coherent series of fossil remains showing the ascending orders of life, as they evolve, one after another, from lowest to highest, in which we find that many types have become extinct, while many other ancient ones have been conserved to our own day. Just as man arose at a relatively late stage, so consciousness evolved late and slowly out of a long series of preconscious stages of blind impulses and instincts. Man's conscious life to-day is a very recent product, and to be understood must be seen in its indefinite perspective which stretches back to the remotest past. Heredity conserves in our souls as well as in our bodies innumerable vestiges of all our phyletic pedigree, many of which the infant recapitulates in its psychophysic growth. Thus our conscious apperception and rational activities represent the topmost twigs of a vast but buried tree. Now this new psychic mode of rational life is still only partially evolved, and is therefore insecure and unstable. We have no such established equilibrium with our environment as animals have acquired. Hence, our life is not on one level but rather on a steeply inclined plane, and we are incessantly alternating between intense adjustment to the present, in which we are aggressive, alert, apperceptive, pressing on to new knowledge, overcoming obstacles, advancing the kingdom of man, pushing ahead to the unknown goal of life with the whole momentum of the evolutionary nisus behind us, maximizing our strenuosity and efficiency and reinforcing our endeavour; or else, on the other hand, we relax, become passive or backsliders, and revert to older and more autistic types of thought, feeling, and will. Even when most potentialized, man does not dream how atavistic he is and how he is shot through with old veins which outbreak in all he does, says, and feels: how childish, not to say how animal, in his secret heart, and, indeed,

in most of his *tun, sollen, und haben.* To modern psychoanalysis we owe much of the demonstration of this new aspect of life and mind. This is not expressed with entire adequacy by saying that our psychic life is laminated, or that we live on an evolutionary ladder up and down the rungs of which we are constantly moving. It is better to conceive all our conduct and mentation as complexly motivated by features new and old, adult and childish, rational and irrational, conscious and unconscious, so that everything that we do is coloured if not shaped by manifold factors from the immemorial past. Rest, recreation, dreams, and even sleep itself, as well as neuroses and psychoses, are all either wholly or largely reversionary, and therefore often restorative.

Now, during the first few decades after Jesus' death and under the influence of the conviction that he had arisen, the chief impression left by his life and words was that he had brought a new and higher type of living, a sounder, broader view of the world, a unique standard of purity, and that those who followed him would survive death. But all this was as hard to characterize as is the superman for us. Every memory of him, and all he said and did, had not only to be reviewed but radically revised in the light of the Resurrection, which gave the disciples the first plenary conviction of his divinity. Had he remained in the tomb the *memorabilia* of him, had they been written, would have been revised downward. The expectations of his followers would have seemed to be too great, and he would have been regarded only as an earnest, intuitive soul preaching an idealism too good to be practically true, and with some power of healing by his pure and impressive personality. But now that he was certainly a god, all was transformed. Many of his parables dealing with special precepts of the new life, as well as much else that he said, could be recalled, although a good deal was lost owing to the fallibility of memory and the inadequate appreciation of his significance while he was with them. Many things not forgotten could only be inaccurately reproduced. What was, then, the net resultant or the whole burden, the composite photograph, of what he meant to the world?

It was, as we have said, a higher, more devoted, and intense life; but nothing is so hard to characterize or describe. This life involved new ideals, motives, goals, a higher potentialization, and a completeness unmarred by sin. It meant relief from the oppressive sense of inferiority that we all feel when we compare what we are with what

we might have been. It meant a heightening of every power of man, a new dominion of the soul over nature, such as science has actually achieved since: in short, a new and loftier kingdom of man. This was the real core, heart, root and soul of the new Gospel, which must be intensively proclaimed to a careless, inattentive, sordid world; and this must be done at once, for the end of things was near. Never was such a great and pressing heuristic pedagogic problem presented to the mind of man, and those upon whose souls it pressed were by no means ideally fit to solve it. Paul had not known Jesus, and he attempted to reason the matter out according to his lights. But the Evangelists must utilize their memories and traditions of him as he was in life, and had no recourse save to find or make symbols of his message to the world which should, if possible, be connected with his life and made central and integral to it. To this end they utilized the only possible symbols within their reach. The new revelation dispensed to them could all be summed up in the most portative and striking way by saying that the Gospel is like bringing sight to the blind, hearing and speech to deaf mutes, voluntary movement to those who are lame and paralytic, the curing of all specific diseases, feeding the hungry with bread marvellously supplied, changing the water of life to wine, speaking peace to tempest-tossed souls torn by fears and distress and by anxiety, the mother not only of all phobias but, as we now know, of about every psychosis and neurosis, expelling the devils of temptation, bringing perfect sanity, and even raising the moribund or the dead. Such are the best possible tropes and symbols of the *vita nuova* he had brought into the world.

But the Evangelists were no rhetoricians, and figures of speech could not satisfy them. They recalled that Jesus had wrought cures that seemed to them marvels, and that they had imitated him, not without success. Moses and the prophets, too, had done even greater marvels; but Jesus was now proven superior to them all, and doubtless could have done countless greater things than they. His Messianic office, too, required such deeds. He had in very truth done for souls precisely what the miracles they came to ascribe to him typified. During all the years between his death and the composition of our Gospels there was a strong, if unconscious, determining tendency to make him do what it was so desirable that he should have done, and perhaps it was felt that he could hardly have left his followers without so effec-

tive and easily provided means of promulgation, and perhaps would have suffered them had he lived. Under these influences the wonders that he really performed grew inevitably, and perhaps imperceptibly, into what he was finally reported to have done; for the historic sense was undeveloped, and the impulsion to teach, preach, convince, and convert was all dominant. Thus these miracles were no products of fantasy, and are quite unlike all others, whether those done by his successors or ascribed to the founders of other religions, in that they were so multifariously motivated, viz.: (a) by the cures he really did; (b) by the necessities of the Messianic rôle; (c) by Old Testament precedents; (d) by the cataleptic conviction that to a self-resurrected God they would have been easy and natural; (e) by the sense that they were necessary to round out the imperfect records of his life, and therefore, probably, (f) they were pressing necessities of the now absorbing work of making converts; while (g) there was no critical censorship for their unschooled minds, or in their land and age, to prevent this process. Thus these miracles are classics of their kind, and like the Kantian postulates worked well for the early Church, which would have been very different, if it could have even existed at all, without them.

To the synoptists, however, the miracles had become far more than postulates. Indeed, they grew to be the most actual and literal of events. They petrified, embalmed, buried the very spirit of Jesus in these crass materializations, and here for complacent orthodoxy their spirit still lies entombed. Having so supremely satisfied subjective needs, these scenic achievements must conform to such crude criteria of objectivity as were then accessible. These figurate receptacles or imaginal embodiments of precious treasure thus became sacrosanct and inviolable. Like Plato's preëxisting souls imprisoned in bodies, so their soul of meaning was shut up and almost hidden within them. By becoming thus incarnated, if the light went out the heat remained and can still be felt and communicated in the deeper strata of our psychic life. Although conscious reason cannot accept them, they still have a subterranean existence, and still have something to say to *Ahnung* and the deeper intuitions, although outlawed by science. Criticism cannot entirely eject their influences from any soul that has ever been fairly exposed to their infection, and that feels strongly the evolutionary impulsion to a fuller, deeper, better life. Religion in its very nature is reversionary, and so it is conserving and curative by

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN

bringing us back to the older, better organized layers of our psychic life. The best thing about Jesus is that he was the most grown-up of all children, and the most childlike of all men, in the new sense in which we are now understanding the child to be the father of the man. He is the exemplar of the best type of adolescence, most constantly yet temperately inebriated with ideality, and of this supernormal but not superhuman life the so-called miracles are the best symbols.

Thus the synoptists were in a sense undertakers, and the miracles are holy sarcophagi in which the most vital of all truths have been laid away. But, happily, they are only in a state of suspended animation, and the reverence we give them is both because they are mementoes of the past and augurs of the future, when their cerements shall be burst and they shall come forth, as so many of the great dead are thought by the folk to be sleeping till at the appointed moment they awaken to wield again the destinies of man. But if the Gospel writers interred, they also and thereby preserved, these cadavers of truth against the time when their soul should return to them. When they do arise and speak to us, their message is that there was once and will again be a type of human life vastly purer, clearer-minded, stronger-willed, as ready to die as to live as best serves the race, more completely one with the great spirit of life; a new life that seems marvellous only because it is farther on and higher up the evolutionary scale, and compared to which we are like the blind, deaf, crippled, deformed, like those who hunger and thirst, and perhaps even like the dead. Nevertheless, hope and regeneration are possible. They are symbols of Jesus' ecstatic and abounding life, and thus they contain the very heart and soul of the Gospel, and tell us in different allegories only one thing, viz., that a far better, richer, more potent, free, joyous human life has actually existed and can again be in and for us. Although their voice is raucous with long disuse, they call to us again just as Jesus did to his companions, to awake, arise, unlimber the dormant powers in us; to really see, hear, be clean and morally hygienic; to truly speak and say something; to feed our souls with the highest culture and not with gossip of local and personal ephemeralities; to do great deeds, think great thoughts, feel the larger emotions, and thus enter into the kingdom of man's soul, in which we can all do all these miracles upon ourselves. The lesson and moral of the miracles, therefore, is the higher powers of man. They teach that, as Jesus raised himself by his

own pure inner impulsions from a mason-carpenter to Messianity and Divine Sonship and made himself the focus of history, to which so many lines before him converge, and from which they since diverge, thus becoming the greatest leader and light in the world—precisely so all who realize what he was and did can do in and for themselves. They show that there is nothing in his real life not possible to us, according, of course, to our gifts of insight, feeling, and endeavour; for all his powers differ from ours only in degree and not in kind. He was the man in and upon whom all these miracles were truly done. He overcame his own blindness, deafness, immobility of soul, and fed, reanimated, cleansed, and potentialized it. Thus in their spiritual, sublimated sense, the miracles are the rude hieroglyphs of all that he was, did, and said.

Their one and only theme is human dynamogenesis, of which their very oppugnance to law and their impossibility are a flaring advertisement. For centuries before Christ the secret mysteries of the great cults of Thrace, Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt, the scope and impressiveness of which scholarship is now unearthing, celebrated by their inaugurations the death of winter and the revival of spring as realised in the life of man. As cold arrested all the processes of nature and as spring broke the spell and made the world live again, so they thought sin, ignorance, and routine brooded over man's soul, chilled and arrested, while insight, purpose, and enthusiasm were light, heat, wine, and inspiration, intensified to an almost inarticulate extreme in the Pentecostal outpourings, which in the Attic rites degenerated into maenadic frenzy, and here and often elsewhere into amatory calentures. At the heart of all these ancient ceremonies we find regenerative impulsions more or less ritualized and sublimated. Jesus' miracles teach the same thing, only more openly and specifically, and in more constellated yet diversified and portable ways. They are rough emblems of psychic springtide, ugly chrysalids full of the possibilities of new life, if and when vernal influences came; while, after life had burst forth from them, they were but casts or empty shells. Thus, neither the old theology nor the higher criticism can explain Christian regeneration, but are themselves beginning to be explained by geneticism, which sees in this new life a symphony of many parts, the oldest of which is the awakening of nature by spring, the bottom tidal wave beneath all. Upon this are superposed the suggestions that come from dawn

banishing night, and the sun conquering clouds and answering the prayer of the plant and animal world for light. Another factor is food satisfying hunger, with all the higher symbolism which it has suggested to Truro. Then come sex and its spiritualization, love, the greatest thing in the world, with all its wealth of symbols for religion; release or convalescence from the handicap of disease and the cure of traumata; also, self-conquest and control, freed from lameness or paralysis in the new city of psychic hygeia, and so on up to the modern forms of maximal cultural efficiency, anticipating the ideal reconstruction of the material and social world. It is, of course, impossible to tell how much all this excelsior impulsion comes from any one of the series of meristic levels, although the basal factor is older than man. But the conclusion is that the Jesus-cult, if we can only free and utilize it aright, contains the chief promise and potency by which man, still embryonic and always held back by repressive and arrestive influences, can and will some day attain his full maturity.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS

I. The story of the cross the world's masterpiece of pathos—The cross the widest-known symbol—How its story, if vividly told, affects children, neurotics, and others, like Zinzendorf—Pity fetishes, or the psychology of sympathy—The closing of the tomb upon Jesus, the nadir of dysphoria—The similarities between psychology of love and of death—II. The meaning of the great flood toward euphoria and the stages by which the Resurrection was believed, beginning with the incredulity which regarded the reports of it as idle tales, on to the passionate and ecstatic affirmations of Pentecost—The gift of the Holy Ghost—The psychology of death and the various immortalities—Why death is hard to conceive—Immortality as a support of morality—III. Forms of belief in Resurrection—(a) The old view of restoration of a putrefying corpse—(b) the theory that it was a revival from a trance state—(c) The theory that it was due to a more subtle form of corporeity or a ghost—(d) The vision theory—(e) The psychological theory of a great resurgence from the extreme of depression, to that of exaltation—The value of dying and rising with Jesus as an immunity bath against schizophrenia—The great cults of antiquity pre- and post-Christian which centre in death and resurrection—The psychology of projection and of purification or purgation—Guilt taboo—All enemies overcome as symbols of progressive riddance of the obsession of sin and guilt which in early days oppressed the human soul—The meaning of the eucharist—What the great redemption wrought by Jesus really means in modern terms.

I.

JESUS is most widely known as the man of the cross. In hundreds of the more ignorant and backward communities of Christendom, as Mr. Fielding Hall has shown with some detail, where very little is known of his teachings, his character, or the events of his life, the crucifix is found and revered. Men, women, and children who cannot read regard it with reverence and often ascribe to it supernal properties and magical efficacy. In Catholic lands fragments of the true cross are more widely disseminated than any other

relic. In all Christian centuries the story of the cross has been the chief theme of preaching, the centre of sacred ceremonies, and the most effective propædeutic in all the repertory of mission methods among pagans. It is the deepest and most widespread of all the impressions that Christendom has made upon the human heart. In no other religion has the death of the founder had such prominence and efficacy. The natural, objective, sensuous impressions which each of the events of Passion Week was calculated to make upon the mind and heart of the observer have been wrought out with great detail in descriptive preaching, in narrative, tradition, and art. Every incident has been amplified and filled out so that the story of the last stages of Jesus' life constitutes the world's great masterpiece of pathos. It would be hard even for creative genius to add new elements to the story that could materially increase the mordant effects of this train of events, which have so burned and eaten into the very soul of believers. Many causes have lately made us negligent or forgetful of this fact. Critical studies which enlist the intellect; philosophy which neglects sensuous facts for metaphysical meanings and interprets events as symbols; perhaps, especially, theology, which has always tended to volatilize the full humanity of Jesus and thus make the Incarnation of none effect; the refinement of modern nerves that shrink from the contemplation of physical anguish; the perfervid zeal that can never wait to let his humanity have its natural effects before insisting that the man Jesus is also Very God of Very God, thus giving the biography of Jesus an inexpugnable, Docetic innervation—all these have conspired to rob the story of his death of its pristine hold upon the heart and make it seem hollow and falsetto. These influences tend to take away his Lord from the average Christian, and especially from the young, and to abate the original power of the plain story of the cross. It was the simple narrative of death and resurrection in physical terms, as first told to fresh, receptive minds, that really made the fortunes of the nascent Church.

Neither Greek tragedy nor modern history or romance can parallel the "descending incongruity" of the decline of Jesus' fortunes from the three great achievements of his soul (the triple conviction that he was the Jewish Messiah, the Son of God, and the Founder of a new Kingdom), to the anguish in his own and the utter despair in the hearts of his friends at his death and burial. The faltering, but finally

resolute, determination to go to Jerusalem, the necessity of which may have loomed up in his soul like an apparition of fate; the prospect of death thrice foretold; the entrance into Jerusalem, perhaps more ostentatiously than even his courageous heart really sanctioned; the conspiracy of the rulers; the supper at Bethany; the Passover; the treachery of Judas; the prayers in Gethsemane while thrice the disciples slept; the advent of the soldiers; the kiss of betrayal; the hearing before Caiaphas; Peter's denial thrice; Christ's muteness while he was buffeted, mocked, smitten and spat upon; his silence before Herod; Pilate's more judicial attitude of mind; the gorgeous scarlet robe and crown of thorns with the reed, ironically suggesting a kingship neither of this world nor any other; the release of Barabbas; the scourging; the invocation of his blood upon his accusers' heads; the death of Judas; the cowardly flight of every disciple; the cross-bearing with Simon; the woe of the daughters of Jerusalem; the vinegar and gall; the parting of the garments; the mocking inscriptions and taunts to come down and rule; the penitent thief; the mother, aunt, and the two Marys, alone faithful to the end, which has so often suggested a pathetic romance; the agonizing cry of being forsaken as his supreme conviction of Sonship seemed to be shaken; the earthquake, the spear, and finally the tomb, sealed and guarded—all these events copiously amplified in detail, set in scene by the most realistic imagination, every item made a theme of meditation until it stood out with an almost scarifying and sometimes actually stigmatic effect in the psychophysic organism of the believer, appeal as nothing else before or since has ever done to the sentiments of sympathy and pity, which strike to the very roots of man's gregarious nature.

It would be an interesting, although perhaps too great to be a practical, task to mosaic together the history of the effects which these events, regarded as purely historical and pragmatic, have wrought in the soul. Every station of the cross, and many apocryphal instances as well as everything told in the Gospels, have been focussed on as a special theme of meditation, a basis of exhortation as typical of larger and back-lying meaning. Believers have sought closer unity with their Saviour by reiterated, prolonged, agonizing efforts intensified by fasting, vigils, and solitude remote from the haunts of men, etc., to actually visualize the facts as if they had been eye-witnesses to it all. They have sought to put themselves in Jesus' place at every stage and

to realize how the stripes, thorns, nails, and spear would feel. Pious exercises have been developed and assigned peculiar saving efficacy, and fanatics have sought to subject themselves to some of these tortures, even the cross itself, or to make single items in this train of suffering live again in their own person. Those who have felt themselves failures, who have been deserted, or suffered from cumulative disasters and insults, or known the pangs of injustice, have brought their own experiences to bear to aid them in realizing the anguish of Jesus. Cults and sects have arisen to bring out in full relief special elements in this the world's most pathetogenetic train of events.

Perhaps only those who have made special studies in this field realize how effective every item of this galaxy of incitations to pathos still is in the young, in whom it often becomes a highly specialized pity fetish. Some illustrate this propensity of sympathy to focus by regarding the betrayal by a kiss as the acme of the tragedy. Others feel a lump in the throat or sob at the prayer, "Father, forgive them." Others have physical symptoms at the thought of the flesh torn and bruised by the scourge. And so the commendation of his mother to the care of the beloved disciple, his meeting with her on the way to Calvary, the stripping of the garments, the three falls under the cross, the Veronica handkerchief, the silence and passivity of Jesus before Herod, the scarlet robe, the awful invocation by the Jews of his blood upon themselves and their posterity—each of these and many more, may be, have been, and still are almost maddening or may bring tears, heartache, limpness, clenching of the hands, breaking of the voice, constriction in the chest, weakness of knees, involuntary groaning or sighing, or even shrieking, the haunting and persistent sense of helplessness and depression, waves of flushing or chill, and other vasomotor effects. I have collected many instances of this potent contagion of emotion which may seem to some almost incredible,[1] but the number and character of which place them beyond all doubt. A man now forty, from the age of about fifteen used to find the place exactly in the centre of the palm of his own hand where the nails went in. He was later wounded very near this spot and this experience in his quaint language, "brought him to Jesus." Others press nails against their own hands, though rarely deeply enough to bring blood, in order to realize more acutely the pangs of the cross. Many develop very exact

[1] See article on "Pity," *Am Jour. Psychol.*, July, 1900, Vol. 11, pp. 534-591.

ideas of the kind of nails. They are, for instance, tenpenny nails, blunt at the point, square, sharp, or rusty. For some the very sound of the word "nails" seems cruel and causes a nervous shudder. A few cannot help thinking upon them so intently that they have subjective sensations in the hands. A few on seeing nails that look antique feel pains in the hands from the strength of their imagination and are on the way to stigmatization. Others muse on how the nails were driven in, the heads, for instance, hammered down a little into the flesh causing needless pain, and how the last blow broke the skin as it rolled over between the hammer and the nail and spattered the blood drops that oozed out. Nervous children shudder in thinking how the first blows would "squeech and creak" before the nails would go through the flesh, or reflect on whether the larger nails that went into the feet would come out in front of the heel to help support the weight. Of all the items in my collection the nails lead in this kind of efficacy. The scourging, thorns, spear, and other tactile or haptic sensations come next. The spear, for instance, is often vividly imaged as dull or blunt, with the haft a little larger than the head, or barbed so that the pain of withdrawal was greater than that of thrust. One, in church, presses her hand against the lower rib, sometimes till it hurts, to feel more vividly the spot pierced by the spear. Some conceive it thrust with such malice that it penetrated the body and went well into the wood of the cross. In the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play the most pathetic moment is usually when the spear seems to enter the side of Jesus. A tinselled point is really pushed back by a spring into the haft causing the red ink used for blood to spurt out. I have seen this four times and inspected the apparatus, but loved to feel the sob rising and to wipe my eyes. We must reserve for publication elsewhere fuller details of this propensity of the youthful soul to sensualize the physical suffering of the Passion and to make it not merely a graphic or dramatic presentation but a personal experience. All this shows us again how nothing in any of the old dramatic unities is so calculated to bring out every strong and deep tone in all the shades and degrees of pity that can wring the heart. Were the whole story the creation of some sublime artistic genius, master in all the resources of aesthetics, or were it the slow evolution of the race soul, it would incite amazement and reverence for the faculties that could create such a masterpiece.

Pity fetishes seem to be as real as the love fetishes, now so well

recognized, but their causation is quite different. The very young cannot pity intensely because they have not had sufficient experience in suffering or in fear. Defectives are lacking in sympathy partly, at least, because they are insensitive, analgesic, and more or less disvulnerable. In general the average man pities only for pains he has felt himself or, in a secondary way, for those he fears. Thus, we come to pity in others evils which we have experienced, or to which we feel ourselves liable. It is, therefore, because we have suffered or feared in spots, as it were, that sympathy is not properly distributed but, like phobias, tends to focalization. Plato held that a good physician must have had experience with disease in his own person to know how it feels and to take his patient's point of view. Hence, the young, whose lives have been so sheltered, and the rich reared in luxury, who can so imperfectly pity the poor, cannot rightly distribute their sympathy. Hence, too, where it is felt it is prone to be over-intense. Only genius, in which the highest powers of imagination are developed, is able, with little or no experience with woe, to feel what a recent writer makes its chief characteristic—the pathos of resonance.

In a unique study, "Die Frömmigkeit des Grafen Ludwig von Zinzendorf" (Leipzig, 1910, 118 p.), O. Pfister has given us a striking analysis of religious sublimation directed chiefly toward the wounds of Jesus. As a child, Zinzendorf had no outlet for his affection, which slowly came to focus in a unique way upon the physical personality of Jesus; and so as a boy he wrote letters to Jesus which he threw out of the window at night. He prayed, was entranced, practised asceticism, but the unique fact in his whole religious career was that it was the blood and wounds of Jesus which exerted a supreme fascination for him. In the community he founded there were agapistic elements, and the most passionate affection was expressed for Jesus, the bridegroom and lover. Parts of his body and special wounds, particularly that in the side, were apostrophized in sermons, and their drawing power characterized in hymns. Believers wished to hide themselves in these wounds, and their very festering had a charm. "They lived in the wounds, were born from them, and envied the worms that dwelt in them, their home." They even developed a litany expressive of this cult that had a jargon of its own, and in scores of their hymns Christ's corpse is kissed and eaten, in an orgy of traumatolatry which was strangely bound up with their doctrine of redemption. It was

not all a Sadistic gloating over Jesus' sufferings, but there were masochistic elements in it; the wounds were erogenic zones. Indeed, the author tells us that even Luther's eucharistic ideas were somewhat nekrophagic.

Sympathy, too, begins at home with a few friends or loved ones, and irradiates to those remote in time, place, or associations slowly and, in a sense, inversely as the square of the distance. It is intensified by physical beauty, by every personal charm and grace of disposition, and every gift that provokes admiration. Perhaps, as we have seen, this element was a part of the magnetism that drew the friends of Jesus to him. Instead of emaciation and ugliness, which art has sometimes assumed for him and which the friends of Socrates doubtless magnified to bring out in stronger relief the beauties of his soul, his nature may have been at once so commanding and attractive as to give him that rare prestige which often comes from this source. Again, spring suggests life as autumn does death. With this the cults of Balder, Apollo, and many others have always been very intimately merged. The heart expands and feels far more keenly. Again, Jesus was young and cut off in the height of his promise with a work of incalculable magnitude but just begun, so that we have here the keen pathos of unrealized hope. For the old, who have lived out a fully rounded life to the end; who have finished their work; who fortify themselves by thoughts of their good deeds, perhaps now even by Weismannism, which has sources of consolation not yet utilized; who have risen to the largest ideas and in so doing are de-individualizing themselves and dying the death of Platonic philosophers in whom the great biologos has accomplished its work of involution; who have beaten the masterly retreat that can make old age glorious; who are surrounded by friends—even under these circumstances death, with its horrid accompaniments of pallor, weakness, perhaps unconsciousness; the sweat, agony, rattle, and final cessation of breath; the rigidity, coldness and decomposition, is the king of terrors for all who witness it. But for those cut off prematurely, with the gifts and possibilities of rich lives undeveloped, it is incalculably more ghastly and horrid. Again, innocence and non-resistance intensify the pathos of it. I have myself in my study of pity witnessed two hangings of criminals, both of whom had committed crimes so namelessly horrible that the indignation of communities was aroused to a high pitch. One managed to meet death

with some repose and the other struggled insanely, but here even strong men fainted or grew sick and withdrew. Resentment, for the moment at least, seemed swallowed up in pity for those suffering what has always been for man his supreme dread. But for one with no fault or crime to die with every mental and physical torture which he might have escaped, and to accept it all with equanimity, especially when his great sacrifice was for the weal of others, must have aroused in the faithful few that witnessed it emotions of a kind and intensity very rarely felt in the human soul and which art and literature are powerless adequately to describe. Justice seemed dethroned, and the resentment against even the race that caused this tragedy has ever since been deep, persistent, and widespread, blind and unreasoning as it is. All these considerations have been developed and dwelt upon in Christian cults, which have in every way sought to magnify their great natural impressiveness on the theory that every man had sin enough in his own soul to merit all this agony himself and that, by vicariously following the way of the cross as far as imagination and tender-heartedness, goaded on by every provocative, could go, the heart could be cleansed of sin, and experience a saving virtue in feeling anew all these wounds of Jesus.

In the story of the Passion, as interpreted in Christendom, Jesus is often placed in the attitude of craving sympathy. He made no sublime Promethean resistance against the will of heaven, attempted no heroics or even a Socratic apology, but bowed to the divine will, fate, or *kismet* with utter submission, with a passivity that was more feminine than masculine. He seems to many to have desired to excite compassion, and would have his followers die with him and rehearse all his litany of woe to make their self-abandonment complete. Hartmann has given us a new and deeper, if also somewhat grotesque, glorification of pity in his theory that the Absolute, before all the worlds were, was suffering intolerable pain, and that their creation was like an eruption that "ameliorated his negative eudemonism," and insists that the highest of all motives to virtue is to pity divinity, and thus to hasten on by a new motivation to morals and good works God's ultimate relief from transcendental pain and redemption.

On the other hand, familiarity always tends to blunt the effects of this sentiment. Our returns abound in expressions of regret and self-reproach that the whole story of Jesus' sufferings is now heard with in-

difference. Many think they are growing hardened, grieving the Spirit, fear they are losing belief, or backsliding, growing stagnant; find they pity saints, contemporaries, characters in romance or even suffering animals, more than they can Jesus; or perhaps think this is all because their sympathy has been overdone, forced, or premature.

Moreover, there is much in modern life to discourage pity, the pleasure field has widened so rapidly with growing civilization and comfort and immunity to want. Aristotle had what seems to us a strange dread of the overmastering power of pity, for which he thought it necessary to find in the drama or in art a method of purgation by his well-known theory of katharsis or psychic vaccination, or setting a back fire. Spinoza thought it an unworthy sentiment wherever it did not prompt action for relief. Story readers who are so inebriated by woe that it becomes an obsession, who in serials implore romancers not to let their heroes die or suffer, are, if this be true, marked with the stigmata of degeneration. Darwinism comforts us by the doctrine that, although the majority of known species and animals perish in pain, it is on the whole the best that survive. Nietzsche excoriates those who pity, and his Zarathustra denounces all who either crave or indulge in this sentiment as hysterical. For him, as for the Stoics, the sage would blush to be pitied or to pity, and he finds here a pathogenic element in Christianity and calls Jesus an amiable and neurotic degenerate.

Profoundly as we dissent from this view, this is not the place to discuss the normality of the sentiment of pity, but only its power and wide prevalence. For Christendom it was a unique moment when the body of Jesus was wrapped in clean, fine linen with Nicodemus's "mixture of myrrh and aloes about a hundred pounds' weight," placed in a new sepulchre hewn in a rock, sealed up with a stone, and guarded by a watch. As to the state of mind of the friends and disciples during these three days, and especially on the Jewish Sabbath which intervened, we know nothing whatever, for the record is an utter blank. Peter, the rock, had shown himself a vociferous, triple perjurer, and the disciples seem to have been skulking fugitives seeking their personal safety. Many must have felt their hero to be of clay, either an impostor or a foolish dreamer. That they thought this the end of him on this earth is plain; for when told that he was risen these "words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not." "As

yet they knew not of the Scripture that he must rise again from the dead." "And they, when they had heard that he was alive and been seen of her, believed not." The Jewish belief that righteousness was rewarded and evil punished here, which was so persistent in the minds of the disciples, must have wrought great disenchantment. When Rome, the hope of the world, was falling, we read that at the death of Otho the Good many slew themselves from sheer pity. The logic of pessimism or Stoicism must have made suicide the theme of every philosophic mind under those circumstances, for the last spark of hope had gone out in utter darkness. The grief, humiliation, sleeplessness, must have made this the nadir of despair for them all. Only the lust of life in youth (Keim thinks the average age of the disciples was but little over twenty) must have sustained them. What if he had lain in the grave a month, year, decade, century, and then arisen gloriously, or perhaps, when all who knew him were dead? It is, of course, impossible to conjecture what would have occurred had there been no sequel. His followers had no possible source of hope or consolation in their anguish. Everything that had begun to germinate in their souls during the years of intercourse with their master must be left to die or be actively exterminated. The powers of darkness seemed to be at the helm. The world was a "City of Dreadful Night," and with the Great Companion's shameful and miserable death a pall shrouded the earth and left his friends a prey to nameless fears. Grief at his loss, the pathos of his suffering, mortification at their own misguidance, struggled together in their souls, or perhaps left them stunned so that when they found their bearings they had to strike out a new plan of life. It might be wisest to live for the day and hour, and worship the blind power of wrong or fate on the throne of an antimoral universe. Thus, in their agony they, too, in a figurative sense, descended into hell, tasted all the spiritual torments it could inflict, and touched the profoundest depths of dysphoria. Moreover, all their personal and racial ideas and beliefs in a transcendent world of rewards and punishments lay in ruins. If there had been anything in man really worth while that could survive death, he who was so solemnly pledged to do so must come back, or, at least, give some sign of post-mortem survival. This he failed to do, and nothing remained of him but a corpse that was doomed to moulder, and the aching recollections that clutched their hearts. This life must be the be-all and death the end-all, and

every man only awaits like the brutes the inevitable hour of total engulfment in the grave. Man is a fleeting pillar of dust thrown up by a rude whirlwind. Even their bitter-sweet memories of him would soon be swallowed up in oblivion. Perhaps the thoughts of different individuals drifted in all these different ways. Some may have lapsed to resentment and indignation that their hopes and endeavours had been thus bankrupted. Such, at least, is the psychological appreciation of such an historic situation. There was no comfort from the psychic law that the healthy soul by its very nature cannot remain long in a state of extreme depression, but must react toward some more exalted state, so that the entire moral, social, religious world which was wrecked and reduced back to chaos for them, must be built up again in some form, or else they must succumb to the grim logic of miserabilism.

The psychology of death and of love agree in each having an unenvisageable fact at its core, the one a putrefying corpse, the sight of which started Buddha on his career, the other the sex act and organs. The psychalgia of the one and the shame and modesty that veil the other have used the same mechanisms, such as repression, fetishism, diversion, over-determination and sublimation, and each from its respective core has evolved a most elaborate superstructure that has played a tremendous rôle in human culture. There is a sense in which all fears and phobias are at bottom fears of death or of the arrest of the momentum of life, and there is also a sense in which gratification of every desire and wish is that of love. The one is the supreme affirmation of the will to live, the other the great negation. The real meaning of death is not understood until puberty. Just as art and religion are largely made up of sublimated sex feelings, so out of the fear of death have grown the medical sciences, hygiene, and what is far more important, the desire for and belief in immortality. Both death and the act of love transcend individuality, and neither is entirely *bewusstseinsfähig*. The "death-thought" and the "love-thought" sometimes spring up suddenly and spontaneously, and make us realize that they are the voice of the race in the individual, and that our consciousness about the matter is only an epiphenomenon. In both the genetic impulse shields the child by diverting attention from the central fact to countless irrelevancies and accessories. Just as racial instinct has striven to prevent sex precocity, so religion

strives to mitigate the old horror of the fact that we must all die and cease to be, body and soul. The Pentecostal conviction that the great incubus of ages, the greatest of all repressions, had been removed, was the culminating moment of history.

Every mode of disposing of the dead is motivated largely by the impulse to repress or divert us from thoughts of the putrefying corpse, and belief in reanimation and another life serves the same purpose. The survivors must be prevented from dwelling on the natural processes of decay, and so these diverting and defensive mechanisms have been evolved. Their worth is not all in what they give but in what they save us from, viz., obsessive thoughts of the body's decay. They are therapeutic measures against thanatophobia. The impulse to embalm, to deck out corpses, is a diversion mechanism as much as the fig-leaf, breech-cloth, or wedding-dress. Of course the four immortalities, nominal, influential, plasmal, and orthodox, have other motivations, but they sustain and support each other in ways which only this key reveals.

II

But now from this direst of extremities came the great reaction, the pivot of history for Christendom, which made the grave of the old world the cradle of a new one. Although there may have been watches and vigils, there is no recorded eye-witness of the Resurrection. The first news of the empty tomb was brought by Mary the Mother, Mary the Magdalene, who, it is often conjectured, had fallen in love with Jesus, or both of them, so that, as Renan says, the first promulgator, announcer, preacher of the Gospel of glad tidings was woman who, in this office, followed the directions of an angel with fear and trembling. The news, according to the record, was received with every indication of incredulity and skepticism as "idle tales." The sight of the vacant tomb and even the first *parousia* were unconvincing. If it was not a hallucination or a theft of the body, a dream or a fiction, conviction, at any rate, began at a faint suggestive stage and we have few details of how it passed up the long scale of probabilities till it reached a cataleptic certainty. The epochful fact, however, is that the certainty of it soon became so intense and peculiar that it needed, if it did not create, faith as a new faculty, whose chief function was to cherish it. Thus the Resurrection soon became the chief affirmation and

source of power of Christendom, the key to the right understanding of the entire apostolic and even patristic period. "If Christ be not risen our faith is vain." Many other faiths had held to a future life, but all with far fainter certainty. It was better, thought Homer, to live the life of a common man than reign in the kingdom of the dead, where all is pallid and unreal. Henceforth the belief in another life, of which the Resurrection is the object lesson and proof, became the mainspring of activity. As faith became absolute Jesus was chiefly known as the death-killer, the first fruits of them that slept, the one who had removed the sting of death and caused it to be swallowed up in victory. Although he came back weak and exhausted, it was as a conqueror. "Death-exterminator" was his chief epithet. Not only this, but he had raised others, and more yet, had gone to Hades and vanquished the ruler of death and sin. The power of the Resurrection was the chief theme of the first preaching. Christ had bearded the king of terrors and burst the bars of the tomb. Tertullian compares him to a phoenix rising from his own ashes. Thomas had actually felt the body and its wounds, and five hundred at once had seen it; and after the Ascension the abode of the dead was upward. The present world is mean, life is short and squalid, and earth made perhaps by a vicious demiurge, as the Marcion heresy later taught. Thus it was not strange that the first book of the New Testament to be written was a revelation or apocalypse of a higher world order, describing a new Jerusalem in which are all the treasures which the heart holds dear. Its architecture is elaborate and gorgeous, and slowly not only its details but those of Tartarus and purgatory grow to Dantesque vividness. This world is eclipsed by the other. It will burn, but all things worth saving are in the great Beyond. Just as Alaric destroyed Rome and the hope of the world for man as a political animal, Augustine described the City of God, and the Church inherited the forms and ambitions of the Roman State.

The world had been ruled by fear, and the greatest of all the fears is that of death. To be relieved of this and all so suddenly (for it was barely fifty days from Calvary to Pentecost), caused, as was most natural, an outburst of unbounded enthusiasm that in some temperaments amounted almost to delirium. Men chanted, raved, spoke in unknown tongues, prophesied, gazed up into heaven all day, longed for vision, with a real *parousia*-mania, straining to grasp the momen-

tous fact that death was swallowed up in victory, that its incubus and awful inhibition were removed. Every human faculty let itself go with abandon to excesses often riotous. Men babbled as if drunk with new wine, were erethic and beside themselves. There were new ideas of inspiration, and belief in possession. So widespread and intense was this tendency that it was necessary to make strenuous efforts and adopt stern measures to come back to sanity and reality and prove all spirits. The normative form of this outburst of enthusiasm was the doctrine of the Holy Ghost selectively evolved. Thus to save the nascent Church from inebriation from its great joy, it was necessary to turn attention to practical efforts; hence, preaching, proclaiming the good news, and making propaganda was the first mundane direction of the new life.[1]

The attitude toward spirits Weinel calls "the most essential possession of the innermost personal life of primitive Christendom," and shows how the ideas of the Holy Spirit developed out of the intense multifarious spiritism that long ruled. Powers of evil had made themselves felt even in the temptation of Jesus. They inspired all evil and gave doubt. Thus, behind the world were mighty, invisible, personal influences well organized, leagued, and graded, and Jesus had conquered the ministers of evil and brought the Holy Ghost which conquered hate, consoled, guided into truth, gave certainty, and could make all believers truly pneumatic as well as denizens of the higher and only real world. Glossolalia, singing, praying, poetizing, convulsions, narrating words heard in ecstasy, inspiring authorship that noted the experiences of trancelike states, sometimes even cramps, symbols, acts, all supernally motivated, were slowly subjected to a criticism which, if it limited the richness and variety of pneumatic life, slowly came to an increasingly normal direction and bestowed gifts essentially good. Pneu-

[1]On this interesting development see the admirable work of Weinel, "Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im Nachapostolischen Zeitalter bis auf Irenaus." Leipzig, 1899. Upon speaking with tongues there is already an interesting if limited literature. Godet thought it a hybrid between song and language, a kind of *récitatif*, and found it somewhat diffused among the prophets. It was developed in the cult of the Delphic Oracle of Apollo, among the Thracian orgiasts and ecstatics. Paul characterized and named it as one of the charismata. It was common among the Quakers, and Edward Irving called it the gift of the Holy Ghost. See, too, Schmiedel's "Ausführungen," II, 1, Freiburg, 1912, which is best from the philological point of view; also Lombard's "De la Glossolalie," 1910; and Mossiman's "Zungenreden," Tübingen, 1911. Especially see Pfister's study, "Die psychologische Enträtselung der relig. Glossolalie und der automatischen Kryptographie," in *Jahrb. f. Psychoanalyse u. psychopath. Forsch.*, Bd. 3, 1912, in which he censures theologians for having done so little here, which began with a young man of twenty-four who, at seventeen years, on Pentecost felt inspired to make brief utterances that no one could understand. Pfister was able to take down a large part of his very limited vocabulary and explain each word in it, showing the source and meaning of it all. His exhortations expressed his own desire to study and get religious clearness, and how he ardently wished to be a preacher and to marry a certain girl. It was a distortion of language made in order so to disguise the utterances of the most secret things of his soul that nobody could understand, and yet he could vent all that was in him. His glossolalia proved infectious and he later developed a cryptographic unknown language, and finally there came to be some liturgical stereotypy. His sister's unknown tongue played a good deal upon English, and his mother's upon Italian, but both were very infantile. Pfister thinks this the same as the xenoglossolalia that appeared among the rabbins or the phenomena of Pentecost, or that it was related to the unknown tongue in which Isaiah spoke to the Jews. See also Flournoy, "Des Indes à la planète Mars," Paris, 1900, 420 p. This gives both specimens and theories.

matophores were inspired to prophecy and virtue by spirits that came from God by baptism, laying on of hands, etc.[1]

Thus the reality of a psychic far transcending that of a sarcous body in importance was slowly established, and all mainly by the Resurrection. Faith was the organ of things unseen; virtue was other-world conduct. This life was mean and transitory. The other world had conquered this. All interests here paled in comparison with those of the next life. Thus it came to pass that at first believers in the new faith not only defied and challenged but often courted and prayed for death. They feared they were not worthy of martyrdom, and the ten persecutions from A. D. 64 to 303 gave them abundant opportunity to bear witness in the supreme way. The testimony of Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius, and Caecilius shows that the Christians early made themselves detested as infected with a new malefic superstition aggravated by obstinacy and contumacy. They were hated not so much because they injured the business of astrologers, shrine-makers, gladiators, and the rest, as because their faith was not to them one of many, but so exclusive and supreme that they would gladly die to advance it. Thus, Jesus' followers soon came to defy, taunt, and even woo death. They gloated over the details of the charnel-house and worms. They lived in tombs, and developed the catacombs, those of Rome having hundreds of miles of passages. Tertullian said all Christians should die the death of martyrs at the end. Those who died with Christ would rise with him. Martyrdom was a prize, a great treasure, an honour, a kind of diploma *summa cum laude*. Death was despised, fled to; it was the muse that inspired to great deeds. Its worst forms were no longer hated but preferred. It was no mere thanatopsis or dreamy contemplation of euthanasia, but to achieve a glorious death was the goal which many attained of whom we know nothing else. Often men and tender women agonized as to whether they were worthy of the honour of the most horrid forms of death. Thus the newly discovered continent seemed infinitely fairer, more lasting, more charming, than the old hated world of sense, and the great enemy was met no longer with Stoic apathy but was coveted and craved. It was the essential part of man that survived, the only thing of moment, when the veil of the body was sloughed off. The soul was no longer regarded as a mere harmony, a vapour liable to be blown away if one died on a

[1] H. Gunkel: "Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes." 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1899.

windy day, but as the very man himself. Besides the mortal part there was the spiritual body which went to the home of souls. Thus the psychology of the early Christians was not without a soul. It was no mere parallelism but was instinct with futurity, and so protensive withal that agnosticism had no place. Never before nor since has the soul seemed so supremely important.

The lust for another life, or the horror of extinction, is so old and so all-pervading that it has greatly perverted man's desire to know himself. When, however, we study this lust for immortality dispassionately, we have reason to believe that the dread and pathos of it all is that man still dies so young. If we lived to an old age, not of Methusalemic or even Metschnikoffian span; and died symmetrically, not by the premature failure of some one organ or function; if thus we knew senescence as fully as we do adolescence, we should find that the lust for life would be slowly supplanted by an equally strong counter-will to die. Indeed, we might seek death actively as we now do life, and regard it as the greatest blessing. In that case there would be no immortality mania, for we should be satisfied with life here, without wanting a sequel to it, and dreams of post-mortem existence would become a nightmare. True macrobiotism means not only more years and completeness of experience but especially absence of repression. Had we lived through the whole *comédie humaine* and drunk all the drafts of bitter and sweet that were ever brewed for man, we should never want to repeat any part of such experience. The fact is, man is now cut off in his prime with most of the best things in him repressed and unrealized. He is a pathetic creature doomed to a kind of Herodian slaughter. He has felt this dimly, and so has always cried to the gods and to nature to have mercy. He has fancied answers to the heartrending appeals which he shouted into the void, and on their warrant has supplemented this life by another. When we psychoanalyze this conviction, we find that at bottom it is a sense that the human race is unfinished and that the best is yet to come. Man's future on this earth is the only real, glorious, and sufficient fulfilment of this hope in the prolonged and rich life of posterity here. The man of the future will live himself out so that nothing essentially human will be foreign to his own experience. The desire for immortality, therefore, is at bottom the best possible indication that man as he exists to-day is only the beginning of what he is to be, the pigmoid

or embryo of his true self. When he has completed and finished all that is now only begun in him, many transcendental structures will become useless. Thus doctrines of another life, whatever else they are, we may still regard as symbols or tropes in mythic terms of the true superman as he will be and the great hope that so many have lived and died in will be fulfilled, every jot and tittle of it. The deathbed visions of those who died hungering for more life will come true.

Another point of the greatest importance is that the old lust for personal immortality has now made man much more anxious to prolong and enlarge his mundane life. The great and good things he expected beyond he now strives to attain here. He wants more, not less, as of old in this life, because he expected so much in the other, so that the old belief in immortality is one of the analytic roots of hygiene and orthobiosis.

Just as sense is the organ of the physical world so faith is the inner sensory of the true soul world. It was indeed the very substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen. The Holy Ghost, which was its supreme manifestation, was a new muse and organ of communication with the next world, and superior to the lower faculties of sense and reason, which were despised as filthy rags, just as the morality of this world was regarded from the standpoint of supermundane morals. Thus ideals became more real than facts; the visible Church was plastic to, and moulded by, the invisible Church. The laws of this world differed from those of the new and higher one now revealed. The two world orders collided, and what seemed miraculous here was natural there because the lower must give way to the higher. This earth was given over to evil and to destruction. Worship was the purest, other-world conduct, the avocation of heaven. No real evil could, indeed, befall a good man, living or dead, if he were good in this sense.

No wonder, therefore, that this evangel of a new impending kingdom and dispensation was heralded by a kind of hurrah preaching. The Church was the best image of heaven and suggestive of it; was the ante-room through which all must pass to arrive there. Individuality was given an intensification immeasurable, unprecedented, and of transcendent value. In this new dualism the *Jenseits* was so superior to the *Diesseits* that all the scales of value were reversed, and all the

troubles, disorders, and ruinations of the period impelled the soul to fly to and live by anticipation in its home above. Cyprian had some almost fulsome encomiums upon martyrdom which Cruttwell[1] blindly calls "a strange symptom of that unhappy age." It was really the most natural and inevitable result of a fixed and literal belief in the Resurrection and all that it implied. The passionate thirst for martyrdom made it thought by many the very best gift they could render to God, and they went far out of their way to provoke it. Men rushed to death with a cheer, which to the Romans seemed a blind fanaticism because they could not understand it to be anything but sheer obstinacy that men would refuse to cry "Lord Caesar," or burn a grain of frankincense on the altar. Tertullian praised martyrdom as a second baptism in blood with very peculiar power to wash away post-baptismal guilt otherwise very hard to remove. He even laid down what might almost be called rules of etiquette for martyrs, who must not shriek when wild beasts come upon them, etc. He exhorted men to be witnesses, thus praising those blessed ones who, crouching in gloomy prisons, awaited the martyr's crown. Even to Clement, who was a little more unsympathetic with this passion or mania, a martyr was a confessor.

Thus within the space of three days, or at most some fifty days from Calvary to Pentecost, we have a great tide from the ebb of depression to the flood of euphoria. The katabasis of humiliation, shame, and suffering was followed by the anabasis of exaltation, glory, and Resurrection. Never was there such a flood from the depths to the heights of human experience in its fluctuations between its two great poles of pleasure and pain. Even Jesus' earthly life had two sides, well illustrated by the two works of Wünsche,[2] as we have seen, in one of which he is described as suffering, solitary, misunderstood by his mother ever after his first visit to the temple, by his contemporaries and even his chosen disciples, and in the other as jubilant and triumphant. The soul is normally poised between these extremes, and when the balance is lost in either direction tends to react toward the other. The high hopes of years in the breasts of the disciples could not be permanently crushed by one series of calamities, however appalling, and any objective intimation of resurgence would be reinforced by this psychodynamic principle. Ever since Magnan's important studies in

[1] "Literary History of Early Christianity." 1893. 2 vols.

[2] See "Die Leiden des Messias." 1870. Compare it with "Der lebenfreudige Jesus." 1876.

psychiatry, alienists are increasingly prone to lay stress upon depressive or melancholiac as contrasted with exalted states of consciousness, as succeeding each other in the so-called cyclic forms of insanity, into either one of which the patient, after losing the power of reacting to the other, may settle with relative permanence. Even moods of joy and sorrow have different mental horizons and may take the form of something almost like dual personality. The healthy soul, however, is marked by the power of resilience. To explore the possibilities of human experience each way, both up and down, gives breadth, range, and, in a word, humanism. The plastic soul of adolescence is peculiarly prone to oscillate from the pain field to the pleasure field, and thereby strengthens and tempers itself, insures sanity and poise, and makes recovery from the vicissitudes of fortune a habit or diathesis. No experience of the ordinary individual sounds such extremes of misery and rapture as is presented at this epoch. To have fully realized the possibility of this great experience cadences the soul; gives it immunity against the danger of being overwhelmed by woe or enervated by joy. Having been thus seasoned, man is initiated into life and inoculated with saving heart-power against all the ills that may befall. For those with vitality to react, the greater the depression below the algedonic indifference point, the higher and the easier the ascent above it. To be helped by an external norm to this reaction gives temper to the soul, and to have suffered and rejoiced vicariously up to the full measure of its possibilities is the best initiation into life and the best safeguard against arrest at either extreme point of the pendulum. It is thus that the soul expatiates over the widest ranges of human experience. The psychologist marvels at and applauds alike the affirmative vigour that kept Jesus' disciples from being so overwhelmed at his death that they could not accept and exult in his Resurrection, and the temperance that restrained the exuberant and almost frenzied enthusiasm of Pentecost from the sibylline, mænadic madness that threatened it, formulated this exuberance into the doctrines of inspiration and the Holy Ghost, checked the impetuous zeal to bear witness by death, and diverted all this spring flood of energy to the practical work of preaching and organizing. Both ways lay danger.

Again, death is always hard to conceive of or even to accept as a fact. The personality of our friends is a very persistent force and, moreover, it is peculiarly difficult to conceive a negation. The reality

of dead friends is a persistent presence, a momentum which if we close our eyes to their vacant places will bring them back. The best explanation we have of all kinds of funeral ceremonials is that they originated at least in large part as modes of bringing home to mourners the fact that their friends were really dead and would never be seen more. Ghosts haunt relatives if they have not been properly buried, so that the last sad rites are to lay spirits by acting upon the survivors' minds so strongly that neither waking nor asleep shall they fail to realize that they are no more. Presence at a deathbed also impresses the same sad fact. The apostles were far away from the cross and the tomb. None of them knew probably by sense, but only by testimony, of their Master's death and burial, so that it is less strange if he appeared to them on the ground of his power and triumph in Galilee and amid the familiar scenes with which they were wont to associate him. They had not seen him dead or dying, and so lacked this corrective of old memories, this rectification of old associations.

Again, strong personalities, especially, die hard to their friends. They have filled so large a space in heart, head, and will, and the soul so abhors this kind of vacuum made by death that it is almost a part of the *vis medicatrix naturae* to restore the wounded psychic tissue and reinstate the loved ones again to life. Those who polarize and give new directions to lives, who sustain hope, inspire courage, open vast mental vistas, have an inextinguishable post-mortem existence for those about them, which, in these democratic days when impulse, knowledge, feeling are stirred by so many persons and are so rarely focussed upon one life, we hear little of. Hegel and Baur have both insisted that the Resurrection of Jesus consisted essentially in this kind of faith and love of the members of his immediate circle.

Moreover, love always predisposes the soul to doubt death. It is excited in almost direct proportion to the worth and perdurable reality of its object. Affection naturally chooses not the transient and ephemeral, but the abiding; and conversely when it is chosen it generates toward its object a sense of permanence and stability. Thus love conquers death.

Once more, mythopeic forces preform and predetermine the direction of psychic activities in great crises. Myth abounds in rescues of the souls of the dead from their abodes, and this general restitution motive is itself preformed by the change of seasons. As the Aryan

races penetrated the colder regions, these myths became more real, and in Balder's death and attempted rescue we have the same ground motive with many identical psychic elements and effects. Balder was the god of summer, who dies in the fall and comes back in the spring, and not only the Easter season itself but many of the popular and even Church ceremonies commemorative of Jesus' return are borrowed from pagan folklore and custom. If not in the narrative itself, still in the hold which this event has upon the heart of Christendom and in many of our reactions to it, there are abundant reverberations of psychoses that long antedate Christianity. The psychologist, too, must never forget that the human soul in its unconscious ranges, which are so much vaster than all that appears in the field of consciousness, often treasures uncomely beliefs as blindly as insects cherish their sometimes ugly larvae, dimly feeling their future racial utility. One of the marvels of Christianity is that some of its possessions, now understood and glowing with light, were so tenaciously clung to when they seem to us to have been only a mouthful of empty phrases, or senseless or absurd rites. Classical legends and ceremonials are far more comely. But the soul is far wiser and truer than it knows, and clung to what concealed worth for itself through dark ages and persecutions in a way which our philosophy is too small to explain and which should forever make us treat even superstition and the blindest and narrowest orthodoxies with sympathy and, if possible, with the hebamic art which Socrates praised.

Psychology does not pronounce on the historicity of the Resurrection as an objective fact, but it magnifies the unquestioned belief in it which became ineluctable and the chief source of power in the early Church. Of all the possible issues noted above, while Jesus lay in the tomb, only one was inevitable, and that was that the normal soul would react from despair, and if it did not find, would invent, sources of consolation. Had the evidence of the Resurrection been still less or a mere suggestion, there lies in the depths of human nature a power of affirmation that would have found some relief and might have given the body of faith to even a suggestion. The power of belief without sight or any evidence that would satisfy logical criteria was truly and wisely praised. This is not quite saying that the soul would have affirmed the Resurrection had it not occurred in fact, but it is asserting that the nature of both the individual and the folk-soul would strongly tend to

reinforce any degree of belief in that direction, would find judicial impartiality difficult, and would make every hint and hope a little more tangible or emphatic. This view at least gives added dignity to the soul, gives it some share in the great crisis of Christendom, endows it with greater powers of appreciation of what occurred, and makes historic events more cognate with its own mythopeic powers, however wide the interval between the ability to sympathize with and to create. From this point of view, some new light is shed upon the way of salvation.

Our age has forgotten the power of pathos and of fear. Comfort makes us selfish, and individualism disintegrates the old solidarity of earlier primitive communities. In becoming cosmic our sympathy is diluted and volatilized and our scholarship has failed to lay due stress upon the fact that in early days both Christians and pagans shuddered, groaned, and fainted, were convulsed and torn with an inner anguish racking the frame with intense physical symptoms as the story of the cross and all that led up to it were vividly depicted for the first time or rehearsed in solitary meditation. So, too, learning has been so occupied with the spade, with ancient codices and attempts to reproduce objective facts, that it has forgotten those that were inward and temperamental. It is increasingly hard for us to put ourselves in the place of simple minds before the dawn of science, minds capable of believing literally and with such utter abandon that Jesus had arisen, that they could cast off all fear of death, had to be restrained with difficulty from rushing precipitately into its arms with joy, and truly and practically felt as even the believer to-day does not and cannot, that the next life was infinitely vaster, more real and sure than this. But the inner history of Christianity will continue to have a great and aching void until some work of psychic reconstruction can be effected here.

The effects of the belief in the Resurrection must at once have given a new lustre to Jesus' life. Every word and incident must have been reinterpreted in the light of the new fame with which he was thus invested. It illuminated and transfigured all. Had he been a common, average man, everything about his personality would have glowed with new and hidden meanings and been invested with mystery and awe. Paul had one incalculable advantage over the disciples. His first impressions of Jesus were as one who had already arisen and even ascended, and from the apperception point of his glory he studied his

life and sayings. His own faith and teaching were conditioned upon the Resurrection, without which all would have been vain. The disciples, however, knew him in the plain, prosaic, everyday life of humanity. They had talked, walked, and eaten with him, and had been his companions by day and night. The text shows the difficulty of readjustment of their own personal experiences with him to the conceptions of the risen and glorified one. To bring unity into their minds they must tend to more or less level down the post-mortem to the ante-mortem life, while in Paul the converse process of levelling up would occur. In him, faith was all; in them, sight dominated. Briggs[1] even says, illustrating a haunting tendency of modern conservatism to make the post- and ante-mortem life intussuscept with each other, and on evidence that must forever be more or less conjectural, "We are justified, therefore, in the conclusion that we must assign no inconsiderable portion of the teaching of Jesus to his appearances after his Resurrection. It is upon the experiences of these forty days, as much as upon the year and a half of the previous ministry of Jesus, that the faith and life of the apostolic Church was grounded." We must believe it to be in the highest interests of Christianity to admit that the sequel to Jesus' life stands in some very different relation to the religious consciousness from his career before death. It appeals to psychic registers, the difference between which is somewhat symbolized by those between the ideal and the real or between the soul and the body. Supremely precious as is the former, and indispensable as it is to the soul of the Christian, it is more exalted, remote, aloof, superhuman, unincarnate, a middle term between his humanity and the *pleroma* of his fully diplomated divinity. To Paul it was all a vision, and his own legitimacy was bound up in the differences between prosaic, common, sensuous experience and the ecstatic state. Both he and the disciples were very conscious of the differences between his soul facts and experiences and their sense memories. The risen Jesus is a hovering, iridescent reality, to be regarded a little more as we ought to regard the supremest and most inspired of all creations of art, and is not exalted but in danger of being a little besmirched by too much peering criticism as to times and places, which sometimes only vulgarizes the purely ideal. This the Resurrection ever was to Paul, because it came to him as a transcendental experience, and it must ever be to us a predominantly psycholog-

[1] "New Light on the Life of Jesus." New York, 1904, 124 pp.

ical fact, truer to the nature and needs of the soul than to the canons of historical research. Humanity has never dreamed of imitating or sympathizing with its risen Jesus as it has so intensely done with the Jesus of the Passion. Tradition has done little to amplify the very scanty record between the Resurrection and the Ascension by apocrypha and myth, and it has never been a favourite theme of art. The risen Jesus did not attract even the disciples, and has always been a little uncanny, and repellent, and heartless, as if he were coldly discharging a formal theological function, or were but a mere dogma galvanized into only the pallid tenuous life of which a dogma is capable.

Thus there is a new sense in which we may now say no one is complete or has attained full moral maturity who has not passed through an experience which of old was designated as dying and rising with Jesus. The selfish ego must die and the higher social self of service must arise from its tomb. The pre-Christian mysteries knew this, and their sacredly secret rites which their initiates went through symbolized death and rebirth, and contemporary psychopathologists are well on the way to the revival of the equivalent of this cult in their therapy. It is only the next step beyond what Dejerine, Dubois, and Marcinowski have already taken to lead patients obsessed with personal anxieties to see their own worries pale by sympathetic realization that their tribulations are not the worst possible, and that beyond these there is always a great hope and resanification by retraversing with deep and sympathetic *Einfühlung* to the point of abandon the successive steps by which Jesus passed through the worst of all conceivable fates and yet found at the end the best and highest of all goals, finding in this an immunity bath, ensuring them against being upset by either extreme of pleasure or pain, evil or good, that can befall man. This is the consummate lesson of life and all who have not learned it are incomplete, inferior, arrested, not socially sane. The immemorial past, back to the old cadence of autumn and spring time, amplified and enriched by the recensions of millennia, conserves for us here its most precious heritage. The cults of many pagan deities whose shrines excavators are now unearthing were groping toward the same goal, and who knows but that we have here not only a healing formula for sin-sick souls, but even for neurotics and psychotics, so that Jesus is to be revealed in a new sense as the Great Physician to the obsessed in a way which his healing miracles only inadequately typify?

One thing, however, is certain, viz., that every degree, even the slightest, of increased faith in a future eternal life of rewards and punishments for the soul gives inestimable support to morality. It gives hedonism a wider range and makes selfishness transcendent and in some sense intensified. The sage who is supremely bent upon saving his own soul, who is assured that this life is only a portal to the next, who is not merely indifferent to wealth, fame, comfort, and a merely worldly prudence, but who regards death as only disrobing, finds it far easier to die than to swerve from his convictions of right. The Resurrection established the belief in the soul as infinitely more real than the body, not only surviving it but relieved and glorified by emancipation from it. Thus convinced, the motive of action to save life is reduced to its minimum, the supreme fear of death vanishes, and man can live out the impulsions of his inner vocation for their own sake. Of course the lust for individual survival in the next world is not the highest motive of virtue. It is a utilitarian making the best of two worlds instead of one. There is a sublime autonomous sense of oughtness in the soul that points, like a magnet to the pole, to the destiny of the human race and that differs widely from even the highest form of transcendental selfishness. This Paul glimpsed when he said that under certain conditions he might almost wish himself accursed. But by bringing immortality to light, the soul stood forth revealed, and a utilitarianism for its larger life after death was an incalculable gain, the full benefit of which, ineffably as it has advanced all good causes in the Christian world, is yet far above the level of life which the race has yet attained. It gave the greatest transvaluation of all worths and reinforced every ethical motive.

III

What is belief in the Resurrection or what does it involve and mean to psychology? The answer is, as *questionnaire* returns plainly show, that it means very different things to different believers whose lives seem equally devoted to the Master and who have long used the same formula or symbol. It is a very complex belief involving often elements that are so flagrantly contradictory the one with the other that the least examination of it brings immediate reconstruction with the mingled pain and gain so peculiar to religious progress. There are archaic but still persistent factors of this belief which popular Christi-

anity often assumes but which no disciple of Jesus, ancient or modern, no martyr, no candid professor of theology, or really religious soul ever did or can attain, and there are vulgar standards of orthodoxy so crassly material and self-contradictory that no one, I will not say with mere learning or scholarship or with only emotional or rhetorical power, but no one who has power of thought or real psychological insight or the instinct to organize his own soul coherently or logically, or who keeps an intellectual conscience, can possibly hold and be a truly honest man.

The data of our returns may be roughly grouped as follows: (a) Many think they believe in it as a literal fact because they have never candidly examined the nature of their affirmation of it. This few can do, and still fewer do. Some fear disillusion or dread the labour of reconstruction. As Albertus Magnus and Aquinas carefully reserved certain dogmas from the sphere of philosophic thought, so this psychic process is set apart as too sacred for investigation. (b) Many have some degree of faith in too crude a form of it even to be able to attain the full conviction they crave, and so are unhappy, halting and praying for more faith when they ought to reinterpret it into a form the mature modern mind demands. (c) Others think they find aid to their own faith by vociferous and dogmatic affirmation of some form of it, or find their own belief reinforced by censuring what they deem shortages or errors in the belief of others, on psychic laws akin to those which make young Mormons suspected of doubt reclaimed to faith by being sent on missions to preach their doctrines among heretics, and who by becoming advocates instead of judges convert themselves if no others. (d) Yet others with, and surprisingly often without, any knowledge of Kant's critique of the practical reason and its postulates, hold to the conventional form of belief because they think its effects on the conduct of thought, life, or both, are a higher criterion or sanction than any which reason can supply. The highest truth is that which works supremely well. (e) Many hold to it aesthetically. Art has embodied it in many forms that edify and give a true hedonic narcosis and so they have grown indifferent to historical validity. It is venerable, hallowed by association and by a consensus so wide as to be itself sublime. Moreover, poetry is often truer than fact. (f) Many think it essential for the young, and while they feel that it is outgrown in their own experience deem it vital, saving truth for children and youth, to the needs of which they subordinate not only their

own lives but their convictions, and find a pedagogic virtue in so doing that they reconcile with personal standards by often elaborate accommodation theories. (g) Finally, a few devout souls whose private lives are consecrated to the imitation of Jesus' life, and who live for good works, distinctly and consciously reject all forms of resurrection. Of these, some, chiefly women, were shocked to first realize their unbelief and are more assiduous in practising the Christian graces as if to atone for a defect, while others, more often men, have found great satisfaction in their *éclaircissement*, but believe they can do most good by conforming and working in the harness of conventionality, or perhaps think this an article of faith best left to lapse from the Christian consciousness quietly, as they believe it will do.

These are facts based, to be sure, as yet on only a few score of honest cases, most of them academic students and all of them more or less active church members who desire to lead Christian lives. More data are, of course, needed, and would no doubt show many new varieties and different statistical proportions. That they are typical of the present state of mind of thoughtful youth in the Church, who are proverbially the best material for prophecy, there can be no doubt. But few, if indeed any, held to a belief in the Resurrection that would satisfy the conventional standards of orthodoxy in the denomination to which they belonged. This shows a wide chasm between the latter and the true facts of inner religious life. To make new, fresh, close, and vital contact with the latter is, I believe, the most crying need of Christian thought to-day. A psychologist must be pardoned if he finds one chief cause of this ominous and widening chasm in the astonishing neglect to provide for any study of the soul in institutions the business of which is to train men for the work of saving it, and in the abstract, speculative and antiquated ways of teaching philosophic subjects in institutions for higher education generally. Reserving fuller exposition for later articles let us finally glance in a preliminary way at the present status of opinion on the subject.

The passages in the New Testament touching the Resurrection are, individually and collectively, extremely unsatisfactory and contain many discrepancies and contradictions. First of all there were, as every one knows, as mentioned above, no recorded eye-witnesses of the process itself, as there were in the case of Lazarus. We have no account of how it occurred. The guards slept, the disciples fled even

before the crucifixion, and the proofs which appear chronologically first differ in details, such as whether the angel sat, stood, was inside or outside the tomb, etc. The number of *parousias*, the persons to whom, and the places in which, he appeared, have always been difficult to harmonize. The quasi-materiality of the risen body, the unforetold and unexpected event of his bodily presence, the tardiness of recognition—all show us that we are now in a very different position with regard to historic reality from that afforded us by the record of the public ministry. Everything is hazy, falsetto, and at every point profoundly different from the kind of evidence that modern coroners or medical boards might furnish. For this reason alone, belief in the Resurrection must forever remain a matter of faith or subjective conviction, and involve more or less of a *salto mortale* for the modern and especially for the scientific mind. In view of the stupendous nature of the fact assumed it must always remain more or less incredible, and for every one who accepts it there will forever be a real, though perhaps unconscious, handicap on the energy of conviction. That the disciples and immediate friends of Jesus were convinced that they had seen his resurrected personality in some form, and that this was a source of great reassurance and one of the chief bases of their preaching, and gave it its chief momentum, there can be no doubt. It is, however, now quite competent to inquire upon what evidence this belief rested.

(a) Elemental as are the considerations involved, it will remove a great burden and reproach from modern Christian belief for us to recognize fully and honestly at the outset that the Resurrection cannot mean for us to-day the reversal of the processes of physical death. It is a suicidal materialization of religious faith to hold to all that this implies. Death means, according to various legal and physiological tests and criteria, the cessation of respiration and therefore of oxygenation of the blood, and the complete arrest of the action of the heart. The nervous system, it is now believed, dies first, the cerebral preceding the sympathetic. Soon the glands and other tissues follow in an order determined by the nature of the morbific or lethal process. Products of decomposition accumulate; the blood coagulates in from half an hour to twelve hours, depending upon the degree of exhaustion; the muscle plasm hardens to cadaveric rigidity; and with the gradual relaxation of *rigor mortis* putrefaction sets in. Before the cooling of the body begins very subtle changes occur in its protoplasm, which is changed

from an active state with many elements of its composition unknown to a dead state, the constitution of which is now pretty well made out. Recent neurological studies indicate momentous changes in the brain neurons. Reanimation of a grave corpse after three days would mean inversion of all this sequence of processes after they had advanced so far that death by every criterion must be pronounced complete. Modern definitions and conceptions of death make the idea of revivification indefinitely harder than it was before the development of modern physiology, especially its chemical section. Moreover, the modern mind must ask what was the condition of the wounds, whether they had cicatrized, whether the spilled blood had been restored or there was still extreme anaemia. Was the weight the same? From the record it appears that the risen body was no longer without spot or blemish, but was at least scarred. It is no pedantic intrusion, but an irresistible query of every judicial and especially scientific mind, to dwell upon the many details of this order, which are here suggested.

It is no revival of the Humean argument to urge that from the nature of both testimony and of miracle such a one can never be really proven, that the belief in any such series of reversals of the order of nature must forever and by every mind, no matter how devout or impassioned the instinct of its belief, remain more or less superficially forced or formal. Fervid affirmation of such a faith is an act of will rather than of deliberate, deep, and poised intellectual conviction. Its satisfaction and even sublimity is psychologically akin to the *credo quia absurdum* by which practical faith sometimes loves to stop the mouth of reason. Plato's imagination was creative and vivid enough to describe the reversal of the processes in nature's cycle when the universe turned about with a shock and revolved the other way, when old men rose out of the dust, gradually grew young, and entered again their mother's wombs; but Pliny's philosophy made it a matter of consolation to mourning friends that even the gods could never raise the dead. That faith in the Resurrection has often taken this monstrous form in crass and literal minds there can be no doubt, but a large view of all the Pauline passages indicates that the sense in which he made the Christian faith vain if Christ be not raised is not this. Such a fact, so unique and out of relation with everything we know, must forever be no less antagonistic to the higher activities of faith than it is stultifying to science and common sense. Even if it has ever

had any value, this has ceased to exist for modern culture, and it is not only no longer needed but is a grievous encumbrance to modern apologetics. An intelligent man who affirms that he holds this belief can hardly know what *intellectual* honesty means.

(b) Another view not unknown in earlier times, and also favoured by several of the most careful and conscientious modern Christologists, is that Jesus was not entirely dead, but was revived from some form of trance. Paulus suggested that the sponge applied to his lips may have contained a narcotic, and intimates that when he bowed his head upon the cross he fainted. Jung inclined to the same view. Schleiermacher favoured the hypothesis of apparent death. Brehmke and others (see Chapter 2) thought he revived, and lived and worked for a quarter of a century later in obscurity. Pilate seemed astonished that he died so soon. Hengst imagines that he may have revived and prayed among the hills, where he led perhaps a kind of prolonged Mahatma life. His own rare healing powers, it has been said, may have been exercised upon himself. He was vigorous, endowed with rare vitality, and in the prime of life, so that he naturally would not succumb easily to death. Moreover, the body was perfumed, perhaps bandaged and possibly embalmed, and treated according to the surgical arts of his day, else why the hundred pounds of myrrh and aloes in John xix: 39? One tradition reports that his feet were not nailed, that the spear wound was low in the thigh, and therefore not necessarily fatal. Medical records, to say nothing of the traditions of Catholic saints, report cases of actual crucifixion, where both hands and feet were pierced, from which recovery has been made. Modern resuscitative methods, particularly in the case of drowning, and the records of the gallows, present authentic cases where life has thus been snatched from the very jaws of death in rare ways. The purity and sinlessness of his life, it has been said, gave augmented vitality, and perhaps the earthquake shocked him back to life. (See Chapter 2, Sadin.)

The history of human hibernation is a strange chapter, but the reality of its main facts may be said to be proven. Respiration and heart action can be almost incredibly reduced beyond the reach of the usual methods of detection, and subjects can be actually buried and aroused again after days and perhaps weeks of a high degree of suspended animation. In these cases the processes of dissolution, of course, do not supervene and there is no death, one factor in the very

conception of which is the impossibility of restoration to life. Those familiar with the strange facts of modern hypnotism, which are accepted by the most conservative psychologists, know how far death is sometimes thus simulated by its brother sleep. Even the uncontrolled sporadic cases, where hysterical subjects have in imagination passed into and long remained in unconscious and perhaps cataleptic states, must be weighed if this view is to be seriously dealt with. The soul in this state may in vision have visited the abode of the dead and returned with strange and vivid dream pictures. All these phenomena are now more or less understood.

If this be the hypothesis we could partially explain the changed appearance of Jesus after this exhausting experience. We should expect him to be feeble, anaemic, pallid, hungered, a trifle dazed and mysterious to himself and others, instinctively seeking seclusion and rest for restoration. He would naturally, exhausting though the effort might be, endeavour to see his friends again, so that he must lapse back again to death indeed. To intimate, as has been done, that death was simulated in order to be escaped is an extreme hypothesis which has little positive evidence to countenance it. It would, however, only be conformable to the promptings of the instinct of love to appear as well and strong as one's condition allowed in the presence of one's friends.

If any such hypothesis as this be accepted, it must not be forgotten that it is not resurrection in the sense which the Church held of old. It would remain an illustration of marvellous vitality, but the superstitions of death have always been such that those who were believed thus to break away from its close embrace have always been objects of wondering awe and curiosity rather more than of love, devotion, and service. Such an event must be regarded as more or less accidental, as suggesting at best a being endowed with supernormal viability, able to resist causes of death which would effectively overwhelm most men. It would not add any sanction of divine authority, would give no warrant of a general and real resurrection of others, but would distinctly rob the death on the cross of much of its impressiveness and power. It would be no real confirmation of any interpretation of his own prophetic intimations, and could not be a factor in the rôle of the Jewish Messiah. While this view, therefore, is not impossible and can never be absolutely disproven or proven, it has against it an enormous improbability, and has little power of edification.

(c) From the early times of Celsus down to Weisse and even Keim, many have held the *parousia* to be of some higher and more subtle form of corporeity. Each of the Christophanies is held to imply some degree of materialization. There was a real presence as the objective cause and at the *point de repère* of the vision. From the standpoint of this theory, which Venturini has elaborately exploited, the physical body is not needed and the grave might have remained either tenanted or empty. It is a heavenly or glorified body or form of objectivity, a soul disembodied "stooping to visibility," or in plain terms a ghost or spectre. This theory is not without consonance with some facts of the record like the passing through closed doors, the sudden appearance and vanishing, the appearances now in Jerusalem, now in Galilee, the difficulty of recognition, etc.; but it hardly comports with eating, touching, speaking, as Jesus did. To many this view may have a certain new interest from the recent studies of apparitions which have convinced many cultivated minds that there may be phantasms of the living or dead, which are invested with some form or degree of objectivity and are not wholly subject to the laws of matter. This view has been developed, especially in England, by a group of bold spirits in the Society for Psychical Research, whose views are far more definite than those of Seydel, Scholten, or Ewald, who also held it. They have made a future life seem more real and true to minds that claim no so-called "mediumistic" power, or indeed any supernormal faculty. A laborious colligation of hundreds of dreams by Mr. Gurney has erected what is thought to be a formidable presupposition in favour of a continuance of individual existence, at least in an attenuated form. We have been exhorted by Mr. Myers, the coryphaeus of this school, to have more resolute credulity toward the accumulated and systematically presented new evidence of a physical basis of immortality. Mr. Robert Dale Owen long ago described the "feel" of ghost clothes, which melted away in his grasp. We find, too, a few cases of sensations of spirit breath upon the cheek. Appeal is also made to a supernormal faculty of receiving personality suggestions, to some kind of rare sensitiveness which Mr. Podmore says must be either a vestige of some function of primordial organisms or else a bud of powers later to be unfolded. This faculty, we are told, may in some way, difficult to characterize because of the absence of mundane analogies, become exalted to a hallucinatory state, which, however, has a veridical and

objective cause. This latter is not a common ghost or an astral body, and indeed no physical process at present known can adequately explain its mode of action. Yet in some way the faltering soul of man may be thus brought into *rapport* with forms of individual existence which have survived death, in a way which gives faith in a future life by actual communication with departed acquaintances, and which affords some kind of answer to the long and agonizing cry of the soul—"If a man die shall he live again?" If the future life has a high degree of reality and those dead retain any reminiscence of earthly experience, the presumption that they may find some mode of revealing their continued existence weights every die, and where the air is murky with superstition and there are fabulists and those who strive and hunger for this evidence, it seems strange that at the very least in a few unique cases this passion should not be gratified. The fact that this theory seems to modern science stupendous and revolutionary, that it is hardly susceptible of physical expression but must be wrought out in poetic metaphors and has never attained anything like true demonstration, though those who have struggled to make it apprehensible use the theories of ether, neuricity, and eccentric projection toward some kind of objective correspondence, even the wild intemperance of spiritualists of every age and clime, should not blind us to the possibility of some such truth in a world as yet but imperfectly realized, in which science is still in its infancy and man himself only in an active developmental stage. For those whose minds are not encumbered by critical methods some such hypothesis can readily be developed which affords a satisfaction very great and tranquillizing, and for them it is indefinitely easier to explain the whole class of phenomena by it than to enter tediously upon the indirect long-circuit methods of critical testing and historic research which are now demanded in this field.

On the other hand, there are some things which it is a virtue to doubt. Superstition has no ranker, grosser forms than those due to the attempts long ago described by Kant to explain the dreams of visionaries by those of metaphysicians. While it is impossible to enforce temperance of thought upon this subject in the popular religious mind, and while it would be the labours of Hercules over again to drive out from their cover in the many and vast fields of hypotheses opened by modern science all the traces and forms of these survivals, it is nevertheless necessary to say in unequivocal terms that the probabilities

against a single isolated occurrence of this nature seem to the natural mind almost overwhelming. It is not at all impossible, from the fear ascribed to those who saw the risen Jesus and from the characteristics implied in these Christophanies, that some of the cited witnesses honestly believed that they saw his ghost. Indeed, when we consider the frequency of such experiences, especially in the cases of great and beloved leaders, and the almost universal prevalence of a belief in spectres as objectively real, brought out in so admirable and scholarly a manner by H. Weinel, it is highly probable that this was one of the important factors in the great and sudden change from extreme depression to extreme joy and confidence. Yet still more we must incline to the view that this interpretation of real experiences is more plausible for earlier appearances than the theory of subjective, even if revelatory, vision. To the belief that the ghost of Jesus had actually reappeared Christianity probably owes no small part of its initial momentum. A credited apparition may have had something to do in giving to the early Christians, and through them to the world, their God. But even if we hold them to have been in error in this regard, we must hasten to say somewhat as Fairbairn said of the vision theory, that at least it worked supremely well. Men may have once believed on superstitious grounds on him, whom now the world is coming to adore as divine in a higher sense than the early Christians could comprehend. We have here only an extreme illustration of the fact that from age to age the basis and emphasis of belief in Jesus have changed, but that he has always occupied in the souls of his disciples the highest place which every stage of culture could provide. That even superstition was thus made to praise him is no derogation of his merit, no stigma upon his character, and should cause no abatement of our own trust in him. It was not only necessary but inevitable that he should impress those about him with a sense of a reality and validity in his own teachings, sentiments, and character that far transcended their narrow comprehension. One form which the conceptions of great men then took was that of the superiority, actuality, persistence, and power of survival generally of their souls. The ideal thus became real, the transcendent immanent. The plastic, receptive power of mind, sense, and feeling passed over into the passionate enthusiasm of will. The very energy of being which to-day makes a popular hero, a leader, and compeller of souls, was then wont to be appreciated and interpreted as control of

the powers beyond the grave. History cannot be written without recognizing at some of the most important crises in human events the power of belief in even the veridical nature of dreams.

While, therefore, for us the spectre theory has little of the power which Paul ascribes to the Resurrection, it was by no means devoid of it in ancient days. It is also well to reflect that for those who still hold any form of the hypothesis of spiritualism, credence in the Resurrection of Jesus is an easy matter, for it becomes only a highly specialized and perhaps uniquely preëminent case under a general law. Just as the same natural phenomena are interpreted according to radically different theories in different ages, so we have here an illustration of the progressive reconstruction of the apperception organs in man.

(d) Far more current now is the vision theory, represented in different forms by Spinoza, Strauss, Renan, Seydel, Raville, Fichte, Geiger, Noack, Gratz, and others. For some the Resurrection is a specially inspired vision sent by God. Some, like Fichte, distinguish between visions that can and that cannot be explained; or attempt psychological distinctions between imagination, abnormal ecstasy, and faith; hint at the possibility of dreaming either by night or by day; distinguish between visions self-generated or due to the contagion of numbers; between visions vivid enough to cause complete belief in their objective validity and those that bring only partial conviction. They expatiate on Paul's diathesis and Peter's ecstatic experience, or discuss the extent to which the visionary practices which Noack suggests even Jesus cultivated, and which the Montanists afterward unfolded, prevailed in the apostolic circle before and after Jesus' death. Renan calls Mary a visionary, and intimates that in her person a woman became the first missionary. There is much consensus of opinion that Paul saw visions; and if he did not rest his claims to the apostolate upon them, nevertheless he regarded them as in some sense a commission directly from Jesus to preach the Gospel.

The discrepancy among different writers in their conception of the psychology of vision and the imparity between the different Christophanies for Paul himself, and between his and those of others, has its root, perhaps, in the wide variety of experiences which the term vision is used to include. For those who are visually minded, a clear belief

readily takes the form of an image with contours and even colours. In many perfectly sane persons there are entoptic experiences of visualization that may be so entirely independent of the stream of thought as to seem objective, while in other cases they give a concreteness to the processes of ideation, almost as vivid as pictorial illustration. Life at twilight and during the night is very different from that of the clear day in this respect. In darkness thoughts create and project objects that often attain a high degree of objective clearness. Fechner has well characterized the influence of the night side of life upon human conduct, and modern psychology abounds in cases where illusions and dream experiences have become definitely incorporated into the memory continuum as actually experienced.

Moreover, intense experiences involving great emotional stress always tend to shift the boundaries between the inner and the outer. The sensorium may be anaemic or congested, and the perturbation of the souls of the disciples in those days has not inaptly been compared to the resolution of the world back to some primitive cosmic state from which it slowly cooled again. Even more frequent than visual is auditory hallucination, and both may be entirely consonant with mental sanity and normality in other respects. Seeing visions has in many persons and in many ages been a passion and evolved a very definite cult. Many theories of inspiration have had recourse to vision theories. In primitive ages there is no such distinction between illusion and perception as we often find in the early stages of neuro-psychic disease. Yet the old proverb that seeing is believing has a deep psychological truth. Helmholtz has well said that any illusion of sense persistently repeated is certain in the end to force itself upon the acceptance of the mind with full and inexpugnable conviction. To have actually seen the risen Jesus made belief in his power over death and all that it implied irresistible, and when reinforced by all the hopes, desires, and love of his friends would give this faith a momentum not inferior to the supreme cataleptic certainty of the Stoics and would give their preaching the impetus of tons instead of pounds.

Mary's enthusiastic annunciation of the Resurrection must have been the gladdest of all Gospel good tidings. It was news that must be spread. Tongues grew aflame like Jove's chariot wheels under the impulse to spread the greatest and best news ever proclaimed. It was simply tidings of a momentous and unique message from the future

home of all men, far higher and farther above all news-mongering than preaching is above gossip. Paul underwent a radical reconstruction of standpoint and life-purpose under its influence, and the supreme duty of all who had been clairvoyant and clairaudient to the great *parousia* was to promulgate the great fact, to proclaim it from the housetop, to organize a world propaganda of it. The Resurrection was the central event in all the universe, to which every important preceding event led up, in which it focussed, and from which all agencies for good in the world must henceforth irradiate. The man Jesus became the Divine Christ. All his teachings obtained a sanction direct from God. The Resurrection was not only the great attest and credential, authorizing all his words and giving the most sublime possible climax to the tragedy of his life, but it marked a new era in the relations of this world to the Supreme Author of all being. Thus I opine it did not need, as Keim holds, any definite closing of the period of vision or any authorization to cease gazing into heaven, to recover self-possession, and go to work. There was a spontaneous and inevitable passage from a state of convincing vision and passionate belief to enthusiastic will, a great psychosis under the influence of an unprecedented train of experiences and in an age dominated by psychic forces, which never and nowhere else, before or since, was aroused in any such kind and degree. The disciples, at least the dominant members of their group, had seen. That was enough to henceforth make them all missionaries, preaching that which had been actually seen and heard.

In fact, Paul's conception of Christ had very little to do with the earthly life of Jesus. So far as modern Christianity is Pauline, it is essentially unhistoric so far as both the words and the deeds of Jesus are concerned, and indeed, has little connection with the Jesus of the synoptic writers or even with the Johannin Jesus. Paul's mind was chiefly fixed upon the voluntary humiliation of the preëxistent Jesus in coming down to earth, taking on the form of man and submitting to crucifixion. By this supreme act of renunciation, obedience, and love he merited and received the reward of Resurrection and Ascension and still greater exaltation at the Father's right hand than he had before. His daily life, walk, and example constituted an otherwise relatively insignificant episode in the transcendent being of a preëxistent and still more lofty post-existent state. Paul praises in many and diverse paradoxes the virtue of his self-emptying of celestial glory and taking

on the humiliation of flesh. In this sacrifice and self-offering his consenting to death was involved.[1]

(e) Perhaps the world has mistaken a group of psychological experiences, profound and of supreme historic significance, for plain, bald historic fact, but the mistake is of far less practical significance either way than has been thought. Textual criticism, laborious compilation of contemporaneous allusions, the possible discovery of new manuscripts or archaeological inscriptions, can never make the apologists of the historical school the chief authorities for the post-mortem appearances of Jesus, and their verdicts will always remain of limited effect upon the souls of believers. But if we insist that this is all at bottom psychology, we must also candidly admit that we are here in the presence of soul-events which have features that it is hard to parallel in all the records of the individual or the collective mind. Psychology with its special sections on illusions of perception, on the life of feeling and will, on the individual and the movements of groups and races of men, has yet much to learn and is still in its infancy, but it is already big with the promise and potency of larger and more cogent explanations here, which far from weakening faith will give it both a higher sanction and a larger scope with strict conformity to science.

How much of it all was due to vision and how much to other factors, whether some disciples dreamed while others thought of ghosts, especially how many parts of objective reality different individuals ascribed to their experiences, and just how Paul himself understood his own, we can never with certainty know. New books and theories in indefinite perspective will continue to trim the Christian ship by rolling the weight of one or all of these four ballast boxes to starboard or larboard, but if anywhere the frank confession of *ignoramus*, if not of *ignorabimus* is proper, it is here.

While, then, some forms of belief in the Resurrection must be definitely abandoned as obstacles to faith, others, not one but several,

[1]See "Die Entstehung der Paulinschen Christologie," by Dr. M. Brückner, Strassburg, 1903, 237 pp., which expresses essentially the thought of the above paragraph and urges that Paul had from his youth a very definite idea of a supernatural Jewish Messiah, and that his conversion consisted chiefly in the visual apparition of his ideal in a form so like the Resurrection Jesus that the two concepts were instantly fused. At the same time his ideal was supplemented and enlarged by the kenotic idea of the episode of Incarnation and higher post-ascensional glory. Thus the risen and ascended Jesus of Christendom is the highest idealization of the Jewish Messiah of Paul's time, which included conflict with, and victory over, demons and all the supernal powers of evil, but now universalized and freed from Mosaic laws and Jewish limitations and given cosmic significance. Brückner does not state, but very clearly leaves us to infer, that had Paul known the historic Jesus it is doubtful if this identification with his earlier Messianic ideal would ever have occurred. Thus Paul sought to convert gentiles to the most exalted of Jewish ideals, but the nature and work, which was essentially transcendental and connected with the historic Jesus only by a vision of identification, was later confirmed by Jewish metaphysical speculation. This noble ideal not only became an apparition, but took the form of flesh and died to provide a Jewish atonement for Jewish law. This identification is the chief masterpiece of religious genius in the world, and has in many if not most respects worked supremely well, although there is as little intussusception between the historic Jesus and the racial ideal as between the parts of the image of Ezekiel's vision.

far higher are not only possible but inevitable for every large and positive mind, instructed in the nature of the individual and racial soul. They neither can nor should yet be formulated with definiteness or finality enough to satisfy those who demand rigid dogma or apodeictic demonstration. The character and teaching of Jesus have a supreme and independent value of their own, and his death will ever work its miracles of pathos. These, at least, will remain historic even if the Resurrection be all dogma. If all the precious worths that have been made in the course of Christian centuries to depend upon the cruder statements of the latter as an assumed major premise for innumerable deductions be a little imperilled for a time, psychology has within itself possibilities hitherto undreamed, of both restatement of the premise and revalidification of all the values and of thus re-Christianizing Christianity.

While the Jesus of what we may call the Resurrection dispensation is undergoing reconstruction, the historic Jesus remains as, at least, the true superman, prophetic of what the members of our race may attain if it ever come to its full maturity, the first fruits not of those that die, but the first and ideal representation of those who are to live in the larger and more glorious future that, if evolution is true, awaits it. If the Resurrection Jesus is made so material and historic as to eclipse the spiritual Jesus, if he is made so local and temporal as to be a mere idol of the ever-living and ever-present Emmanuel, there is religious decadence and not progress. If he whom Paul saw as a vision the psychologist of the near future shall find to be more a creation than a mere object of faith, most sacred because the first, highest, and purest production of the Paraclete in the soul of man; if the risen Jesus was projected by this supreme muse solely to be, as well as to make, the pledge of its abiding presence guiding into all truth, then he would be revealed to our distracted age as the Comforter indeed. For then not only the growing strain which the *parousia* put upon the Christian thought of our day would be wondrously eased and harmony in the record established, but the work of the Holy Spirit would be worthily inaugurated in the world as the great spiritualizer of life, and the Jesus of the Resurrection as completely and entirely its first fruits would shine forth with a new light and with infinite promise and potency for all who strive to attain true sonship with the Father.

This imperfect and sketchy conflation of psychological viewpoints

at least suggests something above textual or historical criticism and shows that these cannot be finalities. The latter have clearly shown that even the authors of our four Gospels, especially the unknown writer of John, conflated and compiled and reverently sought to explain in the light of all the available sources, traditional and written, what Jesus meant quite as much if not more than what he literally said and did. Psychological criticism accepts all the records, somewhat as geology bases upon all outcrops, cuts, mines, etc., and evolves from a compilation of all data the sequence of strata and the development of living forms by collating all the fossils with their most cognate living forms. So psychology demands a wider purview than the New Testament and the local and temporal events associated with it, and seeks to lay the foundations of a larger faith that shall rest on all that we know to-day of the facts and laws of nature and still more of the soul of man.

The Passion and Resurrection must to-day be discussed in view of a vaster background than the Old Testament affords, for they are the culminating redaction of the central theme of many cults far older than they, all about the eastern Mediterranean, each of which contributed its best elements. How the folk-soul came to make this most imposing and precious synthesis is at once the most stimulating and lofty of all culture problems, and the new vistas that we can already glimpse give us the vastest and most imposing perspective into the past of man's psychic evolution. Most superstitions were found in Rome before Christianity, which, unable to suppress them, purged them of their grosser features and syncretized them. In several localities in Italy, and best of all in Sicily, Easter is still very dramatically celebrated on the older pattern of Adonis worship. For instance, a wax effigy of the dead Christ is exposed all through Good Friday in the middle of a Greek church, and is covered with fervent kisses, while the church echoes with dirges. At nightfall it is carried, covered with flowers, in slow, solemn procession through the crowded streets. Every man carries a taper and wails, while women from every house fumigate the image with censers. Thus the community celebrates the funeral of Christ as if he were just dead, and all fast till midnight Saturday. As this hour strikes the bishop appears and announces that Christ has risen, and the crowd responds, "He is risen indeed." Then the church and soon the city burst into an uproar of joy with mad shouts and shrieks. There are volleys of cannon and musketry and fireworks,

and the erstwhile fasters fill themselves with meat and wine. Thus Catholicism brings before the susceptible Southern races with all possible pomp and pageantry the representation of the death and Resurrection of man's redeemer from sin by the very rites once used to redeem the earth from the death of winter. Both the spade and psychoanalysis of the folk-soul are now unearthing old, submerged symbolic strata which show us that Adonis, Attis, and Osiris, though dead in name, still live wherever Christianity lives. This ethnic background so long fallow still fertilizes and enriches our own lives, and enables us to understand why Christianity spread so rapidly among the gentiles. We can even correlate these phenomena with the predominance of suicides in the fall and revivals and procreations in the spring.

Ever since the glacial age the soul of man has been impressed with the processional of the seasons. In the spring the world is clothed in green, everything reawakens or grows, food is abundant, and the spirit of life is resurrected from the death of winter. Conversely in autumn vegetation dies, the sun recedes, there are cold and ice, the conditions of life grow hard, and nature seems dying. Primitive man must have been awed by these cosmic tides and, especially with his close *rapport* with nature, must have watched for the ebb of the thermal wave. Thus it is not strange that in monuments, myths, mythologies, rites, we are rapidly finding everywhere more and more traces of these changes and of the magic by which man of old sought to control them. Scholarship in this field is exhuming more and more the vestiges of these cults. Man early felt that this birth and death of nature were connected with the waxing and waning figures of divine beings who controlled them, and that their energy might be increased by dramatic representations of the processes he wished to facilitate. The universal theme of these dramas was thus death and rebirth, at first chiefly the latter in the field of vegetation. Control came from symbolizing it, and vegetation is often presentified as a god who annually died and arose. Of this theme there are endless local variations, beginning with Adonis, the Asiatic Tammuz, the Old Testament Adoni, My Lord. Following Frazer, in ancient Babylon he was the young spouse of Ishtar, the great mother-goddess of reproduction. Every year he died and went to the sad, dark regions below, where his divine mistress followed him. During her absence love died, reproduction ceased, and life threatened to go out. Hymns lamented

the departure of the pair, liturgies were chanted to the effigy of the dead god, which was washed in water, anointed with oil, clothed in red, fumigated with incense designed to effect his resurrection. Finally the great god Ea himself sent a messenger to the grim queen of the inferno, who at last very reluctantly sprinkled the waters of life upon the pair, and they were allowed to return, and then all nature revived with springtide energy. In Greece Adonis was a transcendent beauty, beloved by Aphrodite, who in his infancy gave him to Persephone, queen of Hades. She, seeing his beauty, refused to give him back. So Zeus decreed that he should spend half of the year with the one goddess below and the other half in the upper world. When he was slain Aphrodite bemoaned him as if anticipating the *mater dolorosa*. Of this species of celebration we have many sub-varieties. In Phoenicia these rites were very solemn and the kings of Biblus assumed the god's name, as was done in very ancient times in Jerusalem. David himself showed vestiges of this cult by being held more or less responsible for drouth, famine, and certain diseases. Earth was the great mother of plants and animals, to whom first-fruits were offered and sons and daughters devoted, so that trees, crops, and beasts were all children of Baal and Astarte. Once a temple of Adonis stood on Mount Lebanon, amid one of the most impressive of all landscapes, where the whole region has long been haunted by traditions of the mangled body of Adonis here buried. Here he was worshipped by Assyrian damsels when the river was incarnadine, and the sea fringed with anemones, which dyed them with the blood of the god untimely slain. At Cypress the cult degenerated to sanctified harlotry, once, Frazer says, thought to be as much a religious duty as is now the nun's vow of virginity. Here the worship was a symbol of fertility, and the variations of this cult and the anonymity of such unions caused the offspring often to be called children of God. Sometimes, as at the temple of Epidaurus, souls of the dead were reincarnated, while ploughing and sowing the earth are given the same significance. Widespread was the ceremony of burning Melcarth, centred in Tyre. In Sophocles' drama, Hercules burned himself on a vast pyre on the top of Mount Œta; this was afterward annually repeated with his effigy, and the next day came the drama of the awakening of Hercules. Still farther back the kings of Tyre personated Melcarth and were burned in effigy at an annual festival, later toned down to a fire-walk. So the Punic general,

Hamilcar, burned himself in the old heroic way *pro bono publico* as he saw his army giving way, for this was the old method of apotheosis. The burning of the Sicilian Sandan was followed by a ceremony of resurrection. Among the Semites under this or other names Adonis was often personified by priestly kings, perhaps originally put to death in their divine capacity, although later there are mitigating stages and makebelieves. In Alexandria images of Aphrodite and Adonis celebrated their nuptials on two couches with manifold flowers and fruits. The next day their death was bemoaned with streaming hair and bare breasts, and their images were burned by the sea; but they always returned in another ceremony in the spring. Even when the Emperor Julian entered Antioch, this great capital was splendid with grief for the mimic death of the annual Adonis. With the rise of agriculture, the Adonis cult centred upon domesticated plants and animals, but still the fear of hunger animated the entire vast cycle of Adonis worship all the way from the first edible wild fruits to the day of corn, spirits, and herdsmen. Sometimes the dead were feigned to revive with life in the spring. At Athens they were commemorated in March with the earliest flowers, when they were thought to rise from their tombs and go about everywhere seeking entrance, for the festivals of the dead are always those of flowers. Sometimes potted grains and flowers were fostered in every way to accelerate their growth, to make all herbs grow by homoeopathic magic, and these were called gardens of Adonis. Personifiers of this revival were always bathed or washed in water or blood to ensure against drouth.

So, too, Attis was of virgin birth, lover of Cybele, mother of gods and goddess of fertility, and his cult was celebrated by eunuch priests who commemorated his tragic death and resurrection. In 204 B. C., Cybele and her cult were brought from Phrygia to Rome and solemnly inaugurated on the Palatine Hill in April. The next year the crops were abundant, so that henceforth this festival took a very strong hold upon the Romans. Before the effigy of Attis's corpse the priest shed some of his own blood with barbaric music and frenzied dances. The image of Attis was taken from the sacred tree to which it was swathed, and reverently buried, and there were mourning and fasting. But suddenly at night a light was struck, the tomb opened, and the god was found to have arisen. The priest touched the lips of the mourners with balm and whispered in their ears the glad tidings of salvation.

His resurrection was a promise to his disciples that they should rise from the grave. The next day the resurrection of the god was celebrated with carnival, license, masquerades. The following day was for repose, and the next and last was marked by processions of barefoot nobles to the banks of the Arno, where the image was bathed and the wounds and blood were forgotten. A bull was butchered on a high grating, and the devotees with wreathed fillets stood below to be drenched in the hot blood, and thus sins were washed away. The fiction of a new birth, too, was kept up for a time by requiring of the initiate a diet of milk like a babe. For a long time thus the remission of sins by the blood of a bull was dramatically represented on the Vatican Hill, on the very spot where now stands the Basilica of Saint Peter. Attis was originally a tree spirit, then a corn and grain god, tied to or burned on a Maypole, which stood for a holy tree. Castration and the burial or burning of various parts were to impregnate the earth, and the same is true of all kinds of bloodletting in religious service. Slowly, however, the ceremonies that symbolized fertility of soil were given another meaning, viz., a new and higher birth of the soul, so that these ancient cults preformed the way for Christianity. No Oriental worship at Rome was so popular as that of Attis and Cybele, or did so much to undermine the older Greek and Roman cult by teaching the salvation of the individual soul as the supreme end of life. Of course there are many missing links in this reconstruction, but there are also glimpses of connection with things so diverse as the story of Marsyas bound to a tree and flayed alive, probably a double of Attis. So Odin's victims, and once he himself, were hanged on a sacred tree and wounded with a spear, as Artemis was hanged in her own sacred grove. Later the Persian worship of Mithra became immensely popular at Rome, and it resembled Christianity even more, perhaps, than it did the cult of Attis, so much so that Christian scholars called it a trick of the devil to seduce people from the true fold by a close imitation of it. Its solemn ritual, too, was full of aspiration for moral purity and eternal life, and it universally fell on Christmastide instead of Easter. The Church of course accommodated, adapted, adopted, and this was at once its strength and its weakness.

Osiris was perhaps the most popular of all the deities of ancient Egypt, and his death and resurrection were annually celebrated with sorrow succeeded by joy, although this was originally only a dramatiza-

tion of seedtime and harvest. He was the son of an earth-god and a sky-goddess. He became king and gave the previously savage and cannibal Egyptians law and worship. Isis, his wife-sister, introduced the culture of wheat and barley, and made the people vegetarians, while Osiris domesticated the vine. Then both went over the world civilizing everywhere. Osiris's brother proved a usurper, and made a precious coffin for him; and on their return, when all were merry, he proposed that each should try it, which they did in turn. When Osiris lay in it, it fitted exactly, and the usurper slammed down the lid, soldered it, and flung it into the Nile. Isis wandered far, weeping and seeking the body, which had floated to Syria, where a tree shot up that entombed the coffin in its trunk, which a king cut and made a pillar in his house. Isis followed it and mourned by its side; she was accepted as a nurse in the house, and finally was given the coffin, took it home, opened it, kissed the body, mourned, and was about to revive it, but Typhon found it and tore it into fourteen parts, so that there are fourteen shrines of Osiris to-day in Egypt. Orthodox Egyptian tradition says that the grief of this dolorous mother induced the sun-god Ra to send down Anubis who gathered and swathed the scattered parts of the body, observed all the rites over them, and fanned the clayey remains with wings till at last Osiris revived and returned as king both of the upper earth and among the dead. He became Lord of Eternity, ruler of the lower regions, where he judges and rewards all souls after death according to their merits. The morality of the Egyptian Book of the Dead is very like that of Jesus, and those who are acquitted live in a land of indescribable fertility and beauty where men and animals are young and fair, and there is eternal verdure. In Osiris's resurrection the Egyptians see a pledge of their own immortality: "As surely as Osiris lives I shall live." Belief in resurrection is suggested by the custom of embalming, which was physically very like that of Osiris. Mourning for him began when the Nile began to rise. Then the dams were ceremonially cut and the soil became the bride of the Nile. Seed-sowing was in autumn, and was sad; for planting, as among primitive people to-day, suggests the burial, and is often connected with the festival of the dead. Thus representatives of potentates are often killed, dismembered, or burned to increase the fertility of the soil, so that in Egypt special precautions were taken that bodies be not cut up and their fragments used as talismans for this

purpose. Osiris was originally a tree spirit, and pillars solemnly erected to him were symbols of resurrection. Even from this so bald sketch we can glimpse the culture atmosphere which pervades so much of Christianity, and can see that not only in the regions which Jesus knew but perhaps still more in those which Paul knew and where the Church first had its development, these cults were developed in both their higher and lowest forms, and their influence was very pervasive.

Now the above death and resurrection motifs which have had such polymorphic expression, and the partial impulsions of which are so effectively syncretized into the story of the cross, express in symbolic form the most essential philosophy of human life. To understand it takes us nearest to the noetic core of the supreme problem of the nature, meaning, and purpose of human life, and to feel it with correct orientation gives the right *Einstellung* to duty and the practical conduct of life. It is just here that we are having most helpful genetic insights which may be roughly indicated somewhat as follows:

First, we must postulate that something happened very early in man's career to disturb his harmony with nature such as animals still have, and to make his life more or less anxious, conscious, and uncertain. He had to leave paradise and apply himself to the work of restoration. As himself the apex of evolution and thus the chief bearer of its highest momentum, he must transcend the animal plane and forge his way on and up with constant effort and danger both of error and arrest. On the one hand he had not only all the animal instincts, some of them perverted or hypertrophied, but he also felt the *nisus* of development beyond them and a desire for perfecting himself along with a corresponding horror of inferiority, while the strength and often the gratification of his baser propensities gave him a now vague and now acute sense of unworthiness and sin. The impulse to improve and ascend is, despite all, the most constant and deepest thing in the human soul, and out of this has grown every beneficent human institution, family, society, state, culture, and religion. Moral autonomy has been both the efficient and the final cause of all these, and to this end Mansoul has through the ages slowly evolved language, art, science, gods, demons, mythologies, rites, cults, and even consciousness itself, by the slow and costly method of trial and error, for all these are at bottom pragmatic.

In such a being every step of advance involves some sacrifice of a lower to a higher good. As birth itself brings harder conditions, so every stage of growth means renunciation of more infantile conditions. As the child is weaned, gets out of the nursery, and then the home, parental influences wane, and the time comes when he must leave all this and set up for himself. So, too, he must constantly sacrifice not only childish wishes but allurements to linger on lower stages of development and to indulge propensities which should be sublimated. Advancement is hard, but both sin and psychic disorders or arrest ensue if advance is not constantly made, for there are countless forms of arrest, which is impossible without regression. All this is on the analogy of rudimentary organs and functions which must be developed in their nascent period only to be reduced or made over into higher organs and functions later. Thus biologically, psychogenetically, and morally, men can only "rise on stepping-stones of their dead selves," and growth is always moulting the tissues and processes that illustrate this metamorphosis. One of the prime traits of savage life is that it is pervaded in every department by taboos or "Thou shalt nots." These prohibitions abound concerning food, sex, rulers, all relations of co-members of the tribe to one another, war, industry, etc., and they altogether show not only the manifold restraints but the tremendous energy with which man enforces them upon himself. Thus human life has always tended to hedge itself in by restrictions upon its freedom, which instead of facilitating have often hindered its further normal development because there were so many things in themselves proper and perhaps needful that were not permitted or were disallowed; for customs, stronger and before law, are always enforcing every such *licet aut non licet*. Psychoanalysis holds against Wundt that these rude and often disastrously perverted impulses preceded the development of deities or demons that could reward or punish, and that such beings were only projections into the objective sphere of agencies that were primarily subjective to enforce man's primal sense of what he ought or ought not to do. From the very first man felt that he should not murder, commit incest, injure the dead, chiefs, priests, or medicine men, etc., all of which are hedged in by countless taboos; and so slowly and unconsciously his creative soul evolved supernal agencies to enforce these prohibitions, and this man did because he had first of all developed an abhorrence of violating the unwritten codex or taboo

that originally worked automatically and executed itself. Thus reverence and aversion combined to restrict very many natural inclinations. But all the conflicts that thus arose were at first endopsychic, and they were given external embodiments for the sake of better *Einstellung* and because of the persistent habit of extradition of consciousness which man owes to the functioning of his senses. In neurotics every phase of these conflicts can be seen writ large. Thus there is a striking similarity in their fundamental operations between primitive men, most forms of mental alienation, children, etc., and about every mechanism found in the one is also operative in the others.

Now, whenever a strong taboo is violated, the primitive sense of guilt arises and the need of atonement is felt, so that sacrifice and offering must be made or penance done to make good the wrong act, thought, or even inclination. It is hard for us to realize the intensity of this experience in the early history of mankind, which so pervaded and dominated all his activities, his myths, rites, and primitive culture generally, all of which we are just now beginning to see were full of it. Indeed, this interpretation of the pristine sense of guilt affords us a new key to explain most of the fundamental elements of antique culture as well as many of the chief forms of modern psychosis. The savage warrior does penance to the ghosts of those he has slain, undergoes long and painful ceremonies of purification for the violation of countless and often absurd prescriptions, mutilates his body, offers his fruits, treasures, kine, and even human beings, to appease the higher powers whom he thinks he has offended. Holocausts are offered, or the penitent denies himself food, renounces the *vita sexualis*, makes over his possessions, abandons his fondest inclinations, all in order to escape a bad conscience and the intolerable anxiety it causes. Ancient legends and superstitions abound in depictions, often in very symbolic language, of this sense that the right way has been lost and of the desire to find it that the soul may rest again. Christianity has so tended to weaken this old dread of sin and its penalty that even those who have not adopted it in the technical sense that the Church demands illustrate how the long and bitter struggle to be justified by the supreme powers has so lapsed that it is hard for us to believe or realize its pristine intensity. We might even roughly say that the atoning work of Jesus has been so effective or so deeply brought home to the world during all these centuries since his death that under its influence men have even

lost sight of the pathetic state of mind of their forbears from which it has rescued them.

All dragons, serpents, vampires, and other monsters slain by heroes, and also all flagellations and self-mutilations by frenzied priests are at root symbolic expressions of the effort of man or of the gods he has made in his own image as his totemic *Doppelgänger* to sacrifice their lower animal nature or their infantile personality in the interests of their higher development, which must be done unless, as in dementia præcox, there is regression to the old subjectivity. But what is offered up always comes back in higher form, and this is resurrection. Gross love, if repressed, returns in the form of love and service of God and man. Coarse appetite for food, if restrained, revives in spiritual or mental hunger. Each lower impulse has a higher psychokinetic equivalent, the development of which is the inner meaning and moral of every planting or seed burial, and subsequent sprouting, which despite its first economic meaning which began with the very domestication of plants, soon came to be pressed into the higher service of expressing man's need of mortifying his crude lower desires that they may spring up and bear fruits in due season in the loftier psychic realm. Every expropriation of possession to the gods or their priests, every lustration or ceremonial washing, every libation of wine or of blood and flesh-burning upon altars, every offering of doves, lambs, bulls, or human victims, is in order that man may square himself or set himself right with the higher powers which are always and everywhere projections of his own conscience. Many of even his worst phobias are expressions of conscience-made cowardice. From the old Akkadian dread of the awful Maskim, the Semitic conscience slowly evolved all the rituals of purgation to propitiate conscience and expiate sin. The *mysterium Mythraicum* centred upon the same theme and approached nearest to the Christian sacraments. The Dionysian and Orphic cults and the Eleusinian mysteries were those of the death of the lower and birth into the higher life. The dying of vegetation in the fall and its revival in the spring, and even the daily setting and rising of the sun were also pressed into service as symbols of redemption from sin. All are paradigms of renunciation of a lower for the attainment of a higher end. The purpose of the old chthonian rituals (the *dacia*, *antistheria*, and the *thargelia*) was apotropic or to effect riddance, exorcism, or avoidance of evil. The novitiate who had once carried the sacred

liknon cried out, "Death is life, life is death," or, "Bad have I fled, better have I found." Where Buddhistic elements enter man conceives himself as evolving by his own merits in choosing the good and avoiding the bad through all the orders of transmigration from the lowest to the highest. Even inebriation is often a symbol of spiritual ecstasy due to the sense of having transcended the range of lower temptations.

Jesus' stupendous problem was to rid man of this awful obsession of sin, and to devise and make effective a practical psychotherapy of release and salvation. First of all there must be a new orientation as to what was really right and wrong, and this he could give only by a teaching which showed duties in their true perspective, gave a correct table of values, and replaced formal by real moral distinctions. But in addition to this there must be a removal of the sense of long-accumulated hereditary guilt and apprehensiveness. How could the pall of depressive gloom be removed so that man could feel justified and freed from the enmity of the higher powers? It was just there that Jesus, on the basis of the widespread atonement ideas and cults, found the way that it is the glory of Christianity to have opened. He would personate all the victims ever offered to propitiate the gods; would be the totemic embodiment of all the first-fruits, gifts, animals, captives or kings, real or fictive, ever slain for remission; would take upon himself all the wounds, stuprations, and tortures of body or soul ever inflicted upon men by themselves or others, in order to placate wrath or even the scales of justice. He would be not a reluctant but a glad and voluntary victim, surrendering, as few of even human victims had done, the very will to live itself, choosing freely the most painful and disgraceful death, renouncing even the hope of a future life, and feeling forsaken and accursed of God and man, in a word, dying a death more pathetic than any had ever died before, dooming himself, if need be, to utter extinction or to eternal torment as heaven willed, by an act of supreme self-immolation. Moreover, his perfect innocence and abounding virtue made this supreme sacrifice still more complete and ideally perfect. Thus he underwent every possible punishment and suffered every penalty at once, as if he were the incarnation of every possible vice, crime, or sin. The best suffered the worst in the acme of injustice. All the accumulated wrath of the higher powers was concentrated and vented upon the paragon of human virtue and perfection. Only by the conception and the objective and dramatic representation of a

perfect and also a totemic paragon of humanity, invested with the supreme aura of divinity, *honoris causa*, brought from the heights of heaven to the depths of hell, could man be made to feel that the accumulated wrath augmented by sin ever since the fall was at last completely discharged, and that the higher powers could henceforth be conceived as innocuous and man as immune from the curse of guilt under which he had cowered. The long tragedy that began in the council of heaven when the Son determined to go down to earth to take on the form of man, and which culminated at Golgotha and in the tomb, showed in the most appalling way, once and for all, what God thought and felt about sin, because he both required such a victim and had so completely accepted and overwhelmed it. The age-long complex of guilt and fear was here fully brought up into consciousness, and by being objectified was thereby made evictable, so that the cure of the obsession was brought within man's reach. The sense of sin and atonement are like all-pervasive chemical elements which because of their intense affinities are hard to isolate, but which are here for a moment seen in their free, pure, nascent state, as moral elements that pervade all human experience.

What now remains for man to do is to realize that the whole process is endopsychic; that it is at root an autosoteriological process; that the great tragedy is not an outer spectacle, but a symbolization of an inner process of self-katharsis which Mansoul has achieved; that pity for Jesus' agonies is really self-pity; and that "the suffering servant" of Yahveh is in very fact and truth man himself, whose release is really achieved only when he repeats the act of self-purgation in himself. Only because of man's persistent ejective habit of thought is it hard to realize that it is all only a projection into the field of history of an internal process, and that the precious symbols of ransom and vicarious atonement are necessary, and that man has been so persistently prone to think himself saved from without by the imputation of an alien righteousness.

Again, the psychology of anger shows that when it has flamed forth with abandon, and especially toward an innocent and lovable being, it is followed by an ambivalent wave of pity and perhaps love. The tragedy of Calvary makes man impute the same process to the soul of God, so that a new dispensation of benignity succeeds that of wrath and punishment, as if the mind of the divine being had been converted to a new attitude toward man. This means that sympathetic par-

ticipation in the story of the cross brings a new attitude of man toward himself. He has evicted the old dread, and in so doing his own soul is resurrected. The real Resurrection thus is not an achievement of Jesus. But what man has done for his ideal self, symbolized objectively by the Resurrection, he has ascribed to Jesus, now inwardly seen to be his own *alter ego* and the ideal renouncer of all regressive tendencies. Eucharistic bread and wine, the baptism, all survivals of the old and world-wide blood covenants and *haoma* cults, and all the copious imagery of Paul and of the Fourth Gospel touching incorporation and identification with Jesus, are precious rituals, symbols, and types of the psychologic fact that Jesus is in very truth the incarnation of man's better self, purified of sin, and that Jesus' Resurrection is not a *fait accompli* but a perennial duty of all believers. All these rites thus are so many invocations to resubjectify the processes of salvation.[1]

All that is of value in human life strikes its roots deep into our instinctive nature, and what rises highest has the deepest and oldest roots. This shows the need of constant transformation of all that is best in us into ever-higher and more sublimated forms. There must be incessant new adjustments and finer adaptations. Sin is failure to hold to new insights and ideas, and this causes uncertainty and failure of the power to put them to work. Failure to make these most-needed readjustments brings a sense of anxiety closely allied to guilt, into which it easily passes over, and misfortune often arouses or deepens a sense of guilt. In this tense state the soul sometimes yields to and carries out some base impulsion, and this arouses into action the next higher power that controls the impulse, so that such lapses may issue in the renunciation of the base tendency. This is, however, a dangerous way of making sin abound that grace may the more abound, and we think of the great sinners who have been saved by a great salvation. In the struggle to be released from the body of death, the soul for whom these processes are objectified projects into God his own wish to punish, and expects him to avenge what he would, but cannot. It is just the sins we are inclined to that we are most anxious for him to punish. The vindictive God thus expresses man's sometimes almost Sadistic rage against his own faults. In his reprobation of sin we mirror our own abhorrence of it. Thus we are both punisher and victim. Again, we

[1]See J. C. Goetz: "Die Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtliche Entwicklung," Leipzig, 1904, 311 pp.; also, Herman Schultze: "Zur Lehrer der heiligen Abendmahl," 1886; also Schweitzer: "Der Abendmahl," 1901. See, too, Ullmann's "The Sinlessness of Jesus"; also Bartel's "Die Medizin der Naturvölker," Leipzig, 1903; and Peters' "Aus pharmazeutischer Vorzeit," 1886.

may wreak vengeance upon innocent objects by transfer, when we are really wroth only at ourselves. Thus the guilty conscience makes scapegoats or vicariates for its own ill deserts. All offerings to the gods are not only self-penalizations, because they involve sacrifice of personal or communal goods, which are expropriated, but we feel and express our resentment in the obloquy and cruelty we mete out to the proxy of our sins. Thus Mansoul is bifrontic. Man punishes himself, and Paul was logical in inferring that if, as the whole Hebrew scheme of sacrifice implied, guilt and punishment could be transferred, merit could also be transferred. So, too, the sinlessness of Jesus meant that man felt that there was a bottom core of goodness in his own nature beneath all the guilt, and that when all its guilt and sin had been purged away and atoned, this would shine forth as if resurrected from the dead. Thus Paul's theory of vicariousness was after all a concession to the hardness of men's hearts and the blindness of their minds, because Jesus is at bottom not a substitute. He is in very deed ipsissimal man himself, and all that happened or was done for the one was also done for the other. Thus Jesus' fate was only an allegory of what really transpires in every soul that becomes regenerate and finds again the lost trail. The sarcous man dies, and the pneumatic man arises in his place, reformed, reoriented, and reconstellated.

For long evolutionary ages, probably since the troglodytes, the chief fact in the psychic history of man was his uncertainty and fear concerning his own place in the universe. Long and hard had been his struggle for survival with the formidable animal forms that would not recognize him as lord of creation. Nature visited him also with storm, flood, drouth, famine, disease; the fruits of the earth were uncertain; enemies lurked about; and instead of being in a lawful cosmos his ignorance made his world full of mysterious and capricious forces which were really of his own creation, so that his mind was saturated with superstitious dreads. He must be incessantly circumspect, and every calamity that befell him, even death, was due to his own fault, and very likely was the retributive act of invisible personalities. Perhaps he felt that his predecessors had offended; but certainly he felt that he had, and that he was constantly liable to offend the powers that shaped his fate. We probably have in the analyses of neuroses with compulsive ideas a very good survival of this old savage conception of sin and its dangers, and ways to avoid it. Now nothing is so provoca-

tive of projection as this sense of guilt. Evil must be extradited, and so, as Wundt shows, bad demons were projected before the benign gods, and it needed but little secondary working over of these outward expressions of this conflict in his own soul to develop and establish the conception of a dual world ruled by two groups of powers, one friendly and the other hostile. When this was done the unconscious processes in man's soul became more accessible, and instead of imperative psychoses there were commands or prohibitions from without to check, and some to facilitate, the expression of man's impulses. Symbols and dreams although these powers were, they were very efficient for control. That man did not, however, entirely resign the control of himself to his gods is seen by the belief in the omnipotence of his own thought or wish, traces of which we can still see in infancy, but which have their chief illustration in magic, by which man directs the action of gods. If he had forgotten that the supernal powers were made, warp and woof, out of his own soul-stuff, and had never begun to realize how solipsistic he had been, and never consciously said "All this transcendental universe, it is I," he nevertheless drew the pragmatic moral of this fact in the belief that by manifold and fit spells, incantations, and later by rites, ceremonies, and prayers, he could constrain the high powers.

Very slowly, particularly in the Hebrew consciousness and in the patriarchal age, the concepts of good as over against bad powers had been fused together in one unitary, monotheistic idea, fashioned on the pattern of the father and headsman of the pastoral tribe, who was both loved and dreaded with the same feelings which psychoanalysis shows younger children still have toward their father. All sin was against the God-father, and when the flesh-and-blood head of the clan died or was slain (his slaughter being perhaps the primal sin in the world), whatever of this God-idea remained was attached to the father surrogate, totemism began, and religion began to consist in identification with the totem by blood covenants, by commensal eating, and in sublimation by fire, in burnt offerings and incense, with increasing refinement as the God-idea grew and withdrew.[1]

[1]To which we might apply the language of Ariel in Shakespeare's Tempest:

"Full fathom five thy father lies,
Of his bones are coral made:
Those are pearls that were his eyes,
Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich, and strange."

Thus, when Jesus, the perfect totemic man, offered himself up voluntarily as a sacrifice and was accepted and allowed to die as a victim, the old kingdom of law became bankrupt. It had utterly and hopelessly failed. The Yahveh of the priests and Levites was dead. Like the Titans, he had devoured his own offspring, and the tragedy of Golgotha was his funeral. He was slain by the rigorous execution of his own law. He had long been an obsession from which man was now at last released. Jesus' death had also been the death of the Ur-Father. He would no longer exact to the uttermost farthing of the letter or take his pound of flesh. His whole disposition had suffered a *reductio ad absurdum*,[1] and there was no further *raison d'être* for him, although we see only the ambivalent side of Jesus' reverence and filial devotion to him, for this apparently was all that came into Jesus' own consciousness. It was this tendency to cover up the slaughter of the old God which was seized upon and greatly exaggerated, especially by Paul and the author of the Fourth Gospel, who could never conceive Jesus as a noble parricide who with super-Promethean defiance had challenged and slain the Deity of the temple and the law. As Theseus slew the Minotaur, Siegfried and Saint George the dragon, so Jesus had overcome the antiquated and cruel guardian and executor of the law, and thereby released man from his age-long sense of accumulated guilt and the haunting dread of unworthiness that it had become the chief function of Yahveh as well as of all his psychogenetic predecessors in other races, back to the first malign demons, to inculcate. It was a supreme act of genius to detect his vulnerable point, of strategy to find how to reach it, and of devotion to inflict the *coup de grâce*. Originally a combination, as we saw, of the good and bad powers that ruled human life into a unipersonal form, Yahveh thus had degenerated from his golden age into a predominantly malign being, fully ripe for execution. Jesus' method of accomplishing this result by drawing all the venom out of Yahveh upon his own innocent self, so that both died together, was perhaps the supreme achievement of the human soul, so that Jesus' Resurrection and exaltation to Supreme Deity afterward is a monument that humanity had to rear to this great act of deliverance. Thus the concurrent *Einfühlung*, which is in

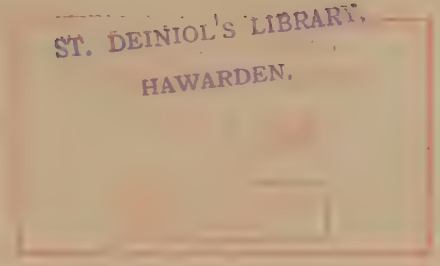
---

[1] F. Riklin: "Betrachtung zur kritischen Passionsgeschichte," in "Wissen und Leben," Zurich, 1913. C. G. Jung: "The Psychology of the Unconscious," 1916, 566 pp. J. E. Harrison: "Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion," 1903, 680 pp., J. G. Frazer: "The Golden Bough," London, 1907-15, 12 vol. S. Freud: "Totem und Tabu," 1913, 149 pp. Wm. Ramsay Smith: "Lectures on the Religion of the Semites," New York, 1889, 488 pp.

fact the supreme test of the real actual existence of any person, vouches even more strongly for the factuality of the risen Jesus than it does for the Jesus of Galilee and Gethsemane, and all the admirable and scholarly argumentation of men like Lake, that bases belief in the risen Jesus upon the evidence of the empty tomb, must tend to divert us from the chief psychodynamic evidence on which we must mainly depend for the affirmation of that without which "our faith is vain." Indeed, at this distance and henceforth increasingly and forever, the chief basis of our belief in the superhistorical reality of Jesus is that the folk-soul being what it is, he had to rise.

On the one hand, although Yahveh had degenerated far toward ethical dotage, as compared with the conceptions of him held in the classic age of prophecy, and had become vindictive and petty, with much of the ceremonial punctilio of senescence, it could never be forgotten that although he was ripe for death, because there was more harm than good left in him, he was still, although defunct, the Lord of the old covenant and of precious memories. Hence, as if dimly realizing the patricidal attitude and act to which fate had destined him with respect to the God of the Jewish orthodoxy of his day, Jesus had no disposition to degrade Yahveh to the position of an ex-God or to diabolize him, for Jesus was no usurping aspirer for Godhood by displacing a predecessor, as all new gods had done before. But by the laws of ambivalence and compensation the better elements of Yahveh's nature were not only conserved but, now that he was gone, given a loftier and far more attractive interpretation than ever before. Thus, along with the accession of Jesus to plenary Deity, not only had the better side of the God-father idea been conserved but Yahveh might in a sense be said to have been converted to a new benignity. He was again humanized, refined, and exalted. Thus God and man were each atoned, and the God-idea as well as Jesus was resurrected from the dead in transfigured form. This was the great reconciliation. Thus the inmost soul of the race was revealed and spoke as never before or since. The last dreary and ominous word of the Old Testament with which the old dispensation closed was a threat which Malachi puts into Yahveh's mouth "to come and smite the earth with a curse." But this empire of fear was over, and God in Christ had reconciled man to himself in the new liberty of the sons of God. To all

who will love and serve God and God in man, the old era, therefore, of dread, and the incessant and interminable sacrifice which began, perhaps, with the very first and lowest man and was world-wide, was over. Thus in raising Jesus from the dead Mansoul raised both God and itself, and entered a new world as a new creature.


ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY,
HAWARDEN.

INDEX

Abgarus, 7–8
Adam, Juliete, her conversion, 122
Adolescent, Jesus in art, 27–28
Alden, Mrs. R. G.: *Yesterday framed in today*, 98
Algedonic, experience of great men, 419
  scale, 436
Allegorization of miracles, 624
Allen, Grant, 190
Ambivalence, the great, 694
American painters of Jesus, 24
Anna, 272
Apocalyptic consciousness, 402
Apocrypha, Jesus in, 39 *et seq.*
Apocryphal gospels, 24
Apostles' Creed, I can repeat, xxvi
Arnold, E.: *Might of Asia*, 105
Art, new duty of, in portraying Jesus, 38
  tradition of broken, 19
Ascension in the Apocrypha, 51
"As others saw him," 70
Aureole, 23
Austin, Mary: *The green bough—a tale of the Resurrection*, 75
Avery-Struttle, L. D.: *Shiloh, the man of sorrows*, 74

Bacheller, Irving: *Virgilius—a tale of the coming of Christ*, 79
Bahrdt, C. F.: *Briefe über die Bibel in Volkston*, 103
Baldensperger, 395
Balzac, H.: *Jesus Christ in Flanders*, 95
Baptism, meaning of, 291; of Jesus and its effects, 299 *et seq.*
Baumann: *Christus*, 80
Bawn, B., 139
Bayliss (on Images), 11
Beautiful, art must now make Jesus, 37
BEGINNINGS OF MINISTRY, Ch. V, p. 288 *et seq.*
Belief, literature of, 82
Bethesda, pool of, 615
Björnson, P.: Plays, 87
Bodily traits of Jesus, 3
Bousset, 170
Boy, Jesus as in the Apocrypha, 45, 54–55
Brooks, E. E.: *A son of Irsachar*, 78
Buoyancy, 28
Burial of Jesus in the Apocrypha, 48

Calvary, power of, 727
Catacomb images, 6 *et seq.*
Catharsis, 298
Chapters, outline of, xiv *et seq.*
Character of Jesus, 157
Christianity, as masterpiece of folksoul, 236
  complete before our era (Drews), 209
  future of, xxviii *et seq.*
  rapid spread of, 464
  robbed world of ancient culture (Nietzsche), 176
Christmas plays, 58–59
Christology in the light of psychology, vii *et seq.*
Cimabue, 21
Claudel, P.: *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, 123
Confession, function of, 501
Consciousness, how conceived, 669
Cooley, W. W.: *Emmanuel, the story of the Messiah*, 74
Cross and pity fetishes, 681
  pathos of, 680
  story of, 677 *et seq.*; 681 *et seq.*

Das ewige kindliche, 275
Da Vinci, 21
Death and resurrection in ancient cults, xvi *et seq.*
  as basis of religious consciousness, 267 *et seq.*
  in the Apocrypha, 48
  Jesus' attitude toward, xviii
  never conquered, 704 *et seq.*
  new place of, in Christendom, 462
  of Jesus, 676 *et seq.*
  psychology of, 687
De Jonge: *Geschichte er klassische jüdisched mann*, 108
De Loosten, 163
De Regla: *Jesu von Nazaret*, 92
Desert, Jesus in the, 301 *et seq.*
Diesseits and *Jenseits*, unified, 286
Dionysus's cult, 193

Disciples called, 317 *et seq.*
Dobschütz, 4
Doppelgänger, 34
Dorner, 160
Doubt, literature of, 82
Dramas, list of, on Jesus' themes, 81
Drews, 265 *et seq.*
  criticism of, 212 *et seq.*
Dualism, moral, of the kingdom, 368
Dupuis, C. F., 185
Durkheim's Artemism, 477

"Ecce Deus" (Smith), 197
Egypt, flight to, 44
Ehrmann, Max: *Jesus—a passion play*, 75
Einstellung, 242 *et seq.*
Elizabeth, 43
Ellis, J. B.: *Adnah, a tale of the time of Christ*, 73
Embodiment of race or type in great, 425
ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS, Ch. VII, 392 *et seq.*
  a saturnalia of justice, 402
Ethics of Jesus, Ch. VIII, 479 *et seq.*
Exaltation and humiliation, xix *et seq.*

Father in heaven, the, 506
Feminine traits in Jesus' pictures, 22
First Logia, the, 324
Forgiveness of debts, 513
Fourth gospel (Drews), 211
Frazer, 190, 475
French religious thought, 120 *et seq.*
Frenssen, G.: *Holyland*, 85
Freud's totemism, 481
Future of Christianity, xxviii *et seq.*
Futurism of the prophets, 412

Genetic stages of the kingdom, 370 *et seq.*
German literature on Jesus, 117
"Gilgamesh Epos" and Jensen, 221 *et seq.*
Gnosticism, 459
God-manhood, the consummation of self-knowledge, 311
God-man, Jesus the, 159
God's will be done, 509
Golden legend, the, 67
Gospels, discrepancies of, 313 *et seq.*
  Drews's criticism of, 208
Greatness, attributes of, 427
  of Jesus disguised, 93
  of Jesus' self-immolation, 413
Greimer, D.: *Jesus*, 80
Grumbine's list, 81
Gützkow, K.: *Wally die Zweiflerin*, 83

Hades, visit in the Apocrypha, 50
Hale, E. E.: *If Jesus came to Boston*, 94
Hall, Fielding, 677
Hallowing God's name, 507
Harnack, 292
Hebbel, F.: *Christus*, 92,
Helle's *Jesu Messias*, 68
Hell in the mysteries, 63
Heyse, P.: *Children of the world*, 83
  Mary of Magdala, 77
Higher powers believed in by great men, 423
Historic continuity lacking among the Jews, 332
Historicity of Jesus, 215
  substitute for, 218 *et seq.*
Holtzmann, O., 167
Holy Ghost (The), creator of belief in the resurrection, 467
Holy Spirit, 452
Humiliation and exaltation, xix *et seq.*
Hunt, Holman, 21

Ibsen: Jesus' themes, 87
Iconoclasm, 9–10
Ideal states, 364 *et seq.*
Illustrative narratives (as parables), 582 *et seq.*
Imagery, need of, 31
Images of Jesus, the earliest, 6 *et seq.*
  per se facta, 8
Imaginary companions, 34
Immaculate conception, 248 *et seq.*
Immanent and transcendent in Messianism, 332
Infancy of Jesus in art, 30
Insanity of great men, 162 *et seq.*
  of Jesus, 162
Inspiration, psychology of, 440

Jahveh as tribal father, 340 *et seq.*
Jensen, 221 *et seq.*
  criticism of, 229 *et seq.*
Jerome, J. K.: *The passing of the third floor back*, 95
Jerrold, S. E.: *A play of St. Christopher*, 96
Jesus a converted sinner, 170
  dreamer, 276
  fanatic, 169
  first-born, 273
  mother's child, 274
  myth, 185 *et seq.*
  paranoiac, 165
  product of his environment, 334
Jesus and Gilgamesh, 224 *et seq.*
  the kingdom, 439
Jesus as destatic, 167
  epileptic, 166
  forcing Jahveh's hand, 405
  lord of a manor, 588
  perfect totsmic man, 731
Jesus, bodily traits of, 3
  legitimacy of, 254 *et seq.*

psychic traits of, 4
worship of, a Jewish trick (Nietzsche), 175
Jesus' cults before Christianity (Drews), 206
in pre-canonical times, 189
Jesus died in despair of all he had striven for, 407
divine by nature, not nurture, 256
how he came to face death, 397 *et seq.*
how he would look to us to-day, 3
IN LITERATURE, Ch. II, 39 *et seq.*
never existed (Jensen), 221
not content to be healer of body, 596
Jesus the child of Joseph, 276
ideal man, 283
only begotten son, 253
real goal of the superman, 113
Jesus, the new, a composite character, 239
a man in his prime, 240
from within, 239
realizing all ideals, 240
showing the higher powers of man, 240
traits of, 239 *et seq.*
typifying all struggle, 239
Jesus' attitude toward death, xvii
BODY IN ART, Ch. I, 3 *et seq.*
conversion to pagan ideal of dying deities, 404
doubts, 304
in art of Renaissance, 18 *et seq.*
passion for common morality, 290
pictures by great artists, 20 *et seq.*
secrecy of his Messianism, 406
Jesusism for dregs of humanity (Nietzsche), 177
if a symbol not bankrupt, 234
John the Baptist and Jesus, 289
as presentifier, 295
revivalism of, 292
Joseph, dream of, 272
in the Apocrypha, 43
Julicher on parables, 521 *et seq.*

Keim: *History of Jesus of Nazara*, 133, 431
Kennedy, C. R.: *The servant in the house*, 98
Kenosis, xiv, 389
Kierkegaard, works of, 91
KINGDOM, Ch. VI, 326 *et seq.*
begins within, 366
diverse conceptions of, 354
Jesus' idea of, undeveloped, 360
most developed after Jesus knew he must die, 374
Klopstock's epic, 67
Kretzer, M.: *Das Gesicht Christi*, 97

Lagerlöf, S.: *The miraculous anti-Christ*, 88
Lang's totemism, 478
Large in stature, Jesus conceived as, 35
Lazarus, miracle of raising, 631
Legends of Jesus, 40 *et seq.*
Leprosy, 626
Literature, Jesus in, 39
mediæval, of Jesus, 57
on Jesus, canons of, 71
Lives of Jesus, standard, 126
Logos, the, 459
Loisy, A.: *Les evangels synoptiques*, 148
Lord's Prayer, the, Ch. VIII, 479 *et seq.*
a synopsis of the Christian consciousness, 505
Loss and restitution, 282
Love and hate in Jesus, 437

McCarthy, R. B.: *The anti-Christ*, 116
Maeterlinck: *Mary Magdalene*, 78
Magnetic, we must now make Jesus, 37 *et seq.*
Martyrdom, 693 *et seq.*
Mary, her nativity and story in the Apocrypha, 41–42
the holy mother, 249 *et seq.*
Maryolatry, 55
Maxwell, W. B.: *The ragged messenger*, 99
Messiah, different conceptions of, 333
Messianic consciousness, how attained and meaning of, 316 *et seq.*
Messianism among the Jews, 328
MESSIANITY, Ch. VI, 326 *et seq.*
Jesus' sense of, how attained, 335
interpretation of by Jesus, 336
Ministry, Jesus' entrance into the, 313 *et seq.*
Miracle and myth, xx
draught of fishes, 352
feeding the multitude, 655
healing the demoniac, 621
of curing blindness, 603
withered hand, 624
Jesus' resurrection, 639
Malchas's ear, 627
plays, 60 *et seq.*
raising Lazarus, 631
stilling the tempest, 657
water made wine, 647
MIRACLES, Ch. X, 592 *et seq.*
and higher criticism, 595
as parables, 198
attitude of gospels toward, 593
deaf mutes, 610
healing as symbols of truth, 599
method of, 646
nature, 647
number of, 660
of cure of leprosy, 625
of Jesus as a boy, 45 *et seq.*
psychology of, 667
real, are impossible, 609
reanimation of the dead, 628 *et seq.*
the first healing, 602

the lame, 612
the twenty-one of healing, 597 *et seq.*
Miraculous cures at a distance, 644
images, 8
of dropsy, 615
of the epileptic, 615
Moore, G.: *The Brook Kerith*, 106
Motives and themes in Jesus' literature, 101 *et seq.*
Mysteries, 60
Myth and miracle, xx
Jesus a (Drews), 205 *et seq.*

Nahor, P.: *Jesu*, 108
Napoleon a nature myth, 231
Narcissism, 484
Narrowness of consciousness, 390
NATIVITY, Ch. IV, 246 *et seq.*
how it became a dogma, 250 *et seq.*
Nazarean, Jesus a, 197
Negative evidence (Smith), 200
VIEWS, Ch. III, 157 *et seq.*
New Testament rich in themes for art, 25 *et seq.*
Nietzsche, bitterest enemy of Jesus, 172 *et seq.*
himself a link or bridge, 184
refuted, 178 *et seq.*
Nietzscheism, truth of, 180
Ninck, 160
Nithack-Stahn, W., 69
Normality of Jesus under strain, 432
Notovitch, N.: *The unknown life of Jesus Christ from Buddhistic records*, 105
Novels, list of, on Jesus' themes, 81

Oberammergau, 68, 681
Oman, J. C., 242
Oneness with the cosmos, 348 *et seq.*
Opposites in Jesus' character, 417
Oscillation from despair to glory, xix *et seq.*
Our Father in heaven, 350 *et seq.*
Outline of chapters, xiv *et seq.*

Pagan parallels of Jesus' story, 720
Palestine in Jesus' day, 288
Parable of agree with the adversary, 547
asking bread, receiving stone, 529
barren fig tree, 566
blind leading blind, 531
candle under bushel, 533
children crying in market, 528
counting cost of house, 544
creditor with two debtors, 553
Dives and Lazarus, 585
guest choosing low place, 547
house divided, 545
house on rock, not sand, 550
husbandman whose son was slain, 562
"I go but he went not," 561
kingdom a net, 579
light of the body the eye, 535
lost sheep, 557
man who fell among thieves, 582
midnight visit, 551
mustard seed, 580
new cloth in old garment, 543
Pharisee and Publican, 583
prodigal son, 559
rich fool, 584
salt with lost savor, 533
servant forgiven a debt, 555
servant serving two masters, 536
sower, 573
tares, 577
ten and one talents, 570
ten virgins, 567
treasure in a field, 581
unjust judge, 552
unjust steward, 571
wedding guests, 564
PARABLES, Ch. IX, 517 *et seq.*
classified, 518
history of treatment of, 525
ignorance and error in, 587
number of, 573
of comparison, 527 *et seq.*
true, 550 *et seq.*
Parousia (The), 708
Passion, 57
story of, 684
Pathos, the power of, 698
Paul, ignorant of Jesus' life, 460
the reviver and sublimator of lapsing heathen cults, 465
Pauline sin, 458
Paul's Christianity (Smith), 207
Paul's conversion explained, 453 *et seq.*
was to, not from, the gentile faiths in death and resurrection, 457 *et seq.*
Paul's Jesus, 161
Paul's silent years, 458
Paulus: *Das leben Jesu*, 126
Peguy, C., 123
Pentecost, 693
Personality of Jesus in the early theologies, 158
Petrie, F.: *The growth of the gospels*, 147
Phelps, Elizabeth S.: *Come forth*, 76
Phillips, S.: *Herod*, 79
Pilate in the Apocrypha, 53
Pippa Passes, 81
Pity fetishes, 681
Polymorphism of Jesus' representations, 32 *et seq.*
Portraits of Jesus all imagery, 27
have we any? 4 *et seq.*
Possession, 617 *et seq.*

Prayer, ancient pagan, 492 *et seq.*
as confession, 498
as praise, 497
evolution and nature of, 488
for the kingdom, 509 *et seq.*
psychology of, 496
Pre-Christian religions, 192
Pregnancy in mores, 268
Presentification of John the Baptist, 295
Psichari, E.: *L'Appel des Armes*, 124
Psychic traits of Jesus, 4
Psychoanalysis of virgin birth, 258 *et seq.*
Psychogenesis, 242
Psychology, the organ of Christology, vii *et seq.*

Racial soul, 443
Rasmussen, 164
Records, the first, 324
Religion and war, 119
from within, 235 *et seq.*
Renan: *Vie de Jesus*, 131
Rêné, 22
Resurrection a reaction from pathos of Jesus' death, 410
attests of, 447
belief in and what it involves, 701
could not be proved, 705
dawn of belief in, 688
different attitudes toward, 702
in the Apocrypha, 51
not historical but psychically inevitable, 697
of Jesus, 639, 676 *et seq.*
the one first creed, 689
the real, 728
the pivot of world history, 690
Righteousness, Jesus' passion for, 455
Ritschl, 241
Robertson, J. M., 188 *et seq.*
Rosegger, P.: *I. N. R. I. A prisoner's story of the Cross*, 86
The God-Seeker, 84

Sacrifice, 462
Sanday: *Christologies, ancient and modern*, 141
Schaefer, H., 164
Schmiedel, O.: *Der Haupt probleme*, etc., 146
Schrempf: *Menschenloos*, 91, 170
Schuyler, W.: *Romance of Jesus*, 70
Schweitzer, A., 397 *et seq.*
Science and Jesusism, 485 *et seq.*
Seasons, change of as symbols of death and resurrection, 717
Second coming, 388
Secret academy or society, 102
Sense of superiority, 429
Sermon on the Mount, 471 *et seq.*
Seventy, the, 323
Seydel, R.: *Das evangelium von Jesus in seiner Verhältnissen zu Buddhistic Saga and Buddhistic Lehre*, 105
Sharts, J.: *The king who came*, 72
Shaw, B.: *Man and superman*, 116
Sheehan, P. P.: *The Seer*, 71
Shine, M. G.: *Jacob, a lad of Nazareth*, 73
Sinclair, W.: *The Overman*, 116
Smith, W. B., 194 *et seq.*
criticism of, 203 *et seq.*
Smith, W. Robertson, 476
Solitude and society, alternations between in the great, 422
Sonship, Ch. VI, 326 *et seq.*
Jesus' sense of, at first subordinate, then consubstantial, then equal to the Father, 345 *et seq.*
of Jesus a gradual achievement, 339
Soul characterized, the, 669
reality of and resurrection, 691
Spread, rapid, of Christianity, 464
Stead, W. T.: *If Christ came to Chicago*, 94
Strauss, D.: *Das Leben Jesu*, 128
Strong in body, Jesus must now be thought, 36
Sudermann: *John*, 80
Jesus, 80
Superman, literature on the, 108 *et seq.*
vs. Jesus, 118
Symbolic representations in art, 13
Symbolism, 23
of Smith, 261
Sympathy, power of, 683
Synoptists, the, 673 *et seq.*

Tangibility of the God-man, 30
Temptation, deliverance from, 514
Theanthropic consciousness, attained by Jesus, 303
Thoma: *Moral*, 116
Three Temptations, the, 305 *et seq.*
Todd, J. C., 242
Tolstoi, confessions of, 82
Tomb, the, 685
Totemism, 475 *et seq.*
and sacrifice, 475
Transcendent and immanent united in Jesus' birth, 267
Trial of Jesus in the Apocrypha, 48
Tübingen on parables, 521 *et seq.*

Valmer, B.: *La Créature*, 122
Van Dyck, 21
Vanishing, mysterious, in Jesus' literature, 100 *et seq.*
Venturini: *Natürliche Geschichte des grossen Propheten von Nazartel*, 104

Veronica, 7
Vicariousness, 462
Virgin Birth (The), 248 *et seq.*
  a symbol, 264
  taking place of Jesus in art, 19
Volkmar, 393
Volney, C. F., 185
Voyage du Centurion, 124

War and religion, 119
  impotence of church to prevent, xxviii
Weiffenbach, 394
Weiser, K., 68
Weiss, J., 396
Weisse, C. H.: *Die evangelische Geschichte*, 138
Werner, H., 164
Widmann, J. V.: *Der heilige und die Tiere*, 90
  Jenseits von Gut und Böse, 115
Willbrandt, A.: *Hiran*, 80
  A new humanity or the Easter Island, 114
Wilde, O.: *De Profundis*, 91
Wrede, W.: *Das Messiasgeheimnis in der Evangelien*, 144, 160
Wünsche, 160

Zangwill, I.: *The ancient religion*, 90
Zarathustra and Jesus, 174 *et seq.*
Zinzendorf, 682

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN